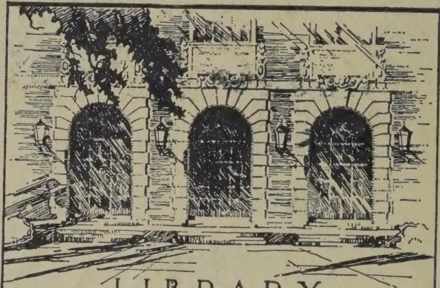


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# THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

*FURNEAUX*

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HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE

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Clarendon Press Series

# CORNELII TACITI

## ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI LIBRI

THE

# ANNALS OF TACITUS

EDITED

*WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*

BY

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VOL. I

BOOKS I—VI

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# PREFACE.

The text of this edition is that of Halm (Leipzig, 1877), which has been departed from in only a few places for reasons stated in each case in the notes[1]. His readings differ but little from those of the last edition of Orelli (1859); both these texts being on the whole nearer to the manuscript than that of Nipperdey (1879), who in his turn is more conservative than Ritter (1864).

Halm's orthography, closely following that of the first Medicean MS., has been retained, even where the same word is not uniformly spelt, and the punctuation, except in a few instances, also follows his. As his edition may be presumed to be in the hands of every reader of Tacitus who desires to have a separate text, his 'Commentarius Criticus' may be here generally referred to for all such matters of textual criticism as I have not discussed or noticed.

The sections into which the chapters are subdivided will be familiar to those acquainted with the Oxford text (Parker, 1869): they have been also specified in all references to other parts of Tacitus; which will, it is hoped, greatly lessen trouble in consulting them[2].

It is hardly necessary to state that the whole commentary has been mainly drawn up from the abundant material collected by so many predecessors, among the earlier of whom those most used have been Walther

[1] See notes on 1. 11, 1; 2. 43, 5; 4. 12, 6; 71, 5; 6. 11, 7, 12, 2.

[2] I may add here that, in references to Livy, the sections as given by Weissenborn are added, and in most other references to prose authors, those of the Teubner editions.

(Halle, 1831), and the valuable edition of Ruperti (Hanover, 1834), in which all the Excursus of Lipsius, and the chief results of the labour of other commentators down to his date, are contained; while among the later editors those most constantly consulted have been Ritter (Cambridge, 1838), Orelli (2nd ed., by Baiter, Zürich, 1859), Draeger (Leipzig, 1868), and Nipperdey (7th ed., by Andresen, Berlin, 1879)[1].

To all of these I am repeatedly and constantly indebted, especially to the edition last mentioned, to which it is the more necessary for me here to acknowledge my general obligation in the most emphatic manner, inasmuch as the special sources of each note are often too complex to be easily stated.

Among separate works bearing on the criticism and interpretation of the text, those chiefly used have been the old 'Lexicon Taciteum' of Bötticher (Berlin, 1830), and as much as has appeared of the complete and exhaustive new Lexicon of Gerber and Greef (Leipzig, 1877–1881)[2], also Draeger's valuable treatise 'über Syntax und Stil des Tacitus' (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1882), Pfitzner, 'Die Annalen des Tacitus kritisch beleuchtet' (Halle, 1869), Johann Müller, 'Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Cornelius Tacitus' (3rd section, Books I–VI, Innsbruck, 1873), and dissertations by Ritter (Rhein. Mus. 1861, 1862)[3], and by E. Wölfflin (Philologus, 1867, 1868, and Bursian's Jahresberichte, 1877)[4].

In illustration of the subject-matter, much use has been made throughout of Mommsen's 'Römisches

[1] All the material for this volume had been collected, and most of it put into its present form, before the appearance of Professor Holbrooke's edition. The resemblances between us will be due to our having often drawn from the same sources.

[2] I regret that only four 'fasciculi' of this Lexicon, containing 480 pages, and going down to 'fortuna,' forming probably about one third of the complete work, were published in time to be available for this edition.

[3] For a more complete reference, see Introd. i. p. 6, n. 6.

[4] More complete references are given in Introd. v. p. 29, n. 5.

Staatsrecht' (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1876, 1877), and of his 'Res gestae Divi Augusti,' or edition of and commentary on the 'Monumentum Ancyranum' (Berlin, 1865), also of Marquardt's 'Römische Staatsverwaltung' (Leipzig, 1873–1878), Friedlaender's 'Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms' (5th ed., Leipzig, 1881), and Dean Merivale's 'History of the Romans under the Empire.' Various obligations to several other works, which have been consulted for more special purposes, will be found mentioned in their places [1].

I have also gratefully to acknowledge assistance derived from the following unpublished sources.

Mr. T. F. Dallin, M.A., late Public Orator in the University of Oxford, and formerly Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, had originally undertaken an edition of this portion of the Annals for the Delegates of the University Press; and, after his death, the materials collected by him were entrusted to me to make such use of as I thought fit. From them has been taken the chief part of the Excursus on the 'Lex Papia Poppaea [2],' as also several notes or parts of notes, especially on some of the early chapters of Book III, which are duly acknowledged where they occur. I feel sure that all will join in regretting that, owing to his untimely death, and to the pressure of other important occupations during the years immediately preceding it, the acquirements of so ripe a scholar were prevented from being made far more largely available to the student of Tacitus.

Most kind and valuable assistance has also been rendered to me by the Venerable Archdeacon Edwin Palmer, D.D., one of the Delegates of the University Press, not only in the shape of numerous suggestions tending to amend the substance and form of a considerable portion of the Introduction and notes examined

[1] See notes on pp. 16, 28, 95, 112, 261, 496, &c.

[2] See pp. 439, foll.

by him, but also by permission given to study and use the materials collected by him for lectures given on these Books of Tacitus during his tenure of the Corpus Professorship of Latin, which have been most helpful on a number of points of scholarship throughout the volume.

Classical authors are mostly cited from the texts of the Teubner series; and it is hoped that the abbreviations used in referring to them, and to editors or other modern writers, will generally explain themselves. As regards Latin inscriptions, the 'Monumentum Ancyranum' (Mon. Anc.) is cited from Mommsen's edition above referred to; the 'Oratio Claudii' from Nipperdey's Appendix to Annals, vol. ii.; most others from the collection of Orelli and Henzen or that of Wilmanns; some from the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum' (C. I. L.); Greek inscriptions are cited from Boeckh's 'Corpus' (C. I. G.) or the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum' (C. I. Att.); a few more in both languages from the Ephemeris Epigraphica (Eph. Epig.); any others given are usually cited at secondhand. In numismatics references are made to Eckhel ('doctrina numorum veterum') and to Cohen ('Médailles Impériales,' 2nd ed., 1879); on other works of art, mostly to the 'Iconographie Romaine' of Visconti and Mongez; on questions of Roman topography, mostly to Mr. Burn ('Rome and the Campagna'). In references to Dr. Smith's Dictionaries, the authors of the articles are in most cases cited by name; on questions of general Latin Lexicography it is to be understood that the Latin Dictionary of Messrs. Lewis and Short is usually referred to.

It hardly needs to be said that, out of the large number of references given, whether to ancient authors, to inscriptions, or to modern works, a vast majority had been already given in previous editions or lexicons, and are due to no research on my part. I may, however, say

that, with some allowance for possible oversights, I believe that I have verified all which are not expressly cited at secondhand, and that I have also verified and consulted a very large number more, which, for various reasons, it did not seem necessary to insert.

To any who have carried their studies deeply into the vast array of literature on Tacitus enumerated in the 'Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum' of Engelmann and Preuss (8th ed., Leipzig, 1882)[1], such a list of works made use of as is given above, or to be gathered from the whole of this volume, will seem meagre in the extreme; and, even if only well-known writers be taken account of, I fear that the most competent critics will be mainly impressed by the omissions; while many will think that, even as it is, the text has been overloaded with commentary, or that space should have been made for more valuable material by the rejection of much that has been inserted. I venture still to hope that the book may give more assistance than has been hitherto easily accessible to the general student of this portion of Tacitus, and that some, at least, of its shortcomings are such as may be pardonable in the work of an isolated student, whose opportunities of intercourse with scholars and historians are but occasional, and to whom many valuable works that should have been consulted are unavoidably unknown.

I have further to apologise for the accompanying list of errors noticed since the revision of the proofs, and to trust that, by thus prominently calling attention to them, I may in some instances save a reader from being misled. From their existence, and from remembrance of the many others detected at earlier stages of the work, I

[1] Nearly forty pages, most of them closely printed in small type, are taken up with the enumeration of editions or translations of the whole or parts of Tacitus, and the list of separate treatises on special subjects or questions.

cannot but fear that, notwithstanding much care taken, several may yet remain to be discovered by those who use the book; while I yet hope that they may not prove to be so numerous or important as to seem inexcusable, when viewed in relation to the large amount of detail which has had to be brought together and verified.

LOWER HEYFORD RECTORY, OXFORDSHIRE:
*October*, 1883.

# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 59, " 5, *for* clarigenus *read* clari genus.
" 61, " 12, *for* genera *read* genua.
" 80, " 25, *for* then *read* thus.
" 86, " 12, *for* Quirinus *read* Quirinius.
" 124, " 16, *for* throne *read* principate.
" 144, " 15, *for* Lipida *read* Lepida.
" 214, " 13 of note on line 2, *for* passus *read* passuum.
" 305, " 3 of notes, *after* this to have *add* been.
" 320, " 4 of note on line 8, *for* bridge over *read* place of crossing.
" 345, " 2 of note on line 2, *omit* the reference to C. I. L. vi. 1, 2104; Orelli 5054; Wilmanns 2879 (a reference by error to the Arval Hymn); *insert* a reference to Varro, L. L. vii. 26, 27, and the explanation in Wordsworth, Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin, p. 564.
" 375, line 2 of note on line 12, *after* remaining patrician gens *add* outside the imperial family.
" 394, line 11 of note on line 17, *for* above given *read* given in the text.
" 408, " 2 " " 4, *after* P. Petronius *omit* full stop.
" 412, " 1 " " 10, *for* poetical subjunct. *read* potential subjunct.
" 416, " 2 " " 5, *after* of course *omit* be.
" 449, " 5, *for* inreprere *read* inrepere.
" 465, " 1 of note on line 14, *for* quŏ *read* quō̃.
" 467, " 3 " " 5, *for* later *read* other.
" 470, " 6 " " 4, *for* derivation *read* etymological meaning.

# INTRODUCTION.



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## CHAPTER I.

### ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF TACITUS; AND ON THE FIRST MEDICEAN MS.

THE personal history of Tacitus is known to us only from allusions to it in his own works, and from the letters of his friend, the younger Pliny; from which sources, scanty as they are, we yet learn something more of his biography than is known of that of many other great writers.

A few fixed dates help to determine others. He was betrothed in marriage, during the consulship of his father-in-law, in 830, A.D. 77[1]; he was praetor at the ludi saeculares celebrated by Domitian, in 841, A.D. 88[2]. It is also stated that his 'dignitas' or career of office began, no doubt with the quaestorship, under Vespasian, and reached a second step, presumably that of a tribunate or aedileship, under Titus[3]. He must therefore have filled these offices respectively not later than in 832 and 834, A.D. 79 and 81; and must have been at least twenty-five years old at the earliest of these dates.

[1] See Agr. 9, 7. [2] See Ann. 11. 11, 3. [3] See H. 1. 1, 4.

On the other hand, Pliny, who must have been born in 814 or 815, A.D. 61 or 62[1], speaks of Tacitus and himself as 'aetate propemodum aequales;' adding, however, that the oratorical reputation of his friend was already established when his own professional career began[2]. It appears to follow, that the birth of Tacitus, while it cannot be placed later than 807, A.D. 54, can hardly have taken place earlier than 805, A.D. 52. In other words, he must have been born in one of the last years of Claudius, or in the first of Nero.

His parentage and family are unknown. We can assume the nobility of no 'Cornelius,' as such, since the extension of that name to the 10,000 freedmen of Sulla[3]; and the cognomen is one of those which appear to indicate a servile origin[4]. Even if this be so, most of the equestrian, and many even of the senatorial, families in this age could claim no higher origin[5]; and although the Cornelii Taciti are unknown in the Fasti, one of them at least had reached the 'equestris nobilitas' of a procuratorship in the time of the elder Pliny[6]; and, as the name is rare, may probably have been related to the historian. It is again to be inferred that he belonged to a family of some consideration, from his admission to the quaestorship and senate, at the earliest, or almost the earliest, legal age.

His praenomen is uncertain. Throughout the letters of Pliny, in the allusions of Tertullian, Vopiscus, Jerome, and Orosius, and in the second Medicean MS., he has no fuller name than 'Cornelius Tacitus.' On the other hand, the praenomen 'Gaius' is given to him by Sidonius Apollinaris, a scholar of the middle of the fifth century[7], and that of 'Publius' in the first Medicean MS.

Assuming the genuineness of the Dialogue 'de Oratoribus,' we may suppose him to describe in it the studies of his boyhood, and their defects[8], corrected in his own case by an ardent study of the great classical models of Roman eloquence, particularly Cicero. He lays the scene of this Dialogue in 827, A.D. 74[9], when he would be from twenty to twenty-two years of age; and represents himself in it as even then on terms of friendship with the leaders of the Roman bar[10].

Three years later, Cn. Julius Agricola, who had already reached the first rank in the state, and established the reputation which he was

[1] See Epp. 6. 20, 5.
[2] Epp. 7. 20, 3. 4.
[3] Appian. B. C. 1. 100.
[4] See Merivale, Hist. ch. lxviii, p. 605; referring to Zumpt, Bevölkerung im Alterthum, p. 37.
[5] Ann. 13. 27, 2.
[6] Pl. N. H. 7. 17, § 76.
[7] Sid. Ap. Epp. 4. 14 (22 Baret).
[8] Dial. 30–33.
[9] Id. 17, 2.
[10] Id. 2, 1.

afterwards to extend, selected him, a young man of from twenty-three to twenty-five, as his son-in-law[1]. The rank, and the personal character of Agricola, justify us in assuming, that the chosen husband of his daughter would be a young man not only of moral excellence, but of already assured position and promise.

Probably, two years later, he entered the senate as quaestor[2]. By the age of thirty-four or thirty-six, he had attained, besides the praetorship, a place among the 'Quindecimviri sacris faciundis[3],' one of the old priestly colleges, the members of which were generally men of good rank and family.

Up to this time Tacitus may be assumed to have lived in Rome, employed chiefly in the forensic practice, his eminence in which has been described by Pliny; perhaps also occupied in such literary work as could be safely pursued, or in collecting material for greater things in contemplation.

During the next four years, from 842 to 846, A.D. 89 to 93, he was absent from Rome[4], probably in some provincial command, or as 'legatus legionis.' It has been suggested, that at this time he may have acquired such personal knowledge as he shows respecting the German peoples.

The reign of terror during the last three years of Domitian, from 846 to 849, A.D. 93 to 96, he appears to describe as an eye-witness[5].

Hitherto he must have been acceptable to the princes under whom he had lived[6]; and even in these last years he appears, by his own confession, to have shown no more courage or independence than the rest of the senate, with whom, in his self-reproach, he identifies himself[7]; but the lasting influence on his mind of the memory of this period will be found traceable in all his writings, and strengthened, rather than weakened, by the force of time[8]. It is hardly to be wondered at, that one who had lived through such scenes should be haunted through life by the spectre of Domitian.

In 850, A.D. 97, he attained consular rank, as 'suffectus,' on the death of Verginius Rufus, whose funeral eulogy he delivered[9]. It is sufficient evidence of his position, that he was chosen successor to Verginius and colleague of Nerva.

In 853, A.D. 100, he was associated with Pliny in the prosecution,

[1] Agr. 9, 7.
[2] See above, p. 1.
[3] Ann. 11. 11, 3.
[4] Agr. 45, 4.
[5] Id.
[6] His language (in H. i. 1, 4) seems to imply that in his offices he had been a 'candidatus Caesaris.'
[7] Agr. 45, 1.
[8] See below, ch. viii. p. 134.
[9] Pl. Epp. 2. 1, 6.

more successful in apparent than in substantial results, of Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa[1]. It is on this occasion only that any particular cause pleaded by the great orator is recorded, or the grave dignity of his oratory especially mentioned[2].

Nothing further is known of his personal history, nor is there any evidence that he outlived Trajan. His descendants also are unknown to us, but he was claimed as an ancestor by the emperor Marcus Claudius Tacitus, in the third century[3], and by Polemius, a friend of Sidonius Apollinaris, in the fifth[4]. It was probably at the earlier of these dates that the people of Interamna (Terni), the birthplace of Tacitus the emperor, claimed the historian also as their citizen; and erected a tomb to him, which remained till the latter part of the sixteenth century, when it was destroyed by order of Pius V, as that of an enemy of Christianity[5].

The date of completion and publication of his various works rests on internal evidence.

The Dialogue 'de Oratoribus' is, by most critics, accepted as his, and as his earliest work. It professes to have been written some time after the discourse was held[6], but can hardly be dated later than the earlier part of Domitian's rule[7].

The 'Agricola' belongs to 850 or 851, A.D. 97 or 98. Some expressions in the beginning best suit the time when Trajan was associated with Nerva. At the end Trajan is styled 'princeps[8].'

The 'Germania' is also to be assigned to the latter of these years, from a computation of time to the second consulship of Trajan[9].

The 'Histories' must have appeared after the apotheosis of Nerva, but probably early in the principate of Trajan, before the 'Annals' were even contemplated[10].

This last work must have been completed when the conquests of Trajan had reached their highest point, in 868 or 869, A.D. 115 or 116, and before the retrocession under Hadrian[11].

There is no evidence that his intention to write the history of Nerva and Trajan[12], or his later project of writing that of Augustus[13], were ever carried out.

[1] Pl. Epp. 2. 11; Juv. Sat. 1, 49.
[2] Pl. Epp. 2. 11, 17.
[3] Vopisc. Tac. c. 10, 3.
[4] Sid. Ap. Epp. 4. 14 (22 Baret).
[5] Angeloni, 'Hist. di Terni' (Rome, 1616), p. 51 (cited by Ruperti).
[6] Cp. Dial. 1, 2, and 17, 2.
[7] The difference of style appears to suggest a date some years earlier than that of the Agricola or Germania.
[8] Agr. 3, 1; 44, 5.
[9] G. 37, 2.
[10] H. 1. 1, 5. They were in course of composition when the Agricola was written. See Agr. 3, 4.
[11] Ann. 2. 61, 2; 4. 4, 6.
[12] H. 1. 1, 5.
[13] Ann. 3. 24, 4.

The titles assigned to the two greater works require some remark. In the second Medicean MS., both 'Annals' and 'Histories,' without any distinguishing title, are numbered continuously as the 'Books of Cornelius Tacitus.' The latter, however, are called 'Historiae' by Pliny[1], and are definitely cited, as a separate work under that title, by Tertullian[2].

For the title 'Annales' there is no real authority. Tacitus does indeed, in one place, speak of his work as 'Annales nostri[3],' and, in another, of his general purpose to relate events in their chronological order[4]. But there is no evidence that he intended the title distinctively for this work; and he elsewhere uses 'annales' as a general term for 'history[5].' It is with equal generality that Jornandes speaks of him as 'annalium scriptor[6].' In the first Medicean MS. the books are entitled 'ab excessu Augusti,' a title analogous to that of the Histories of Livy, 'ab urbe condita.'

Of the manuscripts, it will be sufficient here to notice the first Medicean, comprising only the books contained in this volume and forming the sole authority for them[7].

Ruodolphus, a learned monk of Fulda in Hesse Cassel, writing in the ninth century, cites Tacitus as speaking of the Visurgis, and would therefore appear to have known a manuscript containing these books[8]. The next intimation is from Poggio Bracciolini, who writes in 1425 on a communication made to him from Germany, respecting some unknown works of Tacitus said to be preserved at Hersfeld, near Fulda. Nothing further is known till 1509, by which time the MS. now existing, purporting to be only the latter half of its original bulk[9], appears to have been brought to Rome to Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici (afterwards Leo X), who a few years later entrusted its publication to Beroaldus, in whose edition, published at Rome

[1] Epp. 7. 33, 1. Tacitus himself refers to them simply as 'libri.' (Ann. 11. 11, 2.)

[2] 'Is enim (Cornelius Tacitus) in quinta Historiarum suarum bellum Judaicum exorsus,' etc. Tert. Apol. adv. gentes, c. 16.

[3] 4. 32, 1.

[4] 4. 71, 1. He notes exceptions in 6. 38, 1; 12. 40, 8; 13. 9, 6.

[5] 3. 65, 1; 13. 31, 1, etc. In one place (Dial. 22, 4) he uses the term in a more restricted sense, of a dry chronicle of facts.

[6] Jornand. de rebus Goth. 1, 2.

[7] The information here given is chiefly derived from the Preface to Ritter's edition of 1864 (Leipzig), partly also from Orelli and Baiter. An account of the second Medicean MS. will be found in Introduction to vol. ii.

[8] The first and second books of the Annals contain the only mention of this river in the extant works of Tacitus.

[9] The 'fasciculi,' comprising 137 leaves in all, are numbered xvii to xxxiiii. Ritter (Praef. p. xv) thinks it probable that the last part contained the minor works; but it may have consisted of some other author, as the second Medicean MS. comprises, besides Tacitus, portions of Apuleius.

in 1515, these books appear for the first time among the works of Tacitus [1].

There are some discrepancies as to the circumstances of its acquisition, and neither Fulda nor Hersfeld, but the monastery of Cörvey, in Westphalia, is mentioned as the place of its discovery [2]. Ritter treats it as identical with the MS. shown to have existed in the ninth century at Fulda, but it has been more generally assigned to the tenth, by some to the eleventh century [3].

The text, at various stages of its derivation, has sometimes suffered from a misleading half-knowledge, and more seriously, at a later date, from complete ignorance of Latinity, added to carelessness of eye or ear, in its copyists, whereby words have been mutilated and wrongly divided, letters mistaken or transposed, syllables dropped or assimilated to those next to them, glosses have crept into the text, or 'lacunae' have passed unnoticed [4].

These errors had not wholly escaped the old revisers, whose erasures, linear and interlinear corrections, and dots placed above or below letters to be expunged, are now carefully noted [5].

The MS. has also a considerable number of marginal corrections, which are cited by some editors as possessing authority, but which Ritter considers to be generally no more than the conjectures of Beroaldus or of later critics.

From the necessary, many editors have been naturally led on to more questionable, corrections. The tendency to imagine an error wherever the language is exceptionally harsh or unusual culminates in the edition of Ritter above mentioned; whose multitudinous excisions, insertions, and corrections, have mostly failed to meet with general acceptance, notwithstanding the ingenuity with which he has advocated them [6]. But on the actual state of the MS. text, his work is still the best source of information.

In spite of its errors, the first Medicean is generally considered to

[1] Two editions had already appeared without them; that of Vindelinus de Spira (Venice, 1470), and that of Franciscus Puteolanus (Milan, cir. 1476), besides some five reprints of one or other of these, down to 1512 (Ruperti, Praef. cxii.).

[2] See Ritter, Praef. viiii–xiii.

[3] See Id. iiii; Orelli, Praef. xiii; and Wölfflin, in Philologus xxvi. p. 94.

[4] See Ritter Praef. xxvi–xxxv, where instances of such errors are given, as well from this MS. as from those of other parts of the author.

[5] See the critical treatise of Pfitzner, p. 2, foll.

[6] Of his reasons in support of his changes, the portion affecting this MS. will be found in the Rheinisches Museum, vol. xvi. pp. 454–469; and xvii. pp. 99–137. Criticisms on them will be found in Pfitzner (passim), and in Wölfflin's dissertation, in Philologus xxvi. p. 96, foll.

be the best, as well as the oldest, MS. of any part of Tacitus; and its orthography is for the most part adopted by Halm throughout his whole edition of the author[1].

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## CHAPTER II.

### GENUINENESS OF THE ANNALS.

It has not hitherto been thought necessary for any editor of these books to establish their genuineness; but the recent attempt[2] to prove them to be a forgery by Poggio Bracciolini in the fifteenth century, while it cannot be said to have found such acceptance as to necessitate a full discussion[3], may make it desirable briefly to subjoin some external evidence to show that they are at least the work of an ancient author.

It will be sufficient to speak here of the Books contained in this volume, and resting on the first Medicean MS.

We have no reason to suppose that any scholar of the time of Bracciolini had access to historians of this period who are lost to us. Even those whom we have must have been known to him only in manuscripts. The inventor of a Tacitean history of the principate of Tiberius must act as any scholar would now have to act who desired to compose a Tacitean history of that of Gaius or Domitian. He must make the best use of Dio Cassius and Suetonius, and of whatever could be gleaned from other authors, and must invent the rest of the material, as well as the form and language. Any careful comparison of the Annals with these sources will show how large a proportion of the whole narrative as it stands will have to be set down thus to invention; and in testing such a theory, the details become important, almost in proportion to their intrinsic unimportance.

If it can be shown that even a moderate number of facts, such as would be unlikely to occur to an inventor, stated in the Annals, and in no other extant author, are confirmed by coins and inscriptions, most of which were certainly, and all of them probably, unknown in

[1] Where the orthography of the same word is not uniform, it may often be supposed that the variation is due to Tacitus himself. See below, ch. v. § 85.

[2] 'Tacitus and Bracciolini. The Annals forged in the fifteenth century.' London, 1878.

[3] Those who desire a more full statement and examination of the theory may be referred to an article in the Edinburgh Review of October, 1878.

the fifteenth century; the supposition of so many felicitous accidents will be generally conceded to pass the bounds of reasonable probability.

Most of the following confirmations will be already more or less familiar to students, from the notice of them by Orelli, Nipperdey, and other editors, in the places to which they severally belong:—

1. Germanicus is stated to have been augur[1], flamen[2], and imperator[3]; and all these titles are confirmed[4].

2. His eldest son Nero is stated to have been espoused to the daughter of Creticus Silanus[5]. An inscription gives the name '*Iunia Silani* [*f.*, *spon*]*sa Neronis Caes*[*aris*][6].'

3. The honours decreed to Germanicus at his death are enumerated[7], and in another place it is stated that those decreed to Drusus were in the main the same[8]. The remains of tablets recording these decrees, though extremely fragmentary, appear to suggest confirmation of some of the details, such as the insertion of the name in the Salian hymn, the exhibition of the effigy at the 'Circenses,' and the erection of arches (Jani) at three different places[9].

4. L. Apronius, and P. Cornelius Dolabella, stated to have been at different times proconsuls of Africa[10], are shown to have been so by coins struck there under their permission[11].

5. It is stated that the tribunitian power, though never given to Germanicus, was afterwards given to Drusus, about a year before his death[12]. This title, absent on all records of Germanicus, appears on coins of Drusus, but without record of more than a second year of office[13].

6. It is stated, that in the inscription of a statue dedicated by Julia Augusta to Augustus near the theatre of Marcellus, her name was placed before that of Tiberius[14]. The Praenestine Calendar gives (with a date) the fact, and the locality of this dedication, and places the names in this order, thus apparently following the original inscription[15].

7. An inscription[16] confirms the statement that Drusus, son of Germanicus, held the honorary office of praefectus urbi[17].

8. The statement, that Smyrna was chosen as the site of the temple to be erected by the cities of Asia to Tiberius, his mother, and the

[1] 1. 62, 3.
[2] 2. 83, 2.
[3] 1. 58, 9.
[4] Orelli, Insc. 3064; Mommsen, I.R.N. 2395.
[5] 2. 43, 3.
[6] C. I. L. vi. 1, 914.
[7] 2. 83, where see notes.
[8] 4. 9, 2.
[9] Insc. Henzen, 5381, 5382.
[10] 3. 21, 1; 4. 23, 2.
[11] Eckhel, iv. 139, 142.
[12] 3. 56, 1.
[13] Eckhel, vi. 203, etc.
[14] 3. 64, 2.
[15] Insc. Orell. vol. ii. p. 388.
[16] Insc. Orell. 667.
[17] 4. 36, 1.

senate[1], is confirmed by a coin of that city, with a representation of the temple, and having all three names on the superscription[2].

9. The title of pontifex, given to L. Piso, better known as praefectus urbi[3], is confirmed by the 'Acta Arvalium[4].'

10. The statement, that Theophanes of Mytilene had received divine honours from his countrymen[5], is confirmed by Mytilenaean coins bearing his effigy, with the word θεὸς added to his name[6].

A few instances of less direct confirmation may here be added:—

1. A soldier named Rufus Helvius is mentioned as having received a civic crown[7]. An inscription bears the name of 'M. Helvius Rufus Civica, prim(us) pil(us),' suggesting the assumption of a cognomen recording the distinction[8].

2. C. Silanus is stated to have had a sister, Torquata, 'priscae sanctimoniae virgo[9].' Inscriptions mention '*Iunia, C. Silani f., Torquata*,' as a Vestal virgin, and as chief of that body[10].

3. Julius Indus, one of the Treveri, is mentioned as in command of a 'delecta manus[11],' subsequently called an 'ala[12].' His name appears to suggest the origin of an 'ala Indiana' mentioned in several inscriptions[13].

4. Caninius Gallus is mentioned as one of the quindecimviri, and as 'scientiae caerimoniarumque vetus[14],' a description suitable to a person who can be shown to have existed at that time, and to have been 'magister fratrum Arvalium[15].'

Other instances might, no doubt, be added, but the above will probably be considered sufficient.

Another curious apparent confirmation will tend, if admitted, to carry back the date of these books nearly to that of their reputed author. In the account of the Frisian rebellion occurs the sentence 'ad sua tutanda digressis rebellibus[16].' Ptolemy, writing in the generation next to that of Tacitus, in his list of towns in north Germany inserts Σιατουτάνδα as the name of a place[17]; which certainly looks as if he had the passage of the Annals before him, and misunderstood it.

1 4. 15, 5; 56, 3.
2 Eckhel, ii. 547; Mionnet, iii. 219; S. vi. 330.
3 6. 10, 3.
4 C. I. L. vi. 1, 2023.
5 6. 18, 5.
6 Eckhel, ii. 504; Mionnet, S. vi. 36.
7 3. 21, 4.
8 Insc. Murat. 476, 11 (Borghesi).
9 3. 69, 9.
10 C. I. L. vi. 1, 2127, 2128.
11 3. 42, 3.
12 3. 46, 3.
13 Insc. Orell. 4039; Henzen, 6722.
14 6. 12, 2.
15 C. I. L. vi. 1, 2025, 2027.
16 Ann. 4. 73, 1.
17 Geog. 2. 11, 27. Orelli refers to Herm. Müller (*die Marken des Vaterlandes*, i. p. 118) as the original discoverer of the error.

To these evidences, that the 'Annals' must have been written when sources of information now lost to us were in existence, and are likely to have been written before the date of Ptolemy, may be added the testimony of Jerome, that Tacitus did write, in thirty books, the history of the whole period, or, as he expresses it, 'the lives of the Caesars,' from the death of Augustus to that of Domitian[1]; an arrangement of books answering to that of the second Medicean MS., which itself purports to be transcribed from an original of the date A.D. 395, or contemporary with Jerome[2].

The much larger question of the internal evidence of style is here necessarily omitted.

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## CHAPTER III.

### ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION OPEN TO TACITUS FOR THIS PERIOD; AND THEIR PROBABLE VALUE.

1. WRITTEN narratives of the general history of the period or of parts of it.

It is not the habit of Tacitus to name his informants; and in the first six books he has done so twice only, citing the history of the German wars by C. Plinius[3], and the memoirs of the younger Agrippina, in each case for an incident relating to the elder Agrippina[4]. It is stated in the one case, and apparently implied in the other, that he is taking from a less usual source something overlooked by those whom he generally follows. In the later books we have references to the general history of Pliny[5], to Cluvius Rufus[6], to Fabius Rusticus[7], and to Domitius Corbulo[8].

General references are far more common; and give evidence that there were many such works, and that his history was mainly drawn from them[9].

Of these many, a few names only can be now supplied. In extant

[1] Hieron. in Zach. B. iii. c. 14 'Cornelius Tacitus, qui post Augustum usque ad mortem Domitiani vitas Caesarum triginta voluminibus exaravit.' The statement undoubtedly involves a difficulty, that of supposing the remainder of the Histories to have been written on so much less ample a scale than that of the extant portion.

[2] See Orelli, Praef. p. xv.

[3] 1. 69, 3.

[4] 4. 53, 3.

[5] 13. 20, 3; 15. 53, 4; perhaps also 13. 31, 1.

[6] 13. 20, 3; 14. 2, 1.

[7] 13. 20, 3; 14. 2, 3; 15. 61, 6.

[8] 15. 16, 1.

[9] See 1. 29, 4; 80, 2; 81, 1; 2. 70, 4; 88, 1; 3. 3, 2; 4. 10, 1; 57, 2; 5. 9, 3; 12. 67, 1; 13. 17, 3; 14. 2, 4.

literature, our only contemporary accounts of the time of Tiberius are contained in one or two passages of Valerius Maximus[1], and in the work of M. Velleius Paterculus, who, besides considerable notice of the earlier life of Tiberius, gives, in the last nine chapters, a slight sketch, without any regular narrative, of the first sixteen years of his principate[2], published in 783, A.D. 30, and dedicated to M. Vinicius, then one of the consuls[3].

If any others published, during the lifetime of Tiberius, any account of his government, their names as well as their writings are lost to us; but some works produced soon afterwards are on record: amongst which a stock of material, of most questionable value, is contributed by the imperial family itself.

Tiberius himself composed a brief summary of his life[4], which, like that of Augustus, may probably have been appended to his will, and intended for inscription on his tomb. It must, however, have lacked the skill of the famous 'Marmor Ancyranum,' for our solitary reference to it cites it only as containing a glaring and audacious falsehood[5].

The memoirs of the younger Agrippina have been already mentioned. We have also a stray reference to them in Pliny the Elder[6], but by the time of Tacitus they seem to be a forgotten book[7]. It is impossible to estimate how far they had already done their work by influencing intermediate writers, or how much of the court scandal, in which Suetonius revels, and which even Tacitus does not always disdain, flowed originally from this polluted source.

Claudius is also recorded to have written an autobiography in eight books, 'magis inepte quam ineleganter;' and a general history from the close of the civil wars, of which two books were written in his youth, at the suggestion of Livy and with the assistance of Sulpicius Flavus, and the remaining forty-one books during his principate[8]. It is not known whether it extended beyond the lifetime of Augustus, though the apparent length of the work may make it probable.

Turning from these to more neutral authorities, we find first in date the name of M. Seneca the rhetor, whose history, from the beginning of the civil wars to the last days of his own life, would seem, from an expression used by his son, to be intended as a corrective of prevalent

[1] See Val. Max. 2. 9, § 6; 5. 3, § 3, and the apparent allusion to the conspiracy of Seianus, 9. 11, § 4.

[2] Vell. 2. 126, 1.

[3] Dates of events are often computed by him from this year, as 1. 8, 1, etc.

[4] 'Commentario quem de vita sua summatim breviterque composuit' Suet. Tib. 61.

[5] Suet. l.l. See below, ch. viii. p. 129.

[6] Plin. N. H. 7. 8 (6), § 46.

[7] See 4. 53, 3.

[8] Suet. Cl. 41.

untruthfulness [1]; and was therefore probably anti-Caesarian in its tone. He is believed to have died early in the principate of Gaius, so that his work must have been mainly composed before that time, and the death scene of Tiberius, which he described [2], may have been its closing point.

Next to him, we have two names more distinguished, apparently the best known writers of this period.

M. Servilius Nonianus, who was consul in 787, A.D. 35 [3], and died in 812, A.D. 59, after a successful forensic career, wrote history in his later years [4]. We hear that Claudius himself came to one of his recitals [5]. The elder Pliny once calls him the first man in the state [6]; and Quintilian, who had heard him, blames only his want of conciseness [7]. The period covered by his historical works is unknown, but he is supposed to be the 'vir consularis' cited by Suetonius, as the authority for an incident in the later years of Tiberius [8].

Aufidius Bassus, though somewhat older than Nonianus [9], seems to have died a year later [10]. He wrote, besides a separate work on the German wars, a general history, to which a continuation in thirty-one books was written by the elder Pliny [11], who also wrote another work, in twenty books, on all the Roman wars in Germany [12]. Some at least of the work of Bassus, in which the death of Cicero was described, must have been extant in the time of M. Seneca [13], but it was probably afterwards continued to a later date, perhaps to the time of Claudius, as Pliny speaks of his own continuation of it as a 'history of his own times [14].'

The combined works of Bassus and Pliny would cover more than the whole period included in the Annals [15]. Many facts are also known to us through allusions in the Natural History of the latter author and in the works of Seneca and of Josephus, and in the interesting contemporary view of Gaius given by Philo [16]. But the chief authorities used

[1] 'Ab initio bellorum civilium, unde primum veritas retro abiit, paene ad mortis suae diem' L. Seneca, Fr. 15 (Haase).

[2] Suet. Tib. 73. The reference is only to 'Seneca;' but L. Seneca is not known to have written any work likely to be thus referred to.

[3] 6. 31, 1.

[4] 14. 19.

[5] Pl. Epp. 1. 13, 3.

[6] 'Princeps civitatis' Pl. N. H. 28. 2(5), 29.

[7] Quint. Inst. Or. 10. 1, § 102.

[8] Suet. Tib. 61.

[9] Quint. 10. 1, § 102–104.

[10] L. Seneca, Ep. 30.

[11] Pl. Epp. 3. 5, 6.

[12] Id. 3. 5, 4.

[13] M. Seneca, Suas, 6. 18, 23.

[14] N. H. Praef. 19, 20. The fact that prodigies are noted in the last five, but not in the earlier books of the Annals, has been taken to indicate that Tacitus here begins to follow an authority more careful to record those reported, such as Pliny.

[15] The history of Pliny extended to the time of the Flavian Caesars. See N. H. l. l.

[16] We have no means of knowing whether Tacitus made any use of Philo, and there are no traces of his having consulted Josephus.

by Tacitus in the later books must have been those alluded to by him[1]. Of these, M. Cluvius Rufus is known to us as a consular before the death of Gaius[2], the companion of Nero to Greece[3], legatus of Spain under Galba[4], and as one of the train of Vitellius[5]. His work has been thought to have begun as early as the time of Gaius, and to have been the authority followed by Josephus in his description of that prince's death; it would appear to have gone down to the death of Vitellius[6], whom the historian outlived by about a year. The other, Fabius Rusticus, is described as too partial to his patron Seneca, but as being in eloquence and brilliancy the Livy of his age[7]. As he described Britain, his work probably began not later than the time of Claudius[8]. We have no allusion to it later than the time of Nero, but he appears to have been still living in the midst of the principate of Trajan[9].

It has been shown[10] that Tacitus had consulted the special history of Domitius Corbulo[11]; and he may also have used that of Suetonius Paulinus[12]: but with these our definite knowledge of even the names of original authorities for this period ends. Bruttedius Niger, aedile in 775, A.D. 22[13], was a writer of history, but our only reference is to his notice of the death of Cicero[14]. The references to Lentulus Gaetulicus, the poet and epigrammatist, hardly prove him to have been also a historian[15]; Cremutius Cordus appears to have left off at an earlier date[16]; Vipstanus Messala[17], and probably Licinius Mucianus[18], to have begun at a later.

Further contemporary materials would no doubt be found in separate notices of famous men, not only in the form of funeral orations, but also in that of more detailed biographies, such as those of Thrasea and Helvidius by Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio, and such other precedents as Tacitus alludes to for his own biography of

[1] See above, p. 10.
[2] Jos. Ant. 19. 1, 13.
[3] Suet. Ner. 21; Dio, 64. 14, 3.
[4] H. 1. 8, 2.
[5] H. 2. 65, 1, 4.
[6] The evidence of H. 3. 65, 4 is doubtful, but he certainly wrote of Otho. See Plut. Oth. 3, and the discussion of the common debt to him of Plutarch and of the Hist. of Tacitus (Mommsen, Hermes iv. 295; Nipp. Introd. p. 28).
[7] Ann. 13. 29, 3; Agr. 10, 3.
[8] Agr. l. l. The description may otherwise have belonged to his account of the rebellion under Nero.
[9] He is generally identified with the Fabius Rusticus mentioned in the will of Dasumius, dated 862, A.D. 109. The names of Pliny and Tacitus appear also traceable in it. See Wilmanns, 314. p. 101.
[10] See above, p. 10.
[11] Allusion is also made to it in Pl. N. H. 2. 70 (72), 180.
[12] See Id. 5. 1 (1), 14.
[13] Ann. 3. 66, 2.
[14] M. Seneca, Suas, 6. 20, 21.
[15] Mart. Praef. 1; Pl. Epp. 5. 3, 5; Suet. Cal. 8.
[16] Ann. 4. 34, 1; cp. Suet. Tib. 61.
[17] H. 3. 25, 3; 28, 1.
[18] Pl. N. H. 12. 1 (5) 9, etc.

Agricola[1]. The fulness of detail found in the description of all the actions of Germanicus, and even of the progress of his remains to Rome, and of the proceedings after his death, appears to suggest the existence of some such special source of information; the more so as he is known to have been accompanied in Germany by Pedo Albinovanus[2], and at the time of his death by another man of letters, Vibius Marsus[3].

It was perhaps from such biographies that Tacitus enriched his record of the scenes of the last years of Tiberius with cases unknown to or unnoticed by his usual authorities[4].

Collections of letters, similar to those of the younger Pliny, may also have been made by public men; and the distinguished orators of the period, such as Q. Haterius[5], L. Arruntius[6], Domitius Afer[7], and others, were probably in the habit of revising and publishing their speeches[8]. The speech of P. Vitellius at the trial of Cn. Piso[9] is referred to by the elder Pliny[10].

2. 'Acta senatus,' also called 'acta patrum[11],' or 'commentarii senatus[12].' The composition, or at least the publication of a record of proceedings in the Senate was instituted by Julius Caesar in his first consulship[13]. Augustus is said to have suppressed the publication of this journal[14]. By the time of Tiberius the senator superintending the 'acta' was appointed by the princeps[15], which suggests the possibility of garbling the record. Some account of proceedings in the senate appears still to have been made public in the 'acta populi[16];' and the archives of the Senate themselves would presumably have been open to a senator. Though Tacitus refers to them at a later date[17], it has been thought that for the earlier period he was for some reason unable to consult them[18]. It is certainly remarkable, that in places where we should most expect a reference to them, other authorities are cited[19]. We have on the other hand references to extant speeches or letters addressed by the princeps to the senate[20], which might more

[1] Agr. 1, etc.

[2] See note on 1. 60, 2, and Appendix to Book II.

[3] See 2. 74, 1, etc.

[4] 6. 7, 6.

[5] 4. 61, 1.

[6] See on 6. 7, 1.

[7] 4. 52. 7; Dial. 13, 3; 15, 3. etc.

[8] The collection made by Mucianus, of eleven Books of 'Acta' (probably speeches) and three Books of Epistles, was evidently known to Tacitus (Dial. 37, 2), but seems to have been compiled from authors who were then ancient.

[9] 3. 13, 3.

[10] N. H. 11. 37 (71), 187.

[11] 5. 4, 1.

[12] 15. 74, 3.

[13] Suet. Jul. 20.

[14] Suet. Aug. 36.

[15] 5. 4, 1.

[16] 16. 22, 6; Pl. Epp. 7. 33, 3.

[17] 15. 74, 3.

[18] See Nipp. Introd. p. 23.

[19] See 1. 81, 1; 2. 88, 1.

[20] See 1. 81, 1; 2. 63, 4.

naturally be supposed to exist in the register of its proceedings than in a separate form; and throughout the narrative, nothing is more apparent than the large proportion of space given to debates in the senate, and the fulness of detail with which they are recorded. Often [1], the minute relation of somewhat dry particulars would suggest that, if Tacitus had not himself consulted the 'acta,' his informant had done so; yet perhaps even this record can be otherwise accounted for, and certainly much else that is given, especially the representations of the feeling in the house and the impression produced by speakers [2], could have come from no official register, and would most probably be sought in the published letters or other memoranda of senators of the time.

3. 'Acta populi,' called also simply 'acta [3],' or 'acta publica [4],' 'acta diurna urbis [5],' 'diurna actorum scriptura [6],' 'diurna populi Romani [7],' or 'libri actorum [8].' This gazette also began with the first consulship of Julius Caesar [9], and contained much of the matter of a modern newspaper. The proceedings in the law courts, taken down by 'actuarii,' appeared in it [10]. A caricature of its contents may be seen in the mock journal of the estate of Trimalchio [11]. It seems to have been a bare record of the events of the day, often of such as the dignity of history would despise [12], useful only to check or supplement a descriptive narrative. We find Tacitus taking the pains to refer to it to verify a small matter of detail [13].

4. 'Commentarii principum,' the private journals of the princeps, handed down to his successors, could only be a source of history as far as the princeps chose to make them known. Among their contents would be the secret history of the delations; a statement relating to these is made from them by Nero [14]; a vain request for their publication is part of the reaction against informers at the accession of Vespasian [15], but even then their secrecy was preserved. A question asked by the younger Pliny is answered from them by Trajan [16]. It is thought that Suetonius, as 'magister epistolarum' to Hadrian [17], may have had access to them. It is stated that Gaius burnt at his accession an important part of the journals of Tiberius, containing the record of

[1] E.g. 1. 79; 2. 47; 3. 60–63; 4. 14; 55.
[2] E.g. 2. 38, 7; 3. 17, 2; 59, 3; 69, 7; 4. 9, 1; 31, 2; 70, 4; 6. 24, 4.
[3] Juv. 2, 136; Suet. Cal. 8.
[4] 12. 24, 4.
[5] 13. 31, 1.
[6] 3. 3, 2.
[7] 16. 22, 6.
[8] Juv. 9, 84.
[9] Suet. Jul. 20.
[10] Id. 55.
[11] Petron. Satyr. 53.
[12] 13. 31, 1.
[13] 3. 3, 2.
[14] 13. 43, 4.
[15] H. 4. 40, 6.
[16] Pl. Epp. 10. 71; 72 [65; 66 Keil].
[17] Spart. Vit. Hadr. c. 11.

the condemnation of Agrippina and her sons, and made solemn profession that he had never read them[1]. However this may be, other journals of this prince are said elsewhere to have been preserved, and to have formed the favourite study of Domitian[2].

5. Public Inscriptions. It is needless to speak of the multitude which must have been at the time in existence, or of their manifold value to historians. Tiberius is stated to have taken great pains early in his principate to preserve and restore ancient documents[3]. We have, however, no evidence that Tacitus was in the habit of consulting inscriptions, though he makes mention of decrees so recorded[4], and once refers to such evidence of the letters added to the alphabet by Claudius[5].

6. Tradition. The lifetime of Tacitus was not so far removed from the days of even Tiberius, but that many traditional anecdotes were still current. He states a report of this kind, for what it is worth, in his account of the trial of Cn. Piso[6]; he mentions, in order to refute it, an idle tale respecting the death of Drusus, son of Tiberius[7]; and frequently uses vague expressions, such as 'traditur,' 'ferunt,' 'memoriae proditur,' and the like; which, though they sometimes evidently refer to written narratives, may in others designate some such floating stories.

It will thus be seen that as far as the mere amount of material is concerned, the resources at the command of Tacitus were as ample as are found at most periods of ancient history. How far Tacitus actually used all that he might have used, is only occasionally indicated to us, but may to some extent also be inferred from a comparison of his narrative with that of Suetonius and Dio[8].

There are perhaps no passages in Suetonius, and few in Dio[9], where either of these authors appear to have followed Tacitus himself. Such coincidences as would show that they had used informants whom he has also followed, are of course very common; but even in this respect their difference is more striking than their resemblance. That of Suetonius would be the natural result of his preference for biographical

[1] Suet. Cal. 15.

[2] Suet. Dom. 20.

[3] Dio, 57. 16, 2. The expression *δημόσια γράμματα* may include records in sculpture as well as in writing.

[4] 3. 57, 2; 63, 7.

[5] 11. 14, 5.

[6] 3. 16, 1.

[7] 4. 10, 1.

[8] A careful and minute comparison of their resemblances and differences will be found in Dr. Binder's treatise 'Tacitus und die Geschichte des Römischen Reiches unter Tiberius,' Wien, 1880.

[9] Perhaps the plainest instance is in the story of M. Terentius, in which Dio (58. 19, 3) closely agrees with Tacitus (6. 8), and which the latter states as having been omitted by other historians.

and personal details over that which is more strictly historical matter. Dio, while omitting much that Tacitus mentions, as would be natural in a work covering the whole of Roman history, and having to condense throughout, yet, on the other hand, inserts many particulars omitted by Tacitus, and often adopts a different scale of historical proportion [1]. Such a writer would necessarily have to be content with less research than the historian of a special period, and it is thus natural to suppose that he chiefly drew from a few of the best-known writers of each time, and that the liveliness of detail, the comparison or suggestion of alternative views, and other characteristics of the narrative of Tacitus, argue a more comprehensive survey of the various contemporary sources of history open to him.

Much, however, of this abundant material must have been untrustworthy. The first fundamental defect to notice is that which has been prominently put forward by Dio, at the transition point in his narrative [2]. He, with all the materials before him which we have, and much more which we have not, finds himself, at the establishment of the principate, passing from daylight into comparative darkness, deepening, no doubt, towards his own time, as publicity was more and more suppressed.

In former days, public affairs were discussed before senate and people, by persons of every shade of opinion; now the forum was silenced, even the minutes of the senate no longer public, and the vast departments centered in the princeps received their intelligence and transacted their business in private, and communicated no more than they thought fit. What was divulged could not be tested, and those who disbelieved the information had only surmise to substitute for it. Sometimes, no doubt, light was afterwards thrown on a dark place, through the record of their own transactions by public men [3], or authentic private communications which found their way into history, and exposed the falsifications of an imperial bureau. Tacitus, for instance, or his informants, seem to have had means of knowing that the official report of Tiberius on the Gallic revolt was no more nor less than truth [4]; and that, on the other hand, he had concealed the extent of the losses inflicted by the Frisii [5]. It must be plain, to take no further instances, that our full narrative of the Pan-

[1] For instance, the campaigns in Germany, occupying so large a space in the first two books of Tacitus, are dismissed by Dio (57. 18, 1) in two or three lines. On the other hand, the funeral and other posthumous honours of Augustus occupy far more space in Dio (56. 31–47) than in Tacitus.

[2] See the whole passage, Dio, 53. 19, and the comment in Merivale, ch. xxxiii. p. 67, etc.

[3] Such as the memoirs of Paulinus, Corbulo, and Mucianus, already noticed. Possibly Sallustius Crispus was authority for the matters in 1. 6; 2. 39; 40.

[4] 3. 47, 1.

[5] 4. 74, 1.

nonian and German mutiny, and of the German wars, can be no mere transcript of the report laid before the senate [1].

But as regards all matters not forcing themselves by their magnitude on public notice, much of the most interesting history must have been buried for ever in the archives of the prince. To illustrate this, we may compare the information, scanty as it is, which we have in the Annals, of the grievances, deputations, inner life of a senatorial province such as Asia, with the absence of even any similar accounts of any Caesarian province during this period. We should have known little enough, from official, or indeed from any purely Roman sources, of the grievances brought by Philo before Gaius, or of the oppressions which goaded Judaea to desperation [2].

Many again of the state trials which form so large a part of domestic history were either before the emperor's private court [3], or cases in which the senate merely registers a sentence, passed on receipt of a letter or notes of evidence from the prince or even his minister [4].

Means of information thus were scanty, but Tacitus notices a further defect in his authors, from the faint interest taken even in what they might have known. Men were 'ignorant of politics, as being no business of theirs' [5] but that of their rulers. Whoever has taken notice of the 'indiligentia veri' possible, even now, under circumstances of the utmost publicity and fullest extension of public responsibility, even among politicians and political writers, on such public affairs as do not touch them immediately, will appreciate the profound truth of this remark of Tacitus, at a time when neither such publicity nor responsibility existed.

Lastly, Tacitus divides all the chroniclers under the principate [6], or at least all the successors of the great historians of Augustus [7], into two sharply contrasted classes, the one, of those who wrote to flatter the ruling prince, the other, of those who poured out their pent-up rancour after his death.

We need not assume that each prince had his chroniclers of both these classes. In the case of Tiberius especially, it has been already noticed [8], that (except the few pages of Velleius already mentioned) no historian is known even by name to us, who published any account of the 'res Tiberii,' 'florente ipso.' Without assuming that none existed where none are known to us, we may reasonably suppose that few, if any, cared

[1] 1. 52, 2.

[2] Note the meagre account which sufficed for a Roman, of all the relations of Rome with the Jewish nation (Hist. 5. 9; 10).

[3] 6. 10, 2, etc.

[4] 4. 70, 1; 6. 47, 4, etc.; Dio, 58. 21, 3.

[5] 'Inscitia reipublicae ut alienae' Hist. 1. 1, 2.

[6] Hist. l. l.

[7] Ann. 1. 1, 5.

[8] See above, p. 11.

to publish contemporary history under a prince whose aversion to flattery is stated to have been at least as great as his fear of freedom [1]; while the subsequent rule of the son, brother, and grandson of Germanicus left abundant opportunity for the multiplication of virulent attacks on the great reputed enemy of that house.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### ON THE USE MADE BY TACITUS OF HIS MATERIALS, AND THE INFLUENCE OF HIS IDEAS AND OPINIONS ON HIS TREATMENT OF HISTORY.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.



THE chief aim proposed by Tacitus as a historian is the elevation of public morality, by leading those who study the judgment of the present on the past, to attach value to that of the future on themselves. 'I hold it the chief office of history to rescue virtue from oblivion, and that base words and deeds should have the fear of posthumous infamy [2].'

Even his own age, he feels assured, is not without noble characters deserving of such record. The operation of traceable causes, or even the revolution of a kind of cycle, can again bring good after evil, as fertile succeed to barren seasons [3]. An Agricola is as worthy of imitation as the heros of antiquity, and, by being recorded for posterity, may receive the imperishable statue erected by those whose lives are formed on his [4].

We may compare with this the nearly similar moral purpose professed by Livy; to lead men to avoid the evil and choose the good, by exhibiting the intrinsic character and consequences of both. 'This it is that is so salutary and fruitful in historical study, that you see specimens of

[1] 2. 87, 3.
[2] Ann. 3. 65, 1; see also Agr. 1, 1.
[3] 3. 55, 6; cp. 2. 88, 4.
[4] Agr. 46, 3.

every type of character conspicuously displayed; and may hence take models for yourself and your country to imitate, or instances of what is vile in its beginning and issues, to avoid[1].'

Side by side with this runs another, but a closely connected purpose, to be the means of teaching a political wisdom suitable to the times. He reminds the reader, that as men had of old to study the tempers of the aristocracy or the people, so, under a virtual monarchy, even the apparent trifles which he collects and puts on record will have their use, as men learn what is advantageous or pernicious more readily from the examples of others than from any forethought of their own[2].

This purpose, though apparently less exalted than the other, aims no less in result at elevating the character of public men. For the lesson which he desires to teach is that 'even under bad princes there can be good citizens[3],' and that the most admirable is generally also the most successful; neither the base courtier who, by any reaction, or even by the mere desire for a new instrument[4], is unmade in a moment by the breath that made him, nor the proud and impracticable 'irreconcileable,' like Helvidius Priscus, who ostentatiously flings away his life[5], but the dignified reserve and moderation, 'removed alike from perilous disrespect and loathsome servility,' which sustained the position of a Manius Lepidus under Tiberius[6], a Memmius Regulus under Nero[7], and an Agricola under Domitian[8].

It is with these purposes that we are to suppose him to have dealt with his materials; on these that his sense of historical proportion, in the topics made more or less prominent or wholly omitted, may be taken to be mainly grounded[9]. Even granting the defects incident to history thus written for a purpose; his aim and range of subject elevate his work above mere biographies, such as those of Suetonius. Much as all history at such a time must dwell on the personal qualities of the prince, he has never made these his subject in themselves; but always in some subordination to their effect on the personal government and administration of the empire. The designation of his work by Jerome, as 'Lives of the Caesars[10],' needs but to be mentioned, to show its entire inadequacy.

Yet again, the purpose in view alone justifies to himself, and is expected to justify to the reader, the monotony of his theme; the weary record of 'cruel mandates, perpetual accusations, treacherous friendships, destruc-

[1] Livy, Praef. 10.
[2] Ann. 4. 33, 2.
[3] Agr. 42, 5.
[4] Ann. 4. 71, 1.
[5] Agr. l. l.
[6] Ann. 4. 20, 4.
[7] Ann. 14. 47, 1.
[8] Agr. 42; 44.
[9] Reasons for the prominence given to particular topics are stated in 1. 73, 1; 2. 27. 1; 3. 65, 1; 4. 32; 33, etc.
[10] See above, ch ii. p. 10.

tion of the guiltless;' forming in his mind so painful a contrast to the roll of foreign conquests and great domestic struggles which his predecessors were privileged to unfold[1]. Much indeed that would have been far more interesting to ourselves has thus been sacrificed, but he is at least entitled to the credit of having adhered steadily to his plan[2].

The apparent inconsistency in the profession of a didactic purpose by ✓ an author who inclines to fatalism, is to be met by showing that the opinions of Tacitus on this subject are neither so prominent nor so definite as to make such inconsistency palpable, and that the saving clauses in his creed evidently sufficed to prevent his being himself perplexed by it.

The principal passage on the subject does not directly treat of the freedom of human action, but raises the question whether prosperity and adversity and the chief occurrences of life are due to chance or fate[3]✓ The latter would imply the agency of the gods, who are elsewhere recognised as originators of destiny[4], and rulers of man and nature[5], sometimes as caring at least to punish[6], if not to protect[7], sometimes as those who would bless us if our sins permitted them[8], sometimes as pursuing their purpose with sublime indifference to our good deeds or evil[9].

The Epicurean doctrine, that the deity cares for none of us, that good or bad are fortunate or unfortunate as blind chance may guide, is briefly dismissed in this passage. In an atheistic form it was no doubt unacceptable to Tacitus and to general opinion, though popular enough, as Pliny has shown[10], when brought into apparent harmony with religion by the elastic theology which worshipped Fortune as a goddess[11] and reconciled opposites by the apotheosis of a negation.

The Stoic theory, as stated in the same place, besides repeating the well-known doctrine, that the good are never really miserable nor the wicked happy, reconciles destiny and freewill by supposing that after man has made his 'choice of life,' its consequences are determined, not by

[1] 4. 33, 3.

[2] Many such omissions as those noted by Mr. G. A. Simcox (Hist. of Latin Literature, ii. p. 175) seem due to the limit which Tacitus thus imposes on himself.

[3] 6, 22 (where see notes).

[4] Thus 'fatalem rabiem' is explained by 'deum ira' (1. 39, 8). Cp. also 2. 71, 2.

[5] See 12. 43, 3; 14. 5, 1, etc.

[6] 4. 1, 3; 16. 16, 3.

[7] See H. 1. 3, 3, where he appears to follow Lucan, 4. 807.

[8] Cp. 'propitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, deis' (H. 3. 72, 1).

[9] Cp. 'aequitate deum erga bona malaque documenta' (16. 33, 1).

[10] See N. H. 2. 7 (5), 22, where he looks on such a goddess as a mere invention (cp. Juv. 10. 366), but as the only deity popularly worshipped. He adds that the alternative of astrological fatalism supposes the deity to have ordained once for all, and then to rest for ever.

[11] Tacitus often personifies 'fortuna,' as in 3. 18, 6; H. 2. 1, 1; 4. 47, 2, etc. The mixture of sceptical and theological ideas in the first of these passages is noteworthy.

planetary influences but by natural causation. A more extreme, and apparently more popular theory, to which Tacitus evidently inclines, would hold that our destiny is fixed from the moment of our birth, and could be foretold from our horoscope, were we sure of our interpreter; but that the true professors are few, and the art discredited by the multitude of quacks.

Believing in astrology, he believed also in prodigies and omens [1] as means whereby the future was revealed; but here again he would say that misinterpretations were rife [2], and that many prognostications were only recognised as such after the event [3].

Elsewhere he often uses popular language in which fortune and destiny are mingled and confused [4], and the latter appears often to mean no more than the operation of some inexplicable cause [5], or sometimes only that which would happen in the ordinary course of nature if men made no effort to supersede it [6]. When he has to explain the steady career and position of a Manius Lepidus, he feels that it must be due not altogether to destiny, but in part at least to his own personal qualities [7].

On the whole, his doctrine has thus neither the precision nor the embarrassing consequences of a philosophical theory, and is rather such as would be expected in one who held that, while a tincture of deeper studies formed part of necessary culture [8], it was not well for a Roman senator to go too far in them [9]. His creed serves him at times to point a moral, rather than affects his general view of historical events [10].

Writing with a moral purpose, it is needless to say that Tacitus holds himself bound to tell truth without prejudice or favour [11]. That he is no careless follower of previously written narratives is shown by the places where he corrects or supplements them from sources involving more labour in verification, such as the 'acta senatus' or 'populi [12];' while the accuracy in detail, both of himself and his informants, is in no slight degree evidenced by confirmatory inscriptions, such as those already

[1] See 12. 43, 1; 64, 1; 14. 32, 1; 15. 7, 3; 47, 1, etc. The miracles of Vespasian are viewed as omens, H. 4. 81, 1.

[2] Cp. 'quae adeo sine cura deum eveniebant' (14. 12, 5); 'quod in pace fors seu natura, tunc fatum et ira dei vocabatur' (H. 4. 26, 2). Similar misinterpretations are hinted at in 13. 17, 2; H. 2. 91, 1.

[3] See H. 1. 10, 7.

[4] See notes on 6, 22.

[5] Cp. 3. 30, 7; 55, 6; 13. 12, 2. So when the blindness of Varus, and the power for evil wielded by one so mediocre as Seianus, are referred to fatality or wrath of heaven (1. 55, 4; 4. 1, 3), it is meant that no traceable cause can account for them.

[6] Cp. the use of 'fatum,' of natural death (1. 3, 3; 2. 42, 5; 71, 2), implying that a man baulked his destiny by killing himself or by being killed. So Tiberius left to 'fate' what it was too great an effort to settle (6. 46, 5).

[7] 4. 20, 5.

[8] Dial. 19, 5.

[9] Agr. 4, 4.

[10] On the whole subject, see Nipp. Introduction, pp. 16–20.

[11] Ann. 1. 1, 6; H. 1. 1, 4.

[12] See above, ch. iii. pp. 14, 15.

cited[1]; and by the paucity and insignificance of such errors of fact as have been clearly brought home to him[2]. What is probably the weakest point in his narrative, the want of precision in its geography[3], is a defect which he shares with Livy, Sallust, and other authors who have had to describe military movements on an extensive scale without the aid of maps[4].

Two points may here be noted, in which this obligation to veracity is consciously relaxed.

Firstly, in the account of battles, at least of disastrous battles, he considers it a point of patriotism to conceal the number of Roman slain. This reticence, observable throughout his narrative, especially in the account of the campaigns of Germanicus, appears to have been deliberately adopted as a principle, and grounded on precedent, in a lost part of the Histories[5].

The second exception relates to the practice, so common among ancient historians, and never regarded by them as a breach of truth, of composing imaginary speeches purporting to be historical. There is, however, reason to believe that Tacitus recognised some limit in this respect, as may be seen by comparing the speech assigned to Claudius on the concession of full citizenship to the Gauls[6] with the extant fragments of the actual speech[7]. These fragments appear to form part of a lengthy and tedious harangue; that in Tacitus is a single chapter, not without trace of the pedantry of the original, though elevated by his dignified and nervous style. Still the following sentences, if taken out of their order, condense the substance of the first column and the beginning of the second, and perhaps supply a link between them—

'Omnia P. C. quae nunc vetustissima creduntur, nova fuere. Advenae in nos regnaverunt. plebeii magistratus post patricios, Latini post plebeios, ceterarum Italiae gentium post Latinos.'

The following sentence expresses no less faithfully some of the latter part of the second column—

'Ac tamen, si cuncta bella recenseas, nullum breviore spatio quam adversus Gallos confectum; continua inde ac fida pax.'

[1] See ch. ii, throughout.

[2] E.g. 2. 52, 8; 3. 29, 3; 4. 44, 3; 12. 23, 5.

[3] See notes generally on the campaigns of Germanicus, the incursions of Tacfarinas, etc.

[4] See the defects noted even in Polybius (Arnold, Hist. of Rome, vol. iii. note F.)

[5] Orosius (vii. 10, 4), speaking of the defeat of Fuscus by the Dacians, says, 'Corn. Tacitus, qui hanc historiam diligentissime contexuit, de reticendo interfectorum numero, et Sallustium Crispum et alios auctores quam plurimos sanxisse, et seipsum potissimum elegisse dicit.' See Merivale, Hist. ch. lxi. p. 105.

[6] 11, 24.

[7] See Appendix to B. xi.; Nipp. vol. ii. p. 302.

If we had the whole speech it is probable that the substantial correspondence might seem still closer.

This comparison would lead us to conclude, that in such documents as the recorded letters and speeches of the princeps to the senate, Tacitus, while feeling at liberty to condense, rearrange, and generally to deal with the form as he thought fit, and to assimilate the style and language to his own for the sake of literary homogeneity, does consider himself under an obligation to preserve the substance of what was really said, and that such passages are, to this extent, historical: though a much smaller measure of truth may be supposed in less known or less famous senatorial speeches; and still less, or probably none, in such orations as those of Calgacus to his countrymen [1], or in the address of Germanicus to the mutinous legions, or that to his friends around his death-bed [2].

Besides the emphatic profession of the historian's obligation to impartiality, we have to note the full belief of Tacitus that he has the means of reaching truth, by weighing in the scales of justice the indiscriminate praise or censure of earlier writers. He is more conscious of the difficulty of writing on the Flavian Caesars, to whom he was personally indebted [3], than on the period covered by the Annals, one in which, as he believed, 'the grounds of resentment or partiality were far removed from him [4].'

In one case, when he discusses and rejects a scandalous tale, he begs the reader to take it as a specimen [5], implying that he has rejected many other such; which a comparison with Dio or Suetonius will sufficiently confirm. A single instance may here deserve notice, from the attempts of commentators to force it into compatibility with his narrative. Suetonius tells a story, partly supported by Seneca [6] and the elder Pliny [7], that Tiberius, when already princeps, spent thirty-six hours in a continuous drinking bout with L. Piso and Pomponius Flaccus, both of whom were rewarded for their boon-companionship—'alteri Syriam provinciam, alteri praefecturam urbis confestim detulit [8].' But according to the text of Tacitus in the MS., Piso, at his death in 785, A.D. 32, had been twenty years prefect, and had therefore held that office under Augustus [9]. This is got rid of by the supposition that twenty years is a round number, or that in some earlier MS. in which numerals were used, 'xx' and 'xv' have been confused. But the story limps elsewhere, for the appointment of Flaccus to

[1] Agr. 30–32. Even here the historian speaks as if he was following a tradition ('in hunc modum locutus fertur').

[2] 1. 42; 43; 2. 71.

[3] H. 1. 1, 4.

[4] Ann. 1. 1, 6.

[5] 4. 11.

[6] Ep. 83, 14.

[7] N. H. 14. 22 (28), 145.

[8] Suet. Tib. 42. Seneca mentions only that Piso had a habit of drinking; Pliny gives the part relating to him of this story as a mere 'belief of some persons;' but it becomes an undoubted fact with Suetonius.

[9] See notes on 6. 11.

Syria cannot be dated before 785, A.D. 32[1]. This again is met by referring 'confestim' to Piso alone; which, if open to no other objection, spoils the point of the story by destroying the plausible connection of cause and effect, and by making Suetonius gravely connect this appointment with a debauch of some fifteen years before it, when the consulship[2] and the governorship of Moesia[3] had intervened. The suggestion is surely more probable that Tacitus was aware of this story, saw its inconsistency with facts and dates, and rejected it without even noticing it.

In spite, however, of his diligence, his firm conviction of his own impartiality, and his belief that he treads on firmer ground in describing times further off from his own, it has been the general verdict of modern criticism, that 'the Histories of Tacitus are more to be relied on than his Annals[4],' and the latter are even maintained to be 'almost wholly satire[5].' The very excellences of the book are also noted as its defects. It is not in the bare facts, which, as stated above, are rarely known to be erroneous, and not often suspected of being so; but in the artistic treatment of the facts, the brilliant colouring, the effective contrasts, above all, in the subtle interpretation of motives, that the injustice is mostly conceived to lurk.

Again, the further he recedes from his own time, the greater, instead of the less, becomes the suspicion of unfairness. His portraiture of Claudius and Nero is less assailed than that of Tiberius, which, although the most elaborate analysis of character in all his writings, is also most often attacked as untrustworthy.

It will be the work of other chapters to follow him in detail through the whole period, and to point out such inconsistencies and unfairnesses as may seem traceable: but we may here notice such general considerations as make it probable that he has dealt less than justice to the early Caesars.

One chief cause will be found in the fact that in the Annals generally, and in the early portion especially, he is beyond the limits of his own knowledge, and forced to depend on written authorities; and in the defects of his own and their methods of dealing with historical evidence.

The Roman critical faculty, never so keenly on its guard against inaccuracy in substance as against solecisms in language[6], seems generally to have spent the force of its historical judgment in dealing with discrepancies between informants, without recognising the insufficiency of even their united testimony to establish what was beyond

[1] See notes on 6. 27.
[2] 2. 41, 2.
[3] 2. 66, 3.
[4] Merivale, Hist. ch. lvii. p. 467.
[5] Id. ch. lxiv. p. 343.
[6] See the remarks of Merivale, Hist. ch. lxiv. p. 305.

their means of knowledge. Such is the general attitude of Livy towards his chroniclers; such again appears to be that of Tacitus towards his 'auctores.' He could firmly reject a floating tale which they had never recognised, and which was otherwise improbable[1]; he could supplement their defects in detail, judge freely between their differences; we can imagine him to have rejected, even in the face of testimony, a statement evidently inconsistent with itself or exaggerated: but where a story was generally accepted, and did not bear plain marks of overstatement or incredibility[2], we cannot suppose it to have occurred to him to ask whether its subject was one on which his authorities were competent to speak. For instance, the details of a private correspondence between Tiberius and Seianus are given without expressed or implied suspicion[3], though it appears to us almost impossible to imagine authentic evidence of them.

Any such misleading effect of a 'consensus auctorum' would be aggravated, if, as has been seen to be probable in respect to the principate of Tiberius, the original authorities belonged almost wholly to the hostile section[4]. The critic might feel that he had made a considerable deduction for their prejudices, and might naturally consider that this was sufficient.

It is also noteworthy that he treats the testimony of his authorities as evidence not only for an act but for a motive[5]; and only with diffidence suggests an explanation as his own[6]. Here it is probable that the discrepancy of his witnesses left him much room for choice, and enabled him, without going beyond the alternatives suggested by them, to interpret the acts in accordance with his general conception of the character.

Further explanation must be found in the personal opinions of Tacitus, and in the circumstances of his life.

His political attitude to the early Caesars could not really be one of indifference; for the revolution which they accomplished and consolidated was with him the main cause of the degeneracy of his own age. Loyal as he is to the emperors under whom he wrote; who had 'combined monarchy with freedom[7]' and brought about 'an age of rare felicity, in which men might think what they would and say what

[1] 4. 11.

[2] His sentiment in relating a prodigy (H. 2. 50, 3) is capable of a general application, 'volgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim.'

[3] Ann. 4. 39; 40. In a similar case, the alleged letter of Lentulus Gaetulicus is cautiously given as a mere 'persistent rumour,' 6. 30, 4.

[4] See above, ch. iii. p. 18.

[5] Cp. 1. 76, 6; 80, 2, etc.

[6] See 4. 57, 2.

[7] Agr. 3, 1.

they thought[1];' he could see that the remedy worked far more slowly than the disease[2], and feel the more resentment against the supposed authors of the latter.

His political sympathies are those of the idealist rather than the statesman; his golden age is before the dawn of history[3], and his golden age of Rome, the old Republic seen through the mist of ages, the time when 'equitable legislation was crowned by the Laws of the Twelve Tables[4];' or, at latest, the days before the fall of the great foreign powers had developed the dangers of security and peace[5]. Himself probably no more connected with the old families than was Cicero, he yet cannot divest himself of the reverence inspired by their glories in the history of the early period[6]. Blind to the misgovernment which alone made revolution possible, he can see only the intrigues of ambitious men who brought about the fall of 'liberty.' Gracchus with him ranks no higher than Saturninus[7]; not even Sulla or Pompeius had disinterested aims[8]; the dictatorship of the first Caesar seems only a phase in the twenty years of anarchy[9]. There are indications enough that his view of Augustus was as different from that of Vergil or Horace as his Tiberius from the Tiberius of Velleius[10]. The 'weariness of civil strife[11]' which had followed Actium was employed by Augustus first to 'secure his own ascendancy,' and then to give 'laws which we were to enjoy in peace and under monarchy[12].' From this time 'the old morality disappeared in the revolution; men cast aside their position of civic equality and looked for orders to the prince[13];' hence begins the servile age of sycophants and courtiers. The restoration of the Republic is still so far conceived to have been possible, that Germanicus and his father are imagined to have contemplated it[14], and popularly held to have been victims of their love of liberty[15]. The vices of the senatorial rule, the improvement of provincial administration under the empire, are ignored even at the moment when they are admitted[16]; and the first Caesars are assumed to be mainly responsible for the degradation which had changed the

[1] H. 1. 1, 5.
[2] Agr. l. l.
[3] Ann. 3. 26, 1.
[4] 3. 27, 1.
[5] H. 2. 38, 2.
[6] As instances of his sympathy may be noted his tone in speaking of the mendicancy of Hortalus (2. 37) or the crimes of Lepida (3. 23); and the aggravation in his eyes of the guilt of Livia by her adulterer being no more than a 'municipal' (4. 3, 4).
[7] Ann. 3. 27, 3.
[8] H. 2. 38, 3, 4.
[9] Ann. 3. 28, 2.
[10] See especially the prominence given to the hostile opinion (1. 10).
[11] 1. 1, 3.
[12] 3. 28, 3.
[13] 1. 2, 1.
[14] 1. 33, 4.
[15] 2. 82, 3.
[16] 1. 2, 2.

senate that confronted Pyrrhus or Hannibal to that which had dragged its own members to prison at the bidding of Domitian[1].

Our estimate must also take account of the author's literary tendencies. In one sense, not the Annals alone, but all the works of Tacitus are satire; for satire, in the various forms which it took under Persius, Petronius, Martial, Juvenal, was the chief literary force of the age[2]; and a writer out of harmony with the times of which he writes had a whole armoury of sharp-edged maxims ready to his hand. 'Inmitior quia toleraverat[3]:' 'acerrima proximorum odia[4]:' 'causae inimicitiae acriores quia iniquae[5]:' 'proprium humani generis odisse quem laeseris[6]'—these and a hundred such are the forms in which the stern and bitter experiences of the historian's life express themselves. There are no such arrows in the quiver of Augustan literature; they are hardly so barbed even in Juvenal. Again, we have the satiric tendency, prevalent especially in the Annals, to take extreme acts as typical of the man, and extreme men as typical of the age. Not, however, that such exaggerations are on one side only: the great literary artist knows too well the effect of a heightened contrast to neglect the opportunities held out to him. Even on such neutral ground as the subject of the 'Germany' this is thought to have affected the historical fidelity of Tacitus; and in the portraiture of Rome under the Caesars, the temptation was far more irresistible. Hence the effort to idealise a Germanicus or an Agricola, and others who might be mentioned; and the tendency to surround with glory the death-scene of the martyrs.

Between this sharply drawn contrast of hideous vices and heroic virtues, the neutral multitude of ordinary men on the dead level of average mediocrity of character in all ranks of life, however deeply interesting to those who would truly trace the general tendencies of an age, fade as completely out of sight as the shadowy rank and file of the Homeric armies.

[1] Agr. 45, 1.

[2] This is well shown by Mr. Simcox in the History of Latin Literature already mentioned.

[3] Ann. 1. 20, 2.

[4] H. 4. 70, 3.

[5] Ann. 1. 33, 3.

[6] Agr. 42, 4.

# CHAPTER V.

## ON THE SYNTAX AND STYLE OF TACITUS, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ANNALS.

### SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.



THE Lexicon Taciteum of Bötticher [1], the Excursus of Roth on the Agricola [2], and the 'Index Latinitatis' in Ruperti's edition [3], represented for some time the chief results of the labour of Scholars on this subject; but their works, with many other treatises on special points, are now gathered up into and supplemented by the exhaustive and no less concise treatise of Dr. Dräger [4], from which nearly all the substance of what is here given has been derived, and to which all who desire further information are throughout referred [5]. In the selection here made, it is intended to illustrate not only such points of usage and style as are wholly peculiar to Tacitus, but also the most remarkable of those which, though adopted from earlier writers, are used by him with characteristic boldness and freedom.

[1] Berlin, 1830.
[2] Nürnberg, 1833.
[3] Hanover, 1834.
[4] Leipzig, 3rd edition, 1882.
[5] Much use has also been made of the valuable dissertations by Wölfflin in Philologus (xxiv. 115–123; xxv. 92–134; xxvi. 92–166; xxvii. 113–149), and in Bursian's 'Jahresberichte' (iii. 756–787); also of the 3rd part of Joh. Müller's 'Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Corn. Tacitus' (Innsbruck, 1873).

Among the features of the Latinity of what is called the silver age, one of the most prominent is the introduction into prose of words and forms of expression from the great classic poets, who had by that time become the text-books of every grammar-school[1]. That this extended to all kinds of prose composition, may be illustrated from the fact that out of a list, gathered from Tacitus, of nearly 100 words, more or less frequent in Augustan poetry, but absent from Augustan or classic prose, more than half had already won a place in intermediate prose literature, mostly in the plain, matter-of-fact descriptions of the elder Pliny[2]. Another such list might easily be framed from Livy, to show by a comparison with Caesar, or even Sallust, the influence of poetic diction on historical prose, even in the latter part of the Augustan age itself.

Partly through this adoption of poetic language, partly through the increasing taste for what was Greek, as such[3], Latinity had also become more tolerant of Greek words and grammatical Graecisms.

In Tacitus, the first of these general tendencies is abundantly prominent[4]; the latter he may probably have looked upon as a corruption, as he shows no disposition to add to the Graecisms or Greek words already in use[5]. His earliest treatise, the 'Dialogus,' shows even a reaction in the direction of Ciceronian Latinity[6]; his later writings, while showing less and less trace of Cicero[7], have acquired so marked an individuality of style, that even a fragment, long lurking unsuspected in the pages of Sulpicius Severus, has been claimed for Tacitus with good grounds on internal evidence alone[8].

The special qualities of his style are no doubt due, in no small measure, to his professional career. As the first forensic orator of the day, we might assume that he had perfected such gifts as were prescribed to a pleader by the prevailing fashion; and he has himself described to us the difference between the rolling periods of Ciceronian eloquence and the style demanded in his own age, when jury and listeners soon wearied of a long harangue, were impatient of the speaker's preamble, and recalled him peremptorily from a digression; so that brevity had become the soul of wit, rapidity and incisive brilliancy the qualities most sure to reward the pains taken to acquire them. He tells us of pupils listening eagerly, and reporting to their friends

[1] Juv. 7. 226.

[2] See Dräger, § 249, 1.

[3] See Juv. 3. 61, etc.

[4] See below, §§ 70, 72, and several others.

[5] See § 95.

[6] See Dr. § 259, 1.

[7] The chief instance is found in the reminiscences of De Orat. 3. 2, 3, in Agr. 44, 45.

[8] See Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sacr. 2. 30, 6; Jac. Bernays 'über die Chronik des Sulp. Sev.' Berlin, 1861; Milman, Hist. of the Jews, bk. xvi. p. 366, note.

at a distance the last pungent epigram, or glowing poetic passage. 'For poetic grace is now demanded of the orator, not marred with the rust of Accius or Pacuvius, but fresh from the treasury of Horace, of Vergil, or of Lucan[1].' Tacitus was thus under influences both general or literary and also special or professional, in adopting the poetical colouring so characteristic of him; but it is perhaps due to individual taste that the poetical element in his writings is almost wholly Vergilian[2].

Besides carrying much of his habitual style into the composition of history, he evidently studied, as modes of historical writing, his chief predecessors in that field, for whom he expresses such genuine admiration. Of this kind, the chief influence on him known to us, is that of Sallust and Livy, who, though rarely expressly mentioned[3], leave their traces in a number of forms of expression throughout his writings[4]; the former being naturally his model of terseness, the latter of eloquence; with his own taste to blend and modify them.

He has himself told us of his own painful consciousness of the dull monotony and repulsive sadness of great part of his narrative, compared with the range of subject and free treatment of the old historians[5]. Hence, in the true skill of an advocate with a tedious case, he would the more studiously seek to create variety, and stimulate the flagging interest of the reader, even by ever so short an episode[6]; by a departure from his usual order of narrative[7]; by multiplying, artificially and even fancifully, the expressions for constant occurrences[8]; by a hundred small variations in the structure or arrangement of sentences[9]; by straining more and more after novelties, or by occasionally reviving archaisms in vocabulary or phrase[10]; by anything to break the weary sameness of his chronicle of tyranny.

The old criticism, tracing the characteristics of the style of Tacitus to poetic colouring, and to the study of brevity and of variety[11], will be seen to be well founded, and to be capable of explanation from the circumstances of his life and nature of his subject; and to show the

[1] Dial. 19, 20.

[2] The debt of Tacitus to Vergil will be apparent throughout this chapter. See especially §§ 70; 72; 97, 4.

[3] 'C. Sallustius rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor' Ann. 3. 30, 3. 'Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores' Agr. 10, 3.

[4] See 'Syntax' throughout, and several sections of 'Style,' esp. 97.

[5] Ann. 4. 32.

[6] E.g. 3. 26–28; 4. 32; 33; 6. 22; 28.

[7] See 6. 38, 1.

[8] See § 93.

[9] See §§ 85–92.

[10] This increasing preference of unusual or even obsolete expressions is shown by Wölfflin (Phil. xxv. p. 95 foll.) to be the true key to the difference between the earlier and later writings.

[11] Bötticher (Proleg. lxvi, etc.), whom I have followed in arranging much of the subject under these heads. See §§ 72–92.

natural gifts, not unmixed with the natural defects, of the most finished pleader of an age which required above all that its orators should be terse, brilliant, and striking.

Historical style was all the more likely to be rhetorical, owing to the custom of oral recitation. From many instances in which the effect on the ear seems to be studied, and others in which oral emphasis would have removed an ambiguity, it is not improbable that Tacitus may have adopted this general practice.

To these should be added the most truly personal of all his traits of style, the elevation and dignity (σεμνότης) known to have characterised the orator[1], and which, in the relation not only of great matters, but also of what is trivial, or even revolting, appears never to be lost sight of by the historian.

The following instances are almost wholly restricted to the Annals, not only on account of the limits of the present treatise, but also because these are the most truly Tacitean of all the writings of Tacitus; many uses and expressions, rare or even unknown in his earlier works, being in them frequent and even habitual[2].

The arrangement of Dräger, whose sections are cited throughout, is far more elaborate and scientific than that here given, which has been simplified for convenience of general reference. It will be evident that many obligations are also due throughout to the Grammars of Zumpt, Madvig, Kennedy, and Roby, especially the last.

## SYNTAX.

### I. *Nouns and Pronouns.*

#### A. SUBSTANTIVES.

1. **Abstract Nouns.** The use of such in the plural is hardly more frequent in Tacitus than in Cicero or Livy, but is extended to new instances, such as aemulatus (ἅπ. εἰρ.) 13. 46, 6; dignationes (ἅπ. εἰρ.) 2. 33, 5; and to such as are elsewhere very rare, as infamiae (Plaut.) 4. 33, 4; simulationes (Pl. min.) 5. 54, 2; 6. 45, 6, etc.

His use of abstract for concrete is somewhat more characteristic: as amicitia='friends,' 2. 27, 2; 77, 1; consilia='advisers,' 4. 40, 2; iura='charters,' (ἅπ. εἰρ.) 3. 60, 4; liberalitas='gift,' 2. 37, 2, etc.; matrimonia='wives,' 2. 13, 3; origo='ancestor,' (Verg.) 4. 9, 3, etc.; regna='kings,' (Stat.) 3. 55, 3. Dr. § 2. 3.

[1] Plin. Epp. 2. 11, 17.

[2] This has been very fully shown by Wölfflin (Phil. 25, 95–127). See also below, §§ 22 b, 31, 36, 37, 40, 64, 69, 77, 89.

2. **Rare singular forms** are found, as angustia (Pl. mai.) 4. 72, 2; verbere (poet. and Sen.) 5. 9, 2; 6. 24, 4. Also singular and plural are often interchanged, as patres eques 1. 7, 1; 4. 74, 5; eques pedites 3. 46, 5, etc.; cp. 2. 56, 1; 60, 4; 15. 48, 1, etc. Such instances are also found in Livy. Dr. § 4. 5.

3. **The adjectival use of substantives in apposition** is frequent, as in poetry. Thus imperator populus 3. 6, 2; mare Hadria 15. 34, 2; mare Oceanus 1. 9, 6; H. 4. 12, 2; sidus cometes 14. 22, 1, etc. This usage also is found in Livy (Dr. on Ann. 3. 6, 2). Dr. § 76.

On the accusative in (so-called) apposition to a sentence, see below, § 12 *a*; on the nominative in parenthetical apposition, see § 82.

## B. Adjectives.

4. **The substantival use of adjectives** is more frequent than in the classics. Dr. § 7.

(*a*) *Masculine*, as equestres 12. 60, 3; militares 3. 1, 2; nulli 2. 77, 6 (where see Nipp.); also in sing., as equester 13. 10, 3. This usage is extended to participles, as praesidentium 3. 40, 4; vincentium 14. 36, 2, etc.

(*b*) *Neuter singular*, without the usual classical restriction to predicates and to the usage with such verbs as 'dicere,' 'facere,' 'postulare' (see Nipp. on 6. 24, 3). Thus egregium 3. 70, 4; 6. 24, 3; honestum 3. 65, 1; triste . . . providum 15. 34, 1, etc.; also often with prepositions, as in lubrico 1. 72, 3; in barbarum 6. 42, 1; and as a simple abl. of place where (see § 25), and with genit. following (see § 32 *a*).

(*c*) *Neuter plural*, often in place of an abstract substantive, as falsa 2. 82, 8, etc.; incerta 2. 39, 5; occulta 2. 88, 1; obscura, vera 4. 58, 3; and very often with a genit. following (§ 32 *b*). See Nipp. on 2. 39.

5. **The adverbial use of neuter adjectives** is extended from the more regular (as multum, nimium, postremum, potissimum, summum) to more distinctly poetical usages, as aeternum 3. 26, 3, etc.; inmensum 3. 30, 2, etc.; praeceps 4. 62, 3, etc. (on their use in the accus., see § 13.). Dr. § 22, Nipp. on 3. 26, 3.

6. **The adverbial use of an adjective as secondary predicate** (Roby 1069), as diversi 2. 73, 6, etc.; occulti 4. 12, 1, etc.; properus 6. 44, 1, etc.; rarus 2. 57, 4, etc.; is more common than in classical prose. Dr. § 8.

7. **New forms of comparison,** both of adjectives and participles,

had been freely introduced by Cicero and Livy. Besides adopting such, from them and others, Tacitus appears to have added analogous forms, such as curatissimus 1. 13, 7; flagrantissimus 1. 3, 2, etc.; inplacabilius 1. 13, 5; inprovisior 2. 47, 1; instantius 6. 35, 4; obaeratior 6. 17, 4; probably vulgarissimus (*ἅπ. εἰρ.*) 13. 49, 1.

### C. Pronouns.

8. Tacitus **omits** with unusual frequency **pronouns belonging to the third person**, especially in the accus., sometimes even so as to involve harshness or obscurity. Among the more notable instances are those of the omission of se in 1. 35, 5; 2. 71, 8; 83, 4; 4. 59, 5, etc.; and of eum in 1. 69, 3; 3. 49, 1; 4. 58, 4; 71, 5, etc. Also an abl., such as iis, or quibus, is constantly omitted in concise uses of the abl. abs. (see below, § 31 *c*). Omissions are found of the genit· of such pronouns, as in 4. 70, 4; or dat., as in 4. 7, 4. A few instances occur of omissions of pronouns of the first or second pronoun, as nos 1. 22, 3; me 4. 38, 1; 12. 21, 1; nobis 3. 54, 5. See Joh. Müller on 1. 27, 2; Pfitzner, p. 113; Nipp. on 1. 29; 5. 10.

9. **The use of quis for quisque in the constant form ut quis,** e.g. 1. 69, 2; 2. 24, 6; 73, 6; 83, 1, etc., appears to be strictly Tacitean (Bötticher). Other usages, though rare, are not without earlier precedent; e.g. quis for uter 1. 47, 2; 3. 1, 4 (Livy); quis ille, hic ille (with brachylogy) 11. 7, 1; 12. 36, 2; 14. 22, 4 (Cic.); quidquid istud 1. 42, 2; eius for suus 4. 67, 1 (Caes. and Cic.); suus for eius 4. 36, 3, etc. Dr. § 10–20.

## II. *Cases of the Noun.*

### A. Accusative.

10. **The accusative of place towards which motion takes place** (Roby 1108), as used of the names of countries or large islands, is generally confined in classical prose to Greek names with the Latinized ending in '-us,' as Aegyptum 2. 59, 1 (Madvig 232, Obs. 4), but is also used by Tacitus, as by poets, with greater latitude, as Hiberos 12. 51, 4, etc.: analogous to this is campos propinquabant 12. 13, 1; and the accus. with proximus 15. 15, 6. Such accusatives, though always rare, are not unexampled in earlier prose. Dr. § 38.

11. **The poetical** or **Greek accusative of the part concerned** (Roby 1101, 1102), as contectus humeros 2. 13, 1, is used more freely by Tacitus than by any prose writer except Apuleius, not only in its

more usual application to the bodily members, but in such expressions as clari genus 6. 9, 5; adlevatur animum 6. 43, 3; and in the military phrase frontem ... tergum ... latera ... munitus 1. 50, 2. Dr. § 39, Wölfflin (Phil. 25, 115).

12. **Transitive accusatives.** Dr. § 40.

(*a*) Tacitus often expresses the effect or purpose of an action by an *accusative clause in* (so-called) *apposition to the sentence*, i. e. explanatory of the notion contained in the verb and its adjuncts; such verb implying some general notion of doing or suffering on which these accusatives depend. See 1. 27, 1 (and Nipp. there); 49, 5; 74, 3; 2. 64, 6; 6. 37, 2, etc. Instances are found in Sallust and Livy.

(*b*) *The poetical accusative with verbs expressing affections* is not unfrequent in Tacitus, and is extended by him to some instances not found in earlier prose, as pavescere 1. 59, 7, etc; expavescere H. 2. 76, 3; gravari H. 2. 20, 2. Cp. Madv. 223 c, Roby 1123, Kennedy 127.

(*c*) A full list is given by Dr. of *compound verbs used by Tacitus with a simple accusative where a repetition of the preposition or a dative would be regular*. To verbs previously so used in prose he would appear to have added several, as advehi (with acc. pers.) 2. 45, 4; advolvi 1. 13, 7, etc.; elabi 1. 61, 6, etc.; erumpere 12. 63, 2; exire 6. 49, 3; intervenire 3. 23, 1; inrepere 4. 2, 3; praecellere 2. 43, 7; praeiacere 12. 36, 4; praeminere 3. 56, 2, etc. His chief characteristic in this respect is the number of verbs so used by him. On the general usage, see Roby 1121, Zumpt 387, note.

(*d*) The *Graecism*, introduced by Vergil and occasionally found in prose from Sallust, of an accusative of the object after middle and passive verbs, generally confined to induor and similar verbs, is used by Tacitus with more latitude, e. g. falsa exterritus 4. 28, 4 (MS.); arguitur pleraque, ... quae revincebatur 6. 5, 1, 2. This must be carefully distinguished from the usage above (§ 11); as 'indutus vestem' is a wholly different accus. from 'indutus humeros.' See Roby 1126, 1127, Kennedy 123.

13. **The poetical or Greek adverbial accusative of a neuter adjective** is adopted, as falsum renidens 4. 60, 3. To this head belong several of the adverbial adjectives noted above (§ 5). This construction is akin to that noted above (§ 12 *d*); as is also the quasi-cognate accus. with vincere 12. 60, 5, and pervincere 14. 14, 3. Dr. § 41, Roby 1096, 1100, Kennedy 122, 5.

14. **Other adverbial accusatives**, such as id aetatis, id temporis

(both in Cicero), are adopted, and similar new expressions added, as id auctoritatis 12. 18, 1; idem aetatis 13. 16, 1. Also the day of the month is put in the accus., 6. 25, 5; 50, 6, etc. Dr. § 44, Roby 1092, Kennedy 123, 4.

B. DATIVE.

15. **The dative of indirect object**, with implied local relation (literal or figurative), where the abl. with prep. would be more usual (Roby 1144), is adopted chiefly from poets and Livy. Among verbs with which it is used are abstrahere 2. 5, 1, etc.; excusari 1. 12, 3, etc.; eximere 1. 48, 2, etc.; extrahere 6. 23, 5; proripere 4. 45, 4. Dr. (§ 46) refers other instances to this head (see 4. 72, 2; 13. 42, 4).

16. **The Greek attracted dative** (*βουλομένοις ἦν*), elsewhere restricted in Latin to volenti and volentibus, is extended to invitis aut cupientibus erat 1. 59, 1. Dr. § 48. The ordinary usage whereby, in expressions such as cui nomen est, the name itself is attracted to the case of the pronoun, is restricted by Tacitus to adjectives (as 1. 31, 2; 2. 8, 1, etc.): the nominative (as 1. 45, 1, etc.), or, rarely, the genitive (see note on 4. 59, 2), being used of substantives. (Nipp. on 2. 16.) Cp. Madv. 246, Obs. 2. 3.

17. **The 'dativus commodi'** is extended to such usages as sibi ... procubuisse 1. 59, 4; sibi ... firmabat 1. 71, 5; ut mihi informis, sic tibi magnifica 12. 37, 2; even non referre dedecori 15. 65, 2. Dr. § 49.

18. **The dative of the agent** is used, without restriction to the gerundive or to passive participles or adjectives in '-bilis' (Roby 1146), and without any notion of the interest of the agent (Madv. 250 a), in more than thirty places, e.g. sibi ... adspici 1. 17, 10; propinquis ... removeretur 2. 50, 4. Cp. 2. 57, 5; 3. 3, 3; 20, 3, etc. It is not easy always to distinguish this dative from such ablatives as are noted in § 27. Dr. § 51, Nipp. on 2. 50.

19. **The dative of a noun so closely connected with another that a genitive would be expected** (Roby 1154), frequent in poets, is also frequent in Livy, and still more in Tacitus; e.g. rector iuveni 1. 24, 3; paci firmator 2. 46, 6; and very many others. Dr. § 53.

20. **The dative of the thing as object,** often used with adjectives or participles, as promptus 1. 2, 1, etc.; intentus 1. 31, 2; facilis 2. 27, 2, etc.; appears to be an extension of the usage with persons. Madv. 247.

21. **The dative after compound verbs,** where accus. with prep. would be usual, is also poetical, as pectori adcreverat 1. 29, 1 (where see note); penatibus induxerit 5. 1, 3, etc.

22. **Dative of work contemplated.** Roby 1156, 1383.

(*a*) **Gerund.** Such expressions as restaurando sufficeret 3. 72, 4; testificando vulgabat 13. 11, 2 (cp. 15. 16, 2); appear to be extensions of the classical phrases solvendo esse, scribendo adesse. Dr. § 206.

(*b*) **Gerundive.** It is characteristic of Tacitus to employ this usage with increasing, and latterly with great frequency: only three instances being found in the minor works, and thirteen in the Histories, while it abounds in the Annals. It is used with more than twenty adjectives (see 1. 23, 5; 37, 1; 2. 57, 3, etc.), and much oftener with verbs; often so as to be fully equivalent to a final clause: e.g. with deligere 2. 4, 1, etc.; digredi 11. 32, 2; eximere 3. 22, 6; immittere 11. 1, 1; mittere 1. 60, 2, etc.; praemittere 15. 10, 6; venire 6. 43, 3, etc. Dr. § 206 B, Wölfflin (Phil. 25. 114), Madvig 415, Obs. 2. Compare the genitive below, § 37.

(*c*) Apparently by an extension of such an usage as 'receptui canere,' a *simple dative* is used with transitive or often with intransitive verbs, *with the force of a final clause;* as morti deposcit 1. 23, 6; incessit itineri et praelio 1. 51, 4; factum est senatus-consultum ultioni iuxta et securitati 13. 32, 1. For other instances, see Dr. § 52, Nipp. on 1. 51.

23. **The dative expressing that which a thing** (or **person**) **serves as or occasions,** or **predicative dative** (Roby 1158), most frequent in the case of forms in '-ui,' and especially used with the verb esse, is common in Tacitus. Roby has collected (Pref. xxv–lvi) a list of about 180 words so used by writers not later than Suetonius, of which thirty-eight are used by Tacitus, about five by him alone. It is still more characteristic, that out of only eleven instances collected of the use of such a dat. in apposition, eight are from Tacitus, who thus uses usui and ostentui twice (Ann. 11. 14, 5; H. 3. 20, 6; Ann. 12. 14, 6; H. 1. 78, 1), and dehonestamento, documento, obtentui, subsidio once each (12. 14, 6; 15. 27, 2; H. 2. 14, 6; 12. 29, 2). On the distinction between this dat. and that in § 22, see Roby l. l.

## C. Ablative.

24. **The ablative of place whence,** which, as used of countries or large islands (Roby 1258), is not unclassical (though styled a solecism in

Quintilian 1. 5, 38) in the case of Latinized Greek names in '-us' (cp. § 10; and Nipp on 2. 69, 1), is used more freely by Tacitus than by any other writer; e.g. Armenia 1. 3, 3; Etruria Lucania et omni Italia 11. 24, 2; Suria 13. 35, 2, etc. A similar abl. of common names is used, without the ordinary restriction to domo, rure, humo (Madv. 275), as fuga impediverat 1. 39, 6; progrediuntur contuberniis 1. 41, 2, etc.; often by exerting the force of a prep. in composition, as in the extension of the usual phrase abire magistratu to abire sedibus 2. 19, 2; and in the abl. with abhorrere 1. 54, 3; effundere 2. 23, 2; emergere 1. 65, 2; eruere 2. 69, 5; extrahere 1. 39, 4, etc. Analogous is the abl. with recens 1. 41, 5, etc. Dr. § 56.

25. **The ablative of place at which** (Roby 1170) is used with the same freedom as in poetry (Id. 1173, Madv. 273, Obs. 2, Kennedy 155, 2), whether as expressing direction, in a quasi-instrumental sense analogous to 'via,' as porta triumphali 1. 8, 4; finibus Frisiorum 1. 60, 2; litore Oceani 1. 63, 5; or, much oftener, position, as structis molibus 2. 60, 4; toro 3. 5, 6; saxis et aere 4. 43, 2; campo aut litore 4. 74. 6, etc.; also with neut. adjectives, as medio 2. 52, 6, etc.; plano H. 3. 19, 3; vicino Id. 38, 2, etc. often with a genit. following. Dr. § 57. Many instances are collected by Nipp. on 1. 60; 2. 52; 3. 61.

26. **The ablative of time throughout which,** almost wholly post-Augustan (Roby 1184, 1185), is found not only in such expressions as quatuordecim annis 1. 53, 6 (Cic.); but also such as triumviratu 3. 28, 3; bellis civilibus 6. 11, 3; triumphis, votis 15. 45, 2. On the other hand, Tacitus often uses 'in' to express time when, or in the course of which (Roby 1180, 1182), as tali in tempore 2. 84, 3; eo in tempore 11. 29, 1, etc., whence later authors (as Lact.) even say 'in hieme,' 'in aestate.' Dr. § 58, Zumpt 596.

27. The extension of **the instrumental ablative** to personal agents, though poetical in its free use, is not without classical precedents, as centurione comitatus (Cic.) 14. 8, 5; cp. legionibus petitum 2. 46, 2; corruptoribus tentare 2. 79, 4; Artabano perculsus 6. 44, 3; and other instances in which the personality is not prominent. See Nipp. on 2. 79; 6. 44. Such ablatives might often be taken as datives (see § 18). Dr. § 59.

28. **The ablative of manner** is employed with unusual boldness, without the addition of an adjective (Roby 1236, 1239), as spe vel dolore 1. 59, 1; clamore et impetu 1. 68, 4; ordinibus ac subsidiis 2. 80, 6; catervis 4. 51, 1; multis millibus 6. 37, 4; convivio 13. 20, 5, etc. Some

instances in which a single word has the force of an abl. abs. are thus explained, as visu 3. 14, 3, etc. (see Nipp. on 4. 51, 1). In some instances, as leviore flagitio 1. 18, 5, such an abl. is a condensed sentence. Dr. § 60.

29. The use of **the ablative of quality** (as of the corresponding genit. see § 34) of persons, without the addition of a common name (see Madv. 287, Obs. 3), rare in Caesar, Cicero, and Livy, is common in Tacitus; as artibus egregiis 1. 13, 1, etc. Cp. 1. 19, 2; 4. 29, 1; 6. 48, 7; 16. 18, 1. Often it expresses any circumstance attaching to a person or thing, as legionariis armis 3. 43, 2; mercennario milite 6. 34, 5; profectio arto comitatu 4. 58, 1; testamentum multo rumore 3. 76, 2. Sometimes the adj. is represented by a genit., as mariti animo 1. 57, 5; pacis artibus H. 1. 8, 2. Dr. § 61. See Nipp. on 3. 43; 76; Joh. Müller, Beitr. 4. 39 foll.

30. **The causal ablative** is used rarely in the Histories, often in the Annals, in cases where the use of a prep. or of a genit. with 'causa' or 'gratia' would be expected; both of subjective motives, as iactantia gloriaque 1. 8, 2; caritate aut reip. cura 1. 10, 6; conscientia 1. 57, 2 (cp. 1. 76, 6; 3. 44, 4); and also of objective causes, as dissensione ordinum 3. 27, 2; defectione 12. 10, 1; fervore 13. 16, 3; cohortationibus 14. 30, 3. See notes on 2. 75, 1; 3. 24, 5 (and Nipp. there). Dr. § 64, Roby 1228, Madv. 256, Obs. 2, Zumpt 454.

31. Some characteristic uses of **the ablative of attendant circumstances**, or **ablative absolute**, are to be noted.

(*a*) *The use of a participle in this case as predicate, with a sentence as subject* (Roby 1252). This usage, very rare before Livy, occurs never in the minor writings of Tacitus, only six times in the Histories, but repeatedly in the Annals. Among the participles which Tacitus appears to be the first so to use are addito 1. 35, 6; adiecto 4. 70, 7; credito 3. 14, 4; intellecto 1. 49, 3; pensitato 3. 52, 4; 12. 17, 3 (only); quaesito 2. 9, 1; 6. 15, 1 (only); repetito 3. 33, 1 (ἅπ. εἰρ.), etc. Dr. § 213.

(*b*) *The neuter adjectives similarly used*, as periculoso 1. 6, 6; libero 3. 60, 6, are probably to be taken, with Bötticher, as following the Greek usage with the (not always expressed) participle of εἰμί: thus iuxta periculoso = ὁμοίως ἐπικινδύνου (ὄντος).

(*c*) *An adjective or participle often stands concisely in this case by itself, when the subject has been recently expressed*, as cohibita 3. 33, 1; concedente 6. 16, 5; invalido 6. 47, 4; or even when a subject, whether definite or indefinite, can be supplied from the sense, as orantibus 1. 29,

2; requirentibus H. 1. 27, 3, etc.; such instances are not always clearly distinguishable from datives; but are found also in Caesar and Livy. Dr. § 212 a, b, Nipp. on 1. 29; 5. 10.

(*d*) *The transitive use, in this case, of deponent participles*, as secutus 6. 17, 4; 11. 25, 1; ausus 12. 32, 2; adgressus 13. 43, 8, is analogous to the use of omnia pollicito in Sallust, Jug. 103, 7, and gratum elocuta in Hor. Od. 3. 3, 17. Dr. § 212 c, Wölfflin (Phil. 26. 134).

## D. Genitive.

**32. Partitive or quasi-partitive.** The abundance of such genitives is characteristic of Tacitus, as also the frequency with which the partitive idea is almost or altogether lost sight of, and the genit. equivalent to a simple adj. as in poetry. Cp. strata viarum (Lucr. and Verg.).

(*a*) *After neuter singular*, without the usual restriction to an adj. or pron. in the nom. or accus. (Roby 1226): thus umido, lubrico paludum 1. 61, 2; 65, 6. The use of such a gen. after an adj. or pron. governed by a preposition is especially rare (Madv. 285, Obs. 1.), as in prominenti litoris 1. 53, 7; post multum vulnerum 12. 56, 5. Dr. 66 a, b.

(*b*) *After neuter plural*, still more frequent: as cuncta curarum 3. 35, 1; tacita suspicionum 4. 41, 1; simulationum falsa 6. 45, 6, etc. Dr. (66 b) gives a full list of words so used; cp. Madv. 284, Obs. 5, Kennedy 172, 8.

(*c*) Also very common *after masculine or feminine*, as with pauci, multi, alii, etc., and in such expressions as quinque consularium 3. 28, 6; leves cohortium 3. 39, 1; cunctis civium 11. 22, 4. See the full list given by Nipp. on 3. 39.

(*d*) *With adverbs*. Tacitus adopts freely the extension of the Ciceronian usage with ubi, ubicunque, longe, eo, and huc: as eo furoris 1. 18, 2, etc.; huc adrogantiae 3. 73, 1, etc. Dr. (§ 67) notes with this the gen. after sponte 2. 59, 3, etc. (Luc. and Pl. mai.).

(*e*) *The genitivus appositionis* (Dr. § 74), as uligines paludum 1. 17, 5, though more properly to be styled a defining gen. (Madv. 286), is akin in meaning to those mentioned.

(*f*) The expression pensi habere (Dial. 29, 1; H. 1. 46, 4; Ann. 13. 15, 5), adopted from Sallust, Livy, and Quintilian, and perhaps misunderstood in its construction by Tacitus (Roby 1301), as also the phrase nihil reliqui facere (1. 21, 4), are referred to this head by Madvig (285, Obs. 2); by Dr. (§ 73) to the gen. (or locative, Roby 1186) of price.

**33. Objective Genitive** (Roby 1312).

(*a*) *The genitives* mei, sui, *etc., are used freely for the possessive pronoun, without the usual restriction to cases of special emphasis* (Madv. 297 b, Obs. 2), as nostri origine 2. 54, 3; sui incessu 4. 24, 2, etc. In this usage Tacitus is surpassed perhaps only by Apuleius. Dr. § 68 a.

(*b*) *With verbs, such a genitive is used, by Tacitus alone*, with monere 1. 67, 1 (as in classical prose with its compounds); with adipisci 3. 55, 1; and apisci 6. 45, 6 (on the analogy of potiri). The use with egere (4. 20, 4, etc.) and indigere (6. 46, 9, etc.) is more common. Dr. § 68 b.

(*c*) *The elliptical genitive*, so constant with verbs of judging or accusing, *is extended by Tacitus to some new examples*, as postulare 1. 74, 1, etc.; deferre 4. 42, 3, etc.; urgere (ἅπ. εἰρ.) 6. 29, 3. Dr. § 69.

(*d*) *With participles.* This usage is more common in Tacitus than in any of his predecessors, though perhaps no participle is first so used by him. A list of thirteen is given by Dr. (§ 70), many of which occur frequently, as cupiens 1. 75, 4, etc.; inpatiens 2. 64, 4, etc.; intolerans 1. 31, 4, etc.; retinens 2. 38, 9, etc.; sciens 1. 64, 6, etc.; and others.

(*e*) *With adjectives*, also characteristic of Tacitus from its extreme frequency. Dr. § 71, Zumpt 437.

(*α*) Expressing direct object, like the participles above (*d*), where a participle with accus. might be substituted (Roby 1312): as with formidolosior 1. 62, 3; pavidus 4. 38, 1; praescius 6. 21, 5; providus, 4. 38, 1, etc.

(*β*) Expressing a remoter object, where the abl. with prep. would be usual (Roby 1318): so ambiguus imperandi 1. 7, 4; exitii certus 1. 27, 3; incerta ultionis 2. 75, 1; potentiae securus 3. 28, 3; and many others.

(*γ*) Expressing the thing in point of which a term is applied to a person; an especially poetical and Tacitean usage (Roby 1320). A very frequent example is the (perhaps) locative animi (Roby 1168), as 1. 32, 5; 69, 2, etc. (often also in Verg. and Liv.); also the genitives with manifestus 2. 85, 3, etc.; melior 3. 74, 1; modicus 2. 73, 3; occultus 4. 7, 2; pervicax 4. 53, 1; praeclarus 4. 34, 4; praestantissimus 6. 6, 2; spernendus 14. 40, 3; validus, 4. 21, 5; vetus 1. 20, 2; and others. Sometimes two genitives are concisely used where accusatives with inter would be expected, as with ambiguus 2. 24, 6; 40, 2; and trepidus 6. 21, 4.

**34. The genitive of quality** is used with the same brachylogy as the corresponding abl. (§ 29): so Lentulus senectutis extremae 4. 29, 1; velut eluctantium verborum 4. 31, 4; effusae clementiae 6. 30, 3;

ademptae virilitatis 6. 31, 3. Such brachylogy is also found in Caesar and Livy. Dr. § 72.

35. Such genitives as morum 1. 80, 2; flagitii 3. 20, 2; sui muneris 15. 52, 4 (Nipp. on 3. 20); also concise uses of the gen. of sort, as Vannius gentis Quadorum 2. 63, 7 (where see Nipp.); may be taken as qualitative, or may be referred to the class noted in § 32.

36. **The elliptical genitive of the gerund** is an idiom apparently without real parallel in any other author. The only instances are in the later books of the Annals: nec grave ... retinendi 13. 26, 4; penitus infixum erat ... vitandi 15. 5, 3; maneat ... potentiam ... ostentandi 15. 21, 3. The gerund qualifies the substantival notion of a burden (implied in 'grave') or a custom (implied in 'fixum' or 'maneat'). Dr. § 204, Kennedy 185.

37. **The gerundive genitive** (see the corresponding dat. § 22 b) is used more frequently by Tacitus than by any other writer, and, in its most remarkable forms, is especially characteristic of the Annals (Wölfflin, Phil. 25. 113). The usages may be thus classified:—

(*a*) *In its simplest form, it is part of an ordinary defining genitive:* the expressions 'oratores pacis' and 'oratores pacis petendae' being equivalent (see Roby, Pref. lxvii).

(*b*) *The gerundive* becomes a more essential part of the expression, and, with the noun, *has the force of a genitive of quality:* as bellum abolendae infamiae 1. 3, 6; pecunia omittendae delationis 6. 30, 1. Cp. 3. 27, 1, etc.

(*c*) The expression above might be *used predicatively* with 'esse' expressed (Liv.) or implied (Sall. Jug. 88, 4), or with 'videri,' as quae conciliandae misericordiae videbantur 11. 3, 1.

(*d*) *The genitive qualifies the whole sentence* (Roby 1288), as Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis 2. 59, 1. Cp. 3. 9, 2; 41, 4; 13. 11, 2, etc. This usage, though found in Terence, Sallust, and Velleius, is distinctly Tacitean by reason of its comparative rarity both before and after him. It may be best taken as a Graecism, like τὸ ληστικὸν καθήρει, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ (Thuc. 1. 4). Wölfflin would supply the idea of a substantive, as 'proficiscitur, quod (sc. proficisci) cognoscendae antiquitatis erat.' Nipp. (on 2. 59) gives, from Em. Hoffmann, a somewhat different classification of these usages. The gerundial gen. is rarely thus used, as in 3. 27, 2.

## III. *Verbs.*

38. (*a*) *Verbs of speaking or thinking are omitted more freely than by classical writers* (see Madv. 479), when the language clearly shows itself to be that of a speech, or when the thought or speech has been indicated in the context: as 1. 9, 4; 38, 3; 2. 5, 3, etc.; also especially in lively descriptions, as 1. 41, 2; 14. 6, 2, etc. Dr. § 34, Nipp. on 1. 9, Roby 1441.

(*b*) *Verbs of moving and acting are also often omitted*, especially in vivid description or rhetorical passages, as in 1. 43, 1; 4. 38, 5; 14. 8, 4, etc. Verbs of moving are frequently omitted in Cicero's letters, but such ellipses are rare in historical narrative. Dr. § 35, Nipp. on 4. 57.

In several instances belonging to (*a*) or (*b*), the reading is questioned. See notes on 4. 12, 6; 57, 1; 14. 61, 3, etc.

39. *Some omissions of parts of the verb 'esse'* are characteristic of Tacitus by their frequency. Dr. § 36. For the general rules, see Roby 1442–1444. (In several places, some editors insert the verb.)

(*a*) *In the indicative*, the omission of 'erat,' 'erant,' etc., as 3. 65, 2; 6. 35, 2, etc. (rare in Cicero, more common in Sallust and Livy, still more in Vergil), especially the omission in relative or dependent clauses, as in cuius manu 1. 7, 9; and with ubi 2. 83, 3 (Sallust); donec 4. 74, 6; ut quis 1. 69, 2, etc. See Wölfflin (Bursian's 'Jahresberichte,' iii. 759.).

(*b*) *In the subjunctive*, the omission when another subjunctive follows, as 1. 9, 1; 35, 1; 65, 1, etc.; once only without it 1. 7, 2; also in indirect speech, as 1. 11, 2; 4. 39, 4; 13. 55, 5. A few instances occur in Cicero, etc.

(*c*) *In the infinitive*, the omission of 'fore,' as in 2. 15, 3; and of 'fuisse,' with participles, as in 2. 31, 4; 73, 4; 3. 16, 1; 17, 1; 22, 6, etc.; when the context makes it plain what tense is meant. A few instances occur in Sallust and Livy.

40. **The poetical use of simple verbs for compound**, occasional in earlier prose, is rare in the minor works, not common in the Histories, but abundant in the Annals. Dr. (§ 25) instances thirty-nine; of which, in Book I alone, may be noted ardescere 73, 1; asperare 72, 5; firmare 71, 5; gravescere 5, 1; notescere 73, 3; piare 42, 2; ponere (=proponere) 7, 5; solari 14, 4.

41. **The intransitive use of verbs usually transitive**, as flectere 1. 34, 5, etc.; mutare 2. 23, 4; rumpere 2. 17, 6; vertere 1. 18, 3, etc.; circumfundere 3. 46, 5, etc., is rather more common than in earlier prose.

42. **Some passive uses are more or less peculiar.** Dr. § 26.

(*a*) *The poetical personal passive of intransitive verbs*, as triumphari 12. 19, 3; regnari 13. 54, 2; dubitari 14. 7, 1.

(*b*) Coepi *is used freely not only with passives having a middle force* (as fieri, haberi, duci, augeri, moveri), *but without such restriction*, as 1. 34, 2; 4. 63, 1, etc. (so Livy and Curtius); so also desino, as 1. 13, 6. Tacitus also uses coeptus actively, as in 1. 65, 3, etc., and never uses the passive form coeptus sum.

(*c*) *Some rare or poetical passive uses of deponent participle forms*, as ausus 3. 67, 4 (ἅπ. εἰρ.); the substantival ausum 2. 39, 3, etc.; and inausum 1. 42, 3; and the adjective inexpertus 1. 59, 7, etc.

## IV. *Moods and Tenses.*

### A. Infinitive.

43. **The simple infinitive** (inf. of direct object, Roby 1344) is often used by Tacitus, as by other prose writers of that age and earlier poets, with verbs not usually taking this construction in classical prose; such as those which contain a complete idea in themselves, or which figuratively denote an inclination or effort (Madv. 389, Obs. 2), or such as denote an influence over others and take an accus. or dat. (Id. 390, Obs. 4. 5. 6). Dr. (§ 145) gives a list of more than fifty such words so used by Tacitus, of which the great majority are restricted to the Annals. In respect of the following, the usage is altogether confined to him: aemulor H. 2. 62, 4 (ἅπ. εἰρ.); ambio Ann. 2. 43, 3; amplector H. 3. 84, 3; compono Ann. 3. 40, 3 (ἅπ. εἰρ.); induco 12. 9, 1 (ἅπ. εἰρ.); inlicio 2. 37, 2; 4. 12, 7; nuntio (to command by messenger) 16. 11, 1 (ἅπ. εἰρ.); perpello 6. 33, 1, etc.; scribo (to command by letter) 12. 29, 2; 15. 25, 6. Several others appear to be so used in no earlier prose author.

44. **The accusative with infinitive** (inf., as oblique predicate, Roby 1351) is used, with considerably more freedom than that of earlier writers, with verbs more or less analogous to those falling under the usual rules (see Madv. 394, etc., Roby l. l.). Peculiar to Tacitus is the extension of this construction to adnectere 4. 28, 2; dedignari 12. 37, 1; illacrymare 2. 71, 4; impetrare 12. 27, 1; urgere 11. 26, 1; also to some verbs of accusing, as accusare 14. 18, 1; incusare 3. 38, 4 (all ἅπ. εἰρ.). Of the whole list of more than twenty given by Dr. (§ 146) by far the larger number are from the Annals. Tacitus follows Livy in extending this construction to negative expressions of doubt, as 2. 26, 2; 36, 2; 43, 4; 3. 29, 2; 4. 70, 7, etc., with which it is used only once by Cicero (ad Fam. 16. 21, 2),

never by Caesar or Sallust. On the Graecism by which it is used in a hypothetical clause in oratio obliqua, see notes on 2. 33, 5. For other remarkable uses of this construction, see notes on 1. 69, 1; 72, 2; 79, 2.

45. **The so-called nominative with infinitive** (inf. as direct secondary predicate, Roby 1353) is used in some cases where the impersonal construction would be usual in classical prose. See Madv. 400 c, Obs., Zumpt 607, note. Among such may be instanced this construction with adnotor 13. 35, 6; dubitor 3. 8, 4; speror H. 2. 74, 3; and with tenses compounded of the past participle, as creditus est 6. 50, 6; 14. 65, 1, etc. On the other hand, we have also the impersonal forms creditur 2. 69, 5, etc.; traditur 4. 57, 4; narratur G. 33, 1; and others. Tacitus appears to prefer the personal construction where a single personal subject is spoken of, and the impersonal in other cases, but even this rule is by no means without exceptions. The personal construction is used generally with verbs of accusing (see § 44), as with accusor 4. 22, 4; arguor 2. 50, 3; convincor 4. 31, 5; deferor 2. 27, 1; incusor 6. 3, 3. Dr. § 152 a, Nipp. on 2. 69; 3. 8; 6. 50.

46. **The Historic infinitive** (inf. as primary predicate to a subject in the nominative, Roby 1359) is naturally frequent in lively descriptions.

(*a*) *In place of the principal verb*, e.g. six times in 1. 16, ten times in Agr. 38. Even this is surpassed by Sallust, Jug. 66, 1, where it occurs eleven times; and by Apuleius, Met. 8. 7, where it occurs twelve times in one period. Tacitus has it also in the passive, as vitari, deseri 4. 69, 6; 70, 4. Dr. § 28 d.

(*b*) *In temporal clauses*, when the time at which a state of things began has been already specified by a finite verb (Madv. 392): thus with cum 2. 31, 1; 40, 1; 4. 50, 5; 6. 44, 3; with ubi 6. 19, 4; with donec 13. 57, 6. This usage is found, but very rarely, in Sallust (as Jug. 98, 1), and Livy (as 2. 27, 1). See Dr. § 172 a.

(*c*) *Tacitus alone uses it with such particles in the first clause of a protasis; but only when a clause with a finite verb depending on the same particle follows;* thus with ubi 2. 4, 4; 11. 37, 3; 12. 51, 2 (MS.); with postquam 3. 26, 3; with ut H. 3. 31, 6. Dr. § 172 b, Nipp. on 2. 4.

47. **The epexegetic infinitive** (or inf. as genit., or ablat., or adverbial accus.) is used as by poets, where gerund, or gerundive, or other construction, would be used in classical prose (see Roby 1360, 1361). It is so used by Tacitus with several adjectives or participles; as with

certus 4. 57, 1; properus 4. 52, 2 (ἅπ. εἰρ.); manifestus 2. 57, 4; factus . . . et exercitus 14. 56, 5. Among earlier writers, Horace most frequently uses this Graecism. Dr. §. 152 b, Roby 1361, Kennedy 180, 2.

## B. Indicative and its Tenses.

48. **The Historic present** is extremely frequent. It is so far treated as a past tense as to be once coupled with the perfect, H. 3. 16, 4 miscetur intulitque; and to be coupled with an imperfect in a dependent clause, as nihil reliqui faciunt quominus . . . permoverent 1. 21, 4; especially (as in Cicero, etc.) when such a clause precedes it, as ut omitteret maritum, emercatur 13. 44, 1. Dr. § 27 c.

49. Tacitus carries much further the usage, very rare before Livy, of **interposing, in the midst of 'oratio obliqua,' a parenthetical or explanatory relative clause in the indicative.** Parenthetical clauses are found chiefly with dum, as 2. 81, 3; 13. 15, 7; 14. 58, 4; 15. 45, 6; 59, 6, etc.; also with quia 3. 6, 5; 4. 25, 1, etc.; with sive 1. 10, 1; with postquam 4. 10, 3; with quotiens 14. 64, 5. Among the relative clauses are qui fecere 1. 10, 1; quae petiverant 1. 36, 4; quae expresserant 1. 39, 3; and many others. Dr. § 151, Nipp. on 1. 10. On other parentheses see § 80, and on other changes from 'obliqua' to 'recta oratio,' see § 94.

50. **The rhetorical use of the indicative for subjunctive** in the apodosis of conditional sentences, when the leading proposition is conceived as independent of the condition (see Madv. 348, Zumpt 519), is remarkable in Tacitus for its frequency.

(*a*) *In the perfect or historical present*, with suppression or contraction of the proper apodosis, as bellum . . . mandat, ni deditionem properavissent 2. 22, 3 (as though 'et bellum iis illatum esset' had been added). Cp. 16. 28, 3; H. 1. 64, 4; Agr. 4, 1. Dr. § 199.

(*b*) *In the imperfect.*

(1) Of an incomplete action or tendency, to show vividly what was on the point of happening; the protasis almost invariably (an exception is noted in 1. 23, 3) following the apodosis, and being almost invariably introduced by 'ni,' as ferrum parabant, ni 1. 23, 6; deferebat . . . , ni 35, 5; trudebantur . . . , ni 63, 3; and very many others. Dr. § 194, Roby 1574. An ellipsis may be supposed here as in the case above.

(2) To express what might, would, or should have been, in forcible contrast to what actually is; as si . . . aspernaretur, tamen

indignum erat 1. 42, 5 (where see Nipp.). Roby 1535 c, Madv. 348 e. Here the protasis always precedes, except in H. 4. 19, 4.

(*c*) *In the pluperfect.* Either to express a state of things which had already existed for some time, and would have continued to exist; or, in a vein of rhetorical exaggeration, as if what would have happened, had happened; as impleverat 4. 9, 1; contremuerant 6. 9, 6; oppressa 6. 43, 1; exstimulaverant 15. 50, 6. Also, without any expressed protasis, to express what is no longer possible, as malueram 15. 2, 3. Dr. § 28, 194, Madv. 348 c, Roby 1535 d, 1574, 4.

### C. Subjunctive or Conjunctive.

51. **The Hypothetical subjunctive, with condition not formally expressed, or Potential subjunctive** (Madv. 350, Roby 1534, foll.), as well as some forms of the optative or jussive subjunct. (Zumpt 529, Roby 1584, foll.), are used with characteristic freedom in various tenses, and with various meanings.

(*a*) *Present,* as mereare . . . recipias 1. 28, 7, etc.

(*b*) *Imperfect,* as discerneres 3. 1, 5; requireres 13. 3, 6, etc.

(*c*) *Aoristic perfect,* very frequently, in modest assertions, and in negations of possibility, as with suffecerint 3. 50, 1; abnuerit 4. 3, 3; adpulerit 4. 67, 2, etc.; in expressions of prohibition even with the third person, as nemo ... contenderit 4. 32, 1. See a full list in Dr. § 28, who notes the rare use of this tense in such dependent sentences as ut sic dixerim 14. 53, 4; ne . . . abierim 6. 22, 6 (where see note).

(*d*) With these may be mentioned *the use of this mood with quamquam,* frequent in Tacitus (e. g. 1. 3, 5; 24, 4; 3. 55, 4; 4. 67, 1, etc.), as in other post-Ciceronian prose and in poetry. Dr. § 201, Roby 1697.

52. **The subjunctive of cases frequently occurring**, very rarely found in Cicero, Caesar, or Sallust, but oftener in Livy, etc., becomes more common in and after Tacitus (see Dr. § 159, 165, Madv. 359, Roby 1716): with cum, as 1. 7, 8; 2. 48, 2; qui 6. 8, 4; quo 4. 70, 3; quoquo 3. 74, 3; quoties 2. 2, 5, etc.; seu 4. 60, 3, etc.; ubi 1. 44, 8; ut quis 1. 27, 1, etc.; and many others. See Dr. l. l. and § 192, Nipp. on 1. 44; 3. 74.

Analogous probably to this usage is that of the subjunct. with quantum, apparently peculiar to Tacitus, and found only in 6. 19, 5; 21, 4; 13. 42, 1. Dr. § 159, Nipp. on 6. 19.

53. Tacitus follows Livy and others in **using the subjunctive of facts with donec, both in the present and imperfect tenses**, as

donec . . . misceatur 2. 6, 5; donec . . . deterrerentur 1. 1, 4; oraret 1. 13, 7; dederetur 1. 32, 4, etc. Roby 1670, Dr. §. 169. For a complete list of passages, see Gerber and Greef, Lex. s. v. The subjunct. is also used to denote a fact, with quamvis, as 1. 68, 7; 2. 38, 10; 11. 20, 3, etc.; as also very often in Suetonius and later writers. Dr. § 201.

## V. *Participles.*

On the usage of the ablative absolute of participles, see § 31; on the genitive with participles, § 33; and on the frequency of participial clauses, § 81.

54. The frequent **concise expressions by means of participles** are noteworthy.

(*a*) *Aoristic present*, as trucidantium . . . exturbantium 2. 2, 4; accusante 6. 18, 2, etc.; hortante 6. 29, 7; cognoscens 12. 48, 1; and others. A few instances are found in Sallust, Livy, Vergil: also in Greek, as ἐπαγομένοις Thuc. 2. 2, 5; λαμβάνοντες Xen. Hell. 2. 4, 25. Dr. § 207.

(*b*) *Aoristic perfect*, not only, as in classical prose, of deponents, but also of passive verbs, as occisis 1. 77, 1; missis 4. 55, 7; deusto 4. 64, 1; spoliatis 15. 45, 2; and others. Dr. § 209.

(*c*) In 3. 13, 2, convictum and defensum are used with the force of condensed conditional clauses.

(*d*) *The future participle* is constantly used to express purpose, as invasurus 1. 36, 2; certaturus 1. 45, 3; adfuturus 2. 17, 1, etc. The dat. or abl. absol. of this part. has still more distinctly the force of a condensed clause, as tracturis 1. 31, 1; cessuris 1. 46, 3; pugnaturis 2. 80, 4, etc. This usage is not unfrequent in Livy and Plin. min. and abundant in Curtius. Dr. § 208, Roby 1115, 3, Zumpt 639, note.

55. **Participles are constantly used,** for brevity, **in place of abstract verbal substantives** or equivalent expressions, especially as subject of a verb.

(*a*) *Present*, rarely, as Agrippina . . . tegens 4. 12, 2; Caesar . . . accipiens 4. 34, 2. Dr. § 210, 1.

(*b*) *Perfect*, very frequently:

(1) Where an abstract noun followed by a genitive would be expected; as occisus Caesar 1. 8, 7; mutatus princeps 1. 16, 1; fama dediti Segestis . . . rapta uxor 1. 59, 1, 2; and very many others. This usage is mostly confined to Livy and other historians, and especially common in Tacitus. Dr. § 210, 2, Madv. 426, Roby 1410.

(2) In the neuter nominative, with or without a substantive,

where a sentence with quod would be expected. One or two such instances are found in Cicero, none in Caesar or Sallust. Livy has several such, as degeneratum, perlitatum, tentatum, etc. So Tacitus has nihil occultum 3. 9, 3; cuncta . . . composita 2. 57, 1, etc. For the part. may stand a substantive (as 1. 19, 5; 33, 6), adjective (as H. 3. 64, 1), or pronoun (as 6. 47, 4). Dr. § 211, Madv. 426, Obs. 1, Roby 1411, Nipp. on 3. 9; 6. 47.

## VI. *Prepositions.*

56. Many usages connected with these have been already noticed, such as their omission (§§ 5, 10, 12 c, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30), and the substitution of other expressions, where constructions with prepositions would be usual (§§ 15, 18, 20, 33 e, 37). On the anastrophe of preps., see § 78. See also Nipp. on 2. 68; and, for other usages not noticed in the following sections, see Dr. §§ 80–105.

57. **Apud** is used, never in the minor writings, rarely in the Histories, and very often in the Annals, with the names of places and countries, or, analogously, with general names, where a simple locative, or the ablative with *in*, would be usual, as apud urbem Nolam 1. 5, 5; Misenum apud et Ravennam 4. 5, 1; apud Rhodum 6. 20, 3; arae apud quas 1. 61, 5; apud paludes 1. 64, 3. A few instances are found in earlier prose. Dr. § 82, Roby 1858, Nipp. on 1, 5, Gerber and Greef, Lex. s.v.

58. **Circa** has the metaphorical meaning of 'concerning,' or 'in relation to;' as circa artes bonas 11. 15, 1; circa necem Gai Caesaris 11. 29, 1; circa scelera 16. 8, 3. This meaning appears to originate with Seneca and Pliny mai., and to be very frequent in Quintilian. Dr. § 86, Roby 1867.

59. **Erga** has the sense of 'against,' or 'in relation to,' as fastus erga ... epulas 2. 2, 5; erga Germanicum 2. 76, 3; fama erga ... exitus 4. 11, 3; anxii erga Seianum 4. 74, 5, etc. These uses are very rare before Tacitus, and very prominent in his works. Dr. § 98, Roby 1931, 1932. See the full list of instances in Gerber and Greef, s. v.

60. **In.**

(*a*) *With ablative*, often used with neuter adjectives, in adverbial phrases expressing circumstances attending an action or person; as in levi 3. 54, 6; in arto 4. 32, 3; and many others. Some such phrases are found in Cicero and Sallust, and many in Livy. Another use is noted 2. 41, 5. Dr. § 80 a; Roby 1975, 1976.

(*b*) *With accusative.* The most characteristic usage is that adopted chiefly from Sallust and from Greek usages with εἰς, ἐπί, or πρός, whereby this construction expresses the effect intended or resulting; as in the phrases in maius vulgare, credi, audiri, etc., 3. 12, 6; 44, 1; 4. 23, 2; aucta in deterius 2. 82, 1; in falsum 3. 56, 6. So also in incertum 1. 11, 4; in lacrimas 1. 57, 5; in speciem ac terrorem 2. 6, 3; in mortem 4. 45, 1; in eundem dolorem 6. 49, 3. Roby 1974, Nipp. on 2. 13. Also to be noted is the use of this construction with almost the force of a simple dat., as 1. 76, 5; 2. 39, 3; 48, 1; 4. 2, 1 (see notes in each instance); 9, 2; 12. 32, 4. For more isolated usages, see 1. 14, 3; 2. 47, 2; 80, 7; 4. 25, 2; 56, 2; 12. 6, 5; 25, 1. Dr. § 80 b.

61. **Juxta** is often used metaphorically, both as an adverb, in the sense of 'pariter,' as iuxta periculoso 1. 6, 6, etc. (Sall. and Liv.); and as a preposition, in the sense of 'next to,' or 'close upon,' as iuxta seditionem, iuxta libertatem 6. 13, 1; 42, 3 (a few instances in Sall. Liv. Pl. mai.). Dr. § 100, Roby 2014, 2016.

62. **Per.** The accus. with this prep. has constantly the force of a simpl. abl. or an abl. with ex or in, as per acies 1. 2, 1; per nomen 1. 17, 5; per superbiam 1. 61, 6; per ferociam 2. 17, 1; per occultum 4. 71, 7; per opes 6. 22, 4 (where see note). Hence it is often interchanged with such constructions, as in 1. 2, 1; 7, 10; 11, 7; 4. 55, 7, etc. See § 88. Dr. §§ 89, 105.

63. The following preps. are rare, and in no earlier prose:—

**Abusque** 13. 47, 2; 15. 37, 5 (Verg.).

**Adusque** 14. 58, 4 (Verg. Hor. Ov.).

**Simul** 3. 64, 3; 4. 55, 3; 6. 9, 5 (Hor. Ov. Sen. Trag. Sil.). Apparently a Graecism founded on the usage of ἅμα. Dr. § 101. Among various uses of preps. noted in their places, are those of ab 1. 26, 2; 3. 69, 2; ad 1. 40, 3; citra 12. 22, 3; de 1. 12, 5; 15, 3; ex 1. 24, 1; 29, 3; intra 3. 72, 5; penes 4. 16, 3; post 1. 68, 6; sub 3. 68, 1.

## VII. *Adverbs and Conjunctions.*

64. **Comparative sentences,** though always fully expressed in the minor writings, **are abbreviated,** not unfrequently in the Histories, and very often in the Annals; with but few precedents in Sallust and Livy.

(1) By supplying magis from a following quam (as in Greek μᾶλλον from ἤ), as pacem quam bellum 1. 58, 2; cp. 3. 17, 7; 5. 6, 5; 14. 61, 6.

(2) By the use of a positive, with quanto, in the relative

clause, without the addition of magis, as quanto inopina, tanto maiora 1. 68, 5. Cp. 1. 57, 1; 3. 5, 4; 46, 4; 4. 48, 5; 6. 21, 4; 45, 2; 12. 11, 2. Sometimes comparative and positive are joined, as 2. 5, 2; 3. 43, 1.

(3) By the omission of tanto in the apodosis, as quanto incautius efferverat, poenitentia patiens 1. 74, 7; cp. 1. 2, 1; 4. 69, 4; 6. 19, 5; 26, 3. In 3. 8, 1, tam is similarly omitted. The rule of Nipp. (on 1. 68, see also Roby 1205), that in all such cases the clause so marked is to be taken absolutely, seems hardly to be established. Dr. § 183.

With these usages may be compared the abbreviation of adversative sentences by using, after non modo, either sed without etiam, as 1. 60, 1, etc.; or etiam (or quoque) without sed, as 3. 19, 2; 4. 35, 1. This usage is found also in Livy. Dr. § 128.

65. **The omission of conjunctions** (asyndeton) is very frequent, either in lively narrative, as inserunt ... offerunt ... intendunt 1. 28, 5 (cp. 41, 4; 64, 1; 70, 4, etc.); or in enumerations, as senatus magistratuum legum 1. 2, 1; pellerent pellerentur 6. 35, 2 (cp. 1. 3, 5; 35, 1; 60, 3, etc.); or in summing up, as legiones provincias classes, cuncta 1. 9, 6 (cp. 1. 68, 7; 12. 65, 4, etc.); or to point a climax, as manu voce vulnere 2. 17, 5; sanie odore contactu 4. 49, 4; tempus preces satias 6. 38, 1, etc.; or an antithesis, as lacrimas gaudium questus adulationem 1. 7, 2 (cp. 4. 49, 3; 60, 3; 6. 19, 3; 15. 27, 4, etc.). Such asyndeta are more or less common in rhetorical writings, as in the orations of Cicero, in Sallust, Livy, etc. See Ritt. on 11. 6, Nipp. on 4. 43; 12. 19; and a full account in Dr. §§ 133–138.

66. Tacitus adopts from Livy, but employs oftener, **the concise Greek use of adverbs as attributive adjectives,** as circum 4. 55, 8, etc.; superne ... cominus 2. 20, 3, etc. Dr. § 23, Madv. 301 c, Obs. 2.

67. **The frequent use of tamquam, quasi, and velut, in expressions of the alleged or imagined reason or purpose of an act,** like that of ὡς with participles or prepositions (see L. and S. Lex. s. v. C. 1. 11), has been very fully analysed by Wölfflin and others (see below). It would appear that the distinctions which some have attempted to draw between the force of these words can hardly be sustained; that the question of reality or pretence is on the whole left open, though the latter view is not unfrequently suggested by tamquam, and still oftener by quasi or velut; and that the chief distinction between the two latter is that velut is preferred in the earlier writings, quasi in the Annals. On the use of tamquam, cp. 1. 12, 6; 2. 84, 3; 12. 39, 5; 13. 43, 8; 14.

41, 1, etc.; on that of quasi, 1. 35, 4; 6. 11, 5; 12. 47, 3; 52, 1; 13. 18, 3; 14. 65, 1, etc.; on that of velut, 6. 50, 4; 15. 53, 3; 16. 2, 1, etc. A similar use of ut may be noted in 1. 47, 5; 3. 74, 5; 12. 52, 1; 14. 8, 2. Dr. § 179, Wölfflin, Philol. 24. 115–123, Pfitzner 160–165.

68. Among various uses may be noted those of adeo non 3. 34, 3, etc.; adhuc 3. 26, 1, etc. (Dr. § 24): aeque quam 2. 52, 5, etc. (Dr. § 176); an (in indirect questions) 1. 5, 4; 2. 9, 1; 15. 16, 2 (Dr. § 153); aut 1. 55, 2, etc. (Dr. § 129); ceterum 1. 10, 1, etc. (Dr. § 21); dum (causal) 2. 88, 4, etc. (Dr. § 168); et (in negative clauses) 1. 4, 1; 70, 5, etc. (Dr. § 107); et (with simul in temporal clauses) 1. 65, 5, etc. (Dr. § 110); et alii (=alii...alii) 1. 63, 7, etc. (Dr. § 117); et nihil 1. 38, 4 (Nipp.); et...quoque 4. 7, 4 (Dr. § 121); impune (as predicate) 1. 72, 3, etc. (Dr. § 33); non saltem 3. 5, 5 (Dr. § 24); perinde 2. 88, 4, etc. (Nipp.); perinde quam 2. 1, 2, etc. (Dr. § 175); perinde quam si 1. 73, 5, etc. (Id.); quin 6. 22, 5; 12. 6, 2; 13. 14, 4; 14. 29, 1, etc. (Dr. § 186); quod 3. 54, 6 (Dr. § 141); quominus 1. 21, 4, etc. (Dr. § 187); quoque non 3. 54, 11 (Nipp. and Dr. § 122); si 1. 11, 5; 48, 1, etc. (Dr. §§ 191, 193); sive and seu 1. 6, 6; 2. 24, 6, etc. (Dr. § 129); ut (dep. on placitum, sino, subigo, etc.) 1. 36, 4; 43, 3; 2. 40, 5, etc. (Dr. § 142); ut (restrictive) 4. 62, 4; utcumque 2. 14, 4, etc. (Dr. § 24); vel (=aut) 14. 35, 5 (Dr. § 129).

## STYLE.

### I. *New Words or new Senses of Words.*

69. Even where he follows other writers, **Tacitus**, especially in the Annals, **constantly prefers unusual forms of diction,** e. g. claritudo and firmitudo to the forms in '-as;' cognomentum and levamentum to the forms in '-men;' medicamen, fragmen, tegumen to the forms in '-mentum' (see Wölfflin, Philol. 25, p. 99, 100). The same tendency leads him to innovate on his own account, and the following words in the Annals, many of which are ἅπ. εἰρ., appear to have been invented by him:—

(1) Verbal Substantives

(*a*) in *-tor*, *-sor*, and *-trix*, adcumulator 3. 30, 2; concertator 14. 29, 2; condemnator 4. 66, 1; cupitor 12. 7, 4, etc.: defector 1. 48, 1. etc.; detractor 11. 11, 6, etc.; exstimulator 3. 40, 1, etc.; patrator 14. 62, 3; profligator 16. 18, 1; regnatrix 1. 4, 4; sanctor 3. 26, 6; subversor 3. 28, 1. See Dr. § 6.

(*b*) in *-us* (genit. -us), aemulatus 13. 46, 6, etc.; distinctus 6. 28, 3; escensus 13. 39, 6; provisus (only abl.) 1. 27, 2, etc.; relatus 15. 22,

1, etc.; subvectus 15. 4, 4. Tacitus uses nearly 200 words of this form.

(*c*) in *-mentum*, imitamentum (only in Annals) 3. 5, 6, etc.; meditamentum 15. 35, 4, etc.; vimentum 12. 16, 3. More than sixty words of this form are found in Tacitus.

(2) Negative words formed with 'in,' incelebratus 6. 7, 6; inprosper 3. 24, 2, etc.; inreligiose 2. 50, 2; inreverentia 3. 31, 6 (see note); inturbidus 3. 52, 1, etc.

(3) Words with the prefix 'per' and 'prae,' peramoenus 4. 67, 3; perornare 16. 26, 3; perseverus 15. 48, 5; perstimulare 4. 12 7; pervigere 4. 34, 6; praecalidus 13. 16, 3; praegracilis 4. 57, 3; praerigescere 13. 35, 6; praeumbrare 14. 47, 1.

(4) Frequentative verbs, advectare 6. 13, 2; appellitare 4. 65, 1; auctitare 6. 16, 1. A general preference of such verbs to the simple forms is noticeable.

(5) Not classified, adulatorius 6. 32, 7; antehabere 1. 58, 6, etc.; adpugnare 2. 81, 1, etc.; binoctium 3. 71, 3; concaedes 1. 50, 2; delectabilis 12. 67, 1; deprecabundus 15. 53, 2; emercari (only in later books of Ann.) 12. 14, 1, etc.; genticus 3. 43, 3; 6. 33, 3; gladiatura 3. 43, 3; histrionalis 1. 16, 4, etc.; immunire 11. 19, 3; infensare (only in Annals) 6. 34, 1, etc.; libitum (subst.) 6. 1, 5, etc.; lucar 1. 77, 5; postscribere 3. 64, 2; prodigentia (only in Annals) 6. 14, 1, etc.; professorius 13. 14, 5; properato (adv.) 13. 1, 4; provivere 6. 25, 1; quinquiplicare 2. 36, 5; sacrificalis 2. 69, 3; sesquiplaga 15. 67, 8; superstagnare 1. 79, 2; superurgere 2. 23, 4. Dr. § 249, 2.

70. The following poetical words in the Annals appear to be first introduced by Tacitus into prose:—adolere (to kindle) 14. 30, 4 (Lucr. Verg.); ambedere 15. 5, 4 (Verg.); brevia (=shoals) 1. 70, 3; 6. 33, 5 (Verg. Lucr.); celerare 2. 5, 2, etc. (Lucr. Verg.); densere 2. 14, 4 (Lucr. Verg.); despectare 2. 43, 4 (Verg. Ov.); didere 11. 1, 2 (Lucr.) eburnus 2. 83, 2; 4. 26, 4 (Verg.); evincire 6. 42, 6, etc. (Verg. Ov.); exspes 6. 24, 3 (Hor. Ov.); honorus 1. 10, 7 etc. (Val. Fl. and Stat.); incustoditus 2. 12, 5 etc. (Ov. Mart.); indefessus 1. 64, 5 etc. (Verg. Ov.); insatiabiliter 4. 38, 6 (Lucr.); intemeratus 1. 42, 3 (Verg. Ov.); inviolabilis 3. 62, 1, etc. (Lucr. Verg.); lapsare 1. 65, 6 (Verg.); livere 13. 42, 4 (Ov. participle Verg.); mersare 15. 69, 3 (Lucr. Verg. Hor.); notescere 1. 73, 3, etc. (Cat. Prop.); prolicere 3. 73, 4 (Plaut. Ov.); properus 1. 65, 4, etc. (Verg. Ov. but only in Tac. with genitive or infinitive); provisor 12. 4, 1 (Hor.); reclinis 13. 16. 5, etc. (Ov. etc.); secundare 2. 24, 4 (Verg. etc.); sonor 1. 65, 1 (Lucr. Verg.); transmovere 13. 35, 2

(Ter. Mart.); trudis 3. 46, 6 (Verg.); valescere 2. 39, 5, etc. (Lucr.). Dr. § 249, 1.

71. The following words in the Annals, besides many of the metaphors noted below (§ 74), are used by Tacitus in a sense peculiar to himself: advertere (in aliquem=to punish) 2. 32, 5, etc.; amovere (to banish) 1. 53, 6, etc.; auraria (=aurifodina) 6. 19, 1; connexus (of relationship) 2. 50, 1; 4. 66, 2; gnarus (=notus) 1. 5, 4, etc.; proicere (to defer) 2. 36, 3; novissima (the extreme penalty) 6. 50, 8, etc.; repens (=recens) 6. 7, 4, etc. Dr. § 250.

72. The following are used in senses hitherto exclusively poetical:—cura (a written work) 3. 24, 4, etc. (Ov.); demissus (descended) 12. 58, 1 (Verg.); educere (to build up) 2. 61, 1, etc. (Verg.); evictus (prevailed upon) 4. 57, 5, etc. (Verg.); intentatus (untried) 1. 50, 3, etc. (Verg. Hor.); sistere (to build) 4. 37, 4, etc. (Sil.). See Dr. § 250, and full lists in Bötticher, Lex. Proleg. p. xlv., liii.

Besides these are to be borne in mind the very numerous syntactical usages introduced by Tacitus into literature, or into prose, mentioned in previous sections.

## II. *Rhetorical and Poetical Colouring*.

To this head really belong a great number of the words and usages already mentioned. The pathos of such passages as 6. 24, 2; 39, 2; 13. 17, 3, etc., should also be noted.

73. Tacitus often **adds emphasis by rhetorical repetition** (anaphora) of a word common to more than one member of a sentence, not only in speeches, but in narrative; as non 1. 1, 3; ad (three times) 1. 11, 5; ut 1. 62, 1; statim 2. 82, 7; illum 4. 15, 5; quos 4. 49, 4; and many others. Nouns are thus repeated, as miles 1. 7, 7; gravis 1. 10, 4, etc. Dr. § 240.

74. **Metaphors**. A full list and classification of these is given in Dr. § 248. Among the most characteristic are some of the metaphorical applications of verbs expressing

(1) Movement; so vergere is often applied to age or time, as 2. 43, 1; 4. 8, 5; 11. 4, 4; 13. 38, 7, etc.

(2) Clothing or stripping; so induere 1. 69, 2, etc.; exuere 1. 2, 1, etc. See note on 1. 69.

(3) Burning; as ardescere, of passions, 3. 17, 2; 54, 2; 11. 25, 8; 16. 29, 1, etc.; or of a sharpened dagger, as 15. 54, 1 (Lucan, and 'ardentes sagittae' Hor.).

(4) Breaking; as abrumpere 4. 50, 3; 60, 2; 16. 28, 6; perrumpere 3. 15, 4; 4. 40, 7; rumpere 1. 42, 4; 6. 20, 1, etc.

(5) Binding or entangling; as veneno illigare 6. 32, 3 (ἅπ. εἰρ.); innexus 6. 36, 5; consiliis permixtus 3. 38, 2.

(6) Revolution; as volvere (to ponder) 1. 64, 7; 3. 38, 2, etc.; revolvere 3. 18, 6; 4. 21, 2; provolvere (to dispossess) 6. 17, 4; and (to degrade) 14. 2. 4 (ἅπ. εἰρ.).

(7) Swallowing, etc.; as hauriri, not only of perishing by water, 1. 70, 4; 2. 8, 3, etc., but also by fire 3. 72, 4.

(8) Loosing; as exsolvere, of opening veins, 4. 22, 4, etc.; of raising a siege, 3. 39, 1; of simplifying legal intricacies, 3. 28, 6.

We may also note metaphorical senses of adjectives; as aestate adulta 2.23, 1 (cp. 11. 31, 4; 13. 36, 1); angusta et lubrica oratio 2. 87, 3; tumidi spiritus 4. 12, 7; also adverbs, as colles clementer assurgentes 13. 38, 5; and substantives, as moles 2. 78, 1, etc.; saevitia annonae 2. 87, 1; locorum fraus 12. 33, 2; locorum facies 14. 10, 5; modestia hiemis 12. 43, 3.

75. **Personification is implied** in many of the bold figures used; such as seditionis ora vocesque 1. 31, 5; vestigia morientis libertatis 1. 74, 6, etc. The Tiber is personified 1. 79, 4; lux 1. 70, 7; also frequently dies, e.g. 14. 41, 1; nox, e.g. 1. 28, 1; 2. 14, 1; 13. 17, 1; annus (as sometimes in Cic. and Liv.) very often, e.g. 1. 54, 1; 2. 53, 1; 4. 14, 1; 15, 1; 23, 1; 6. 45, 1, etc. Dr. § 257.

76. **Hendiadys**, or the coordination of two words, of which one, usually the second, defines the other like an adjective or genitive (see Madv. 481 a), appears to be used by Tacitus, after the example of poets (as Verg. G. 2. 192), more frequently than by earlier prose writers; and, though many of the examples usually cited (see Ruperti, Ind. iii.), are hardly genuine, many remain; e.g. tempus atque iter 2. 34, 6; famam et posteros 11. 6, 1; testamenta et orbos 13. 42, 7, etc. Dr. § 243.

77. **Anastrophe of prepositions**, though restricted to the usual limits (see Madv. 469) in the minor works, and rarely extended beyond them in the Histories, is used with more poetical freedom in the Annals, than in the work of any other prose author.

(1) After a substantive without an attribute; e.g. abusque 13. 47. 2, etc.; coram 1. 19, 3, etc.; extra 13. 47, 2; infra 11. 20, 4; inter 6. 41, 2, etc.; intra 3. 75, 4, etc.; iuxta 2. 41, 1, etc.; propter 4. 48, 1, etc.; super 16. 35, 2; sometimes even after a genit. as 3. 1, 1; 13. 15, 8; 14. 9, 3.

(2) Between two coordinated substantives; e.g. inter 4. 50, 2; 59, 2; 69, 2, etc. This and the above usage do not extend to monosyllabic preps.

(3) With substantive preceding and attribute following; e.g. ab 3. 10, 4; in 11. 3, 2; 12. 56, 1, etc.; intra 11. 36, 4.

(4) Between a substantive and dependent genitive; e.g. ab 4. 5, 4; ad 3. 72, 2, etc.; apud 6. 31, 4; inter 4. 16, 6, etc.

(5) Between two substantives in apposition; e.g. ab 2. 60, 1, etc.; apud 4. 43, 6; in 15. 53, 3.

(6) After two coordinated substantives; e.g. inter 1. 60, 5; coram 4. 8, 7, etc.; simul 4. 55, 3. Of these, all except (2) are confined to the Annals, and few instances occur in earlier prose. Dr. § 225, Wölfflin, Philol. 25, 115, Nipp. on 1. 60; 2. 60; 3. 1; 10; 72.

78. **Anastrophe of conjunctions** is also very common; among the stronger instances is the position of si as fourth word 14. 3, 3; ut as fifth 12. 49, 3; quasi as seventh 14. 52, 1; cum as tenth 1. 63, 6. But such instances, as well as those of anastrophe of adverbs, as adeo 13. 25, 1, etc., are not without classical precedent. Dr. § 227, 228.

79. **The occurrence of hexameter lines,** or **parts of such** in Tacitus requires notice chiefly because it has been noticed (Bötticher, Proleg. p. xcvi., Ruperti Ind. iii., Dr. § 255, Nipp. on 1. 1). Most of the instances are trivial (see the so-called hexameters in 3. 44, 4; 15. 9, 1; 73, 4; G. 18, 5; 32, 1; Agr. 10, 4); one only is noteworthy for its rhythm (auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacrum G. 39, 2), and one other for its position, as forming a complete period, and as the opening sentence of the Annals. The hexameter with which Livy begins is, as far as it goes, much more rhythmical, and he has many more such verses or parts of verses than Tacitus. No more can be proved, than that the ear of neither of these historians was so sensitive in avoidance of such cadences, as that of Cicero (see de Orat. 3. 47, 182; Orat. 56, 189) or Quintilian (see 9. 4, 72).

## III. *Influence of the Study of Brevity.*

80. **Ellipses, and similar abbreviated expressions.** By far the most important of these are found in syntactical usages already noticed, in a large proportion of which the desire of brevity of expression appears prominent; especially in the omission of verbs (§§ 38, 39); of prepositions (see references on § 56), and other particles (§§ 64, 65); in the fondness for concise constructions with the infinitive (§§ 42, 43, 44, 46); with gerund

and gerundive (§§ 22, 36, 37); with in and the accusative (§ 60 *b*); with nisi and ni (§ 50). A few other ellipses are noted by Dr. § 238, such as omissions of pars (4. 20, 3); annus (11. 11, 1); dies (4. 45, 4); lex (3. 25, 1); uxor (4. 11, 4); filia (12. 1, 3), etc.; many of which would be common in any approach to colloquial forms; as in comic poets and in the Letters of Cicero, as well as in inscriptions.

81. **The frequent use of participial clauses** tends to conciseness (see §§ 31, 54, 45), and is characteristic of Tacitus; as is illustrated by the comparison made by Dräger (§ 238) between simple narrative passages of the same length, in Caes. B. G. 2. 1–2; Sall. Jug. 6–7; Liv. 21. 5; and Ann. 2. 11–12; in which, respectively, the participial clauses are 5, 10, 16, and 24. Instances of such participial and also of adjectival clauses are given by Nipp. on 3. 55; 4. 64.

82. **Parentheses.** Besides the explanatory accusative already noticed (§ 12 *a*), Tacitus frequently has a parenthetical word or expression in apposition in the nominative, equivalent to a complete relative clause; as vix credibile dictu 1. 35, 6; mirum dictu 2. 17, 4; incertum is thus used by Livy, etc.; dubium by Ovid, etc.; rarum by Tacitus alone, and only in the Annals, 1. 39, 7; 56, 2; 6. 10, 3; 13. 2, 2. For more complete parenthetical sentences, see 4. 55, 6; 12. 42, 4; and for parentheses inserted in oratio obliqua, see § 49. Dr. § 139, Wölfflin, Philol. 26, 107, Nipp. on 1. 39.

83. **Zeugma**, or the reference to two objects of a verb strictly applicable only to the nearest, is also an effort at brevity, even with the risk of harshness; and is more common in Tacitus than in any other writer. See the use of redimi 1. 17, 6; probabam 1. 58, 2; permisit 2. 20, 2; appellans 2. 45, 4; intentarent 3. 36, 2; fore 6. 21, 5; nequibat 12. 64, 6; and very many others. Akin to this is the frequent use (by Syllepsis) of a noun exclusively masculine for persons of both sexes, as filii 11. 38, 3; fratres 12. 4, 2; privigni 4. 71, 7; pronepotes 5. 1, 4. Dr. § 239, 3, 4.

84. **Pregnant constructions;** many such have been mentioned under other heads (see references on § 80): to which may be added such expressions as ius legationis . . . miseratur 1. 39, 8; proruunt fossas 1. 68, 2; pericula polliceri 2. 40, 3; ad principem distulerant 3. 52, 3; iniurias largiri 3. 70, 3; permoveor . . . num 4. 57, 2, etc.; also pregnant meanings of words, as venenum 3. 22, 2; 4. 10, 2; aegritudo 2. 69, 4; senecta 11. 26, 2, etc. Dr. § 239, 2.

## IV. *The Study of Variety in Expression.*

85. Besides aiming at novelty through the introduction or adoption of unfamiliar words or senses of words (see §§ 69–72), **Tacitus constantly seeks to avoid monotony by varying forms of the same word.** Thus Artaxata is twice feminine, five times neuter (see on 2. 56, 3); Tigranocerta four times used in each form (see 14. 24, 6): the form Vologeses is sometimes changed to Vologesus (13. 37, 1). So also we have alioqui and alioquin; anteire and antire; balneae and balneum; dein and deinde; grates and gratias agere; inermis and inermus; senecta and senectus, etc. In many other cases such variations have been treated by editors as errors of copyists. See Wölfflin, Philol. 25, 99–106; 121–127.

86. **Names often mentioned are varied.** Thus we have Gallus, Asinius Gallus, and Gallus Asinius, etc.; or the cognomen alone repeated, when the name has been given more fully above, as Trionis 2. 28, 4; Lepida 12. 64, 5, etc.; also the names of relatives mentioned together are often varied, as hunc [Gracchum] pater Sempronius . . . tulerat 4. 13, 4; pater Scriboniani Camillus 12. 52, 2; Crispum . . . C. Sallustius 3. 30, 3; Valerius Messala, cuius proavum . . . Corvinum 13. 34, 1, etc. Nipp. on 4. 13, Joh. Müller, 4, p. 15, 16.

87. **Prepositions with similar meanings are often interchanged,** as in . . . ad 1. 28, 7, etc.; inter . . . apud 3. 40, 1; in . . . apud 6. 22, 2; per . . . in 4. 55, 7, etc. Several such instances are found in Livy, few in other works of Tacitus than the Annals. Dr. § 104.

88. **Cases with prepositions are interchanged with simple cases:** as for instance a dat. with accus. after ad or in; e. g. with opportunus 2. 6, 4; promptus 4. 46, 4; referre 14. 38, 5; and such an accus. with gerundive dat. 2. 37, 6; see also § 62. Dr. § 105.

89. **Copulative conjunctions are constantly varied in different clauses,** especially in the Annals, sometimes no doubt to graduate the connexion (see on 1. 1, 5), but at other times apparently for elegance. Cp. the change of et and ac 4. 26, 4; ac . . . que . . . et 15. 25, 6; que . . . et . . . et . . . ac 2. 60, 4. See Dr. § 115, Nipp. on 4. 3.

90. **After asyndeta** (see § 65) **conjunctions are introduced;** as classes regna provinciae . . . aut . . . et . . . ac 1. 11, 6; illustres ignobiles dispersi aut aggerati 6. 19, 3; see also 12. 64, 3; 15. 26, 1. Dr. § 140; Nipp. on 1. 11; 2. 81. Here again different degrees of connexion are often intended to be expressed.

91. A large number of miscellaneous variations of expression in corresponding clauses are brought together by Dräger (§ 233), from which the following are selected. In a few of them Tacitus has followed Livy.

(1) Change of case or number: Spartanorum . . . Atheniensibus 3. 26, 4; clarigenus . . . summis honoribus 6. 9, 5: effusae clementiae . . . modicus severitate 6. 30, 3; see note on 2. 3, 2; on change of number see § 2.

(2) Active and passive: omissa sunt aut . . . obliteravit 2. 83, 5; cp. 6. 44, 2.

(3) Ablative and participle: metu . . . diffisus 2. 1, 2; metu . . . an ratus 2. 22, 2; cp. 15. 36, 6; 38, 5; 56, 3.

(4) Preposition and participle or adjective: ad gradum . . . procedentibus 1. 64, 2; procaces . . . in spe 14. 15, 8.

(5) Adjective and genitive: Parthorum . . . Romanas 2. 3, 2.

(6) Present participle and gerundial ablative (only in the later books of the Annals): trahens . . . interpretando 13. 47, 1; adsurgens . . . populando 15. 38, 4.

(7) Gerundive and ut or neu: appellandam . . . ut adscriberetur 1. 14, 2; habenda . . . utque 2. 36, 1; cp. 3. 17, 8; 63, 7; 4. 9, 1; 20, 2.

(8) Noun and subordinate clause, with quod or quia, etc.: amicitia . . . et quod 4. 18, 1; gnarus meliorum et quae 4. 31, 2; alii modestiam, multi quia diffideret 4. 38, 4; and many others; as 2. 63, 4; 3. 44, 4; 4. 24, 2; 13. 44, 1, etc. Sometimes an infin. answers to a noun, as 3. 22, 2; 4. 3, 1, etc.

(9) Adjective or participle and final clause: as rati . . . an ne 3. 3, 3; sive fraudem suspectans sive ut 13. 39, 1.

92. **The effort for variety, added to that for brevity, is found sometimes to result in considerable complication of periods;** as for instance in the passages beginning 'igitur Tacfarinas' 4. 24, 1; 'nam postulato Votieno' 4. 42, 2; 'at Sabinus' 4. 47, 1: sometimes even to anacolutha, as 12. 52, 3; 14. 9, 1 (Dr. § 254). On the general structure of periods in Tacitus, and on some passages of exceptional complexity, as 1. 2, 1; 6, 6; 13. 54, 5, see Dr. § 232; also the notes on 1. 8, 4; 4. 33, 4; 44, 3; and Joh. Müller on those passages.

93. It is extremely characteristic of Tacitus to introduce the utmost possible variety into the expressions for facts that have to be very often stated. A large collection of such is made in Bötticher, Proleg. lxvii–lxix, and Dr. § 252. Among them may be noted the following:—

(1) Death: about fifteen various expressions are found, as obire; oppetere; finire (6. 50, 9 ἅπ. εἰρ.); concedere; excedere; vita cedere; vita concedere; etc.

(2) Suicide: ten or more expressions are found, as se vita privare; vim sibi afferre; finem vitae sibi ponere (6. 40, 4); etc.

(3) Suicide by opening veins: more than ten forms of expression are found, as venas exsolvere, resolvere, abrumpere, interrumpere, etc.

(4) Suicide by stabbing: ferro incumbere; se ipsum ferro transigere; suo ictu mortem invenire; etc.

(5) Suicide by starvation: vitam abstinentia finire; egestate cibi perimi.

(6) Interdiction of fire and water: aliquem aqua et igni interdicere, arcere, prohibere.

(7) Approach of evening: about eight distinct expressions are noted. See 1. 16, 5; 65, 9; 2. 21, 4; 39, 5; etc.

(8) Contrast between what is shown and concealed: palam ... in occulto 1. 49, 2; palam ... secreto 2. 72, 2, etc.; cp. 4. 1, 4; 6. 7, 4; 12. 7, 6; 13, 1; etc.

94. **The monotony of reported speeches in oratio obliqua is often varied** (as also not unfrequently in Liv.) **by an abrupt transition to oratio recta**; as 2. 77, 2; 3. 12, 4; 46. 3; 4. 40, 5; H. 3. 2, 8. The transition has also the effect of a rhetorical climax (Dr. § 256). On smaller parenthetical suspensions of oratio obliqua, see § 49.

## IV. *Influence of Imitation.*

95. **Graecisms.** Nearly all of those found in Tacitus appear to have been already more or less naturalised in Latin. Most of them have been already noticed (see §§ 11, 12 *d*, 13, 16, 18, 37 *d*, 54, 60 *b*, 66, 67). To these may be added the use of si with expressions of fear, etc., as 1. 11, 5; such a genitive as diversa omnium 1. 49. 1; the construction nisi forte ... plures curas, etc. 2. 33, 5; and the phrase ut quisque audentiae habuisset 15. 53, 3. The list of Greek words used by him (see Nipp. on 14. 15, 6) is not large, and consists wholly of terms more or less technical, and which have no strict Latin equivalent. Dr. §§ 67, 147, 191, 258.

96. **Latin archaisms.** The desire of novelty in diction appears to have led Tacitus sometimes to revive obsolete words and forms from old writers, in preference to employing those which were usual (Wölfflin, Philol. 25, 106, etc.). Among such may be noticed dissertare 12. 11, 1 (Cato and Plaut.); mercimonium 15. 38, 2 (Plaut.); perduellis 14. 29, 2

(Enn. Plaut. etc.); truculentia 2. 24, 1 (Plaut.); also the accus. with fungi 3. 2, 2; and the phrase bellum patrare 2. 26, 2, etc. (called an archaism in Quint. 8. 3, 44, but used by Sall. and Vell.). Dr. § 258.

97. **The debt of Tacitus to previous historians, and to the great classic poets**, is chiefly to be seen in very many of the syntactical usages already mentioned, and in the lists of poetical words and senses of words (see §§ 70, 72). Many other instances will be found noticed in the notes throughout: a few of the more striking are here selected from the fuller lists given by Dr. (§ 259) and Wölfflin (Philol. 26, 122–134).

(1) Sallust.

| | *Annals.* |
|---|---|
| Fr. inc. D. 92. K. 59. G. 111. 70 genera patrum advolvuntur | 1. 13, 7 |
| Jug. 51, 1 fors omnia regere | 1. 49, 2 |
| Cat. 30, 4 omnia honesta atque inhonesta | 2. 38, 7 |
| Fr. H. 1. 71 D, 69 K, 99 G. cornicines occanuere | 2. 81, 2 |
| Fr. H. 1. 61 D, 61 K, 81 G. suopte ingenio (of things) | 3. 26, 2 |
| Fr. H. 1. 88 D, 98 K, 63 G. neque animo neque auribus aut lingua competere | 3. 46, 1 |
| Jug. 45, 1 magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior | 4. 20, 4 |
| Jug. 20, 7 cum predatoria manu | 4. 24, 3 |
| Jug. 4, 9 ad inceptum redeo | 4. 33, 6 |
| Jug. 70, 2 carum acceptumque popularibus suis | 12. 29, 1 |
| Fr. H. 3. 41 D, 53 K, 40 G. vis piscium | 12. 63, 2 |
| Cat. 25, 5 ingenium eius haut absurdum | 13. 45, 2 |
| Jug. 4, 2 memet studium meum laudando extollere | 14. 43, 1 |
| Cat. 2, 3 aequabilius atque constantius | 15. 21, 5 |
| Fr. H. 2. 30 D, 36 K, 66 G. advorsa in pravitatem declinando | 15. 26, 3 |
| Fr. H. 4. 31 D, 56 K, 33 G. volentia plebi facturus | 15. 36, 6 |
| Jug. 5, 3 Pauca supra repetam | 16. 18, 1 |

(2) Livy.

| | |
|---|---|
| 7. 5, 6 stolide ferocem viribus suis | 1. 3, 4 |
| 8. 32, 13 extrema contio et circa Fabium globus | 1. 35, 6 |
| 28. 27, 3 ne quo nomine quidem adpellare debeam, scio, etc. | 1. 42, 4 |
| 3. 49, 3 si iure ageret—si vim adferre conaretur | 2. 80, 4 |
| 3. 53, 2 liberatores haud dubie | 2. 88, 3 |
| 6. 8, 2 senecta invalidum | 3. 43, 4 |

| | | *Annals.* |
|---|---|---|
| 3. 27, 7 | puncto saepe temporis maximarum rerum momenta verti | 5. 4, 2 |
| 7. 37, 14 | velut indagine | 13. 42, 7 |
| 7. 17, 3 | the whole description sacerdotes eorum, etc. | 14. 30, 1 |

(3) Horace.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ep. 1. 11, 6 | odio maris atque viarum (cp. Od. 2. 6, 7) | 2. 14, 6 |
| Od. 2. 16, 25 | laetus in praesens | 11. 15, 1 |
| Od. 1. 37, 9 | contaminato cum grege | 15. 37, 8 |

(4) Vergil (see also § 70, 72, 74, 76, 77).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aen. 4, 15 | fixum immotumque | 1. 47, 1 |
| „ 6, 103 | laborum . . . facies | 1. 49, 1 |
| „ 10, 850 | vulnus adactum | 1. 61, 6 |
| „ 9, 137 | ferro sceleratam exscindere gentem | 2. 25, 4 |
| „ 3, 176 | tendoque supinas ad caelum cum voce manus | 2. 29, 2 |
| „ 2, 75 | quae sit fiducia capto | 3. 11, 2 |
| „ 9, 73 | tum vero incumbunt | 4. 24, 1 |
| „ 10, 630 | manet . . . gravis exitus | 4. 74, 5 |
| „ 2, 374 | rapiunt (= diripiunt) | 13. 6, 1 |
| „ 10, 532 | belli commercia | 14. 33, 6 |
| „ 3, 55 | fas omne abrumpit | 15. 2, 3 |

(5) Ovid.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Trist. 2, 127 | citraque necem tua constitit ira | 12. 22, 3 |

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# CHAPTER VI.

## ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EARLY PRINCIPATE.

### SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

NOTE.—The material of this portion is almost wholly derived from Mommsen's 'Römisches Staatsrecht,' vol. ii. part 2; partly also from his commentary on the 'Marmor Ancyranum.'

THE constitution of the principate is dated most properly from the acts of Jan. 13, 727, B.C. 27, and from enactments in the preceding year; but account must be taken both of powers held by the first 'princeps' before that date, and of those which he subsequently acquired.

Gaius Caesar Octavianus, in his nineteenth year, had raised forces on his own authority [1]; and his position was legalised by a decree of the senate of Jan. 17, 711, B.C. 43, by which he acquired the rank of propraetor, with a military imperium [2] which during the rest of his long life never left him; so that his 'dies accepti imperii' is either reckoned from this, or from the consulship, which on the 19th of August in the same year followed it [3].

His permanent imperium, however, during these years comes through the irregular and mainly usurped powers of the triumvirate; a plebiscite having been hurried through the comitia in November of the same year by the tribune P. Titius, creating 'triumviri reipublicae constituendae,' with consular power, for five years [4]; at the end of which they assumed another five years of power by their own act, without any formal vote [5].

At some early date during this period Caesar had assumed a title of permanent importance, the 'praenomen imperatoris [6].' Suetonius ascribes this praenomen to the dictator [7]; who, however, appears from inscriptions to have borne the title immediately after his family name, before his titles of office [8]. It is suggested that the title, in this position, became a kind of additional cognomen, such as his heir might adopt; and that, in usage, he might be styled indifferently 'Caesar Imperator' or 'Imperator Caesar,' as men might speak of 'Aemilius Paullus' or 'Paullus Aemilius [9].' However this may be, this praenomen is hence-

[1] 'Privato consilio' Mon. Anc. i. 1.
[2] Cic. Phil. 5. 17, 46; Mon. Anc. i. 5.
[3] See note on Ann. 1. 9, 1.
[4] App. B. C. 4. 7. Tacitus declines to call their forces 'publica arma' Ann. 1. 2, 1.
[5] App. B. C. 5. 95.
[6] See the Fasti of 714, B.C. 40, and the Inscr. C. I. L. v. 525; Orell. 565; Wilm. 878.
[7] Suet. Jul. 76. Dio speaks of it only as a permanent title (43. 44, 2).
[8] Inscr. C. I. L. i. 620; Orell. 582.
[9] Momms. ii. p. 774, n. 1.

forth always assumed by Octavianus, his proper praenomen and gentile name drop out of sight, and he becomes 'Imp. Caesar. iii vir R.P.C.[1]'

From this must be distinguished the 'nomen imperatoris,' which also he now began to assume as a permanent title. This was given, as in old times, by acclamation on the field of battle[2], and was received by Augustus twenty-one times in his life[3], for victories gained in person or through lieutenants[4]; of which he had already numbered seven in 725, B.C. 29[5].

Also it appears that, in some form, he had received in 718, B.C. 36, a tribunitian power[6]. Whether we take the authority followed by Appian and repeated by Orosius, stating that he was in that year chosen tribune for life[7]; or that followed by Dio, according to which the sacrosanctity and seat of a tribune were decreed to him in this year, and the power itself in 724, B.C. 30[8]; he will in either case have held it before 731, B.C. 23, from which date the years of its tenure as a title are numbered[9].

By the end of the second 'quinquennium,' at the close of 721, B.C. 33, Lepidus had been deposed, and war with Antonius was imminent. Hence, though Antonius appears to have styled himself 'triumvir' till his death[10], Caesar limits the formal term of that office to the ten years[11]; and now claims a power quasi-dictatorial, or a virtual concentration of the whole triumvirate in himself, not, apparently, by formal vote, but by general consent. 'Iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua, et me b[ello] quo vici ad Actium, ducem depoposcit[12].' 'Per consensum universorum [potitus rerum omn]ium' (*ἐγκ[ρατ]ὴς γενόμενος πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων*)[13].

Also, after a short second consulship in 721, B.C. 33, he enters on a continuous series of nine consulships, his third to his eleventh, 723–731, B.C. 31–23.

The following inscription of the year 725, B.C. 29, shows the titles which he then bore, but makes no mention of the tribunitian power:—'Imp. Caesari. Divi Juli f. cos. quinct. cos. design. sext. imp. sept[14].'

We come now to the acts of 726, 727, B.C. 28, 27, the tendency of which is described from very different points of view. Caesar himself

1 E. g. Inscr. Orell. 594.
2 See on 3. 74, 6.
3 1. 9, 2.
4 See 2. 18, 2; 22, 1.
5 Inscr. Orell. 596.
6 On this power as held by the dictator Caesar, see Dio, 42. 20, 3.
7 App. B. C. 5. 132; Oros. 6. 18, 34.
8 Dio, 49. 15, 6; 51. 19, 6.
9 See below, p. 66.
10 Momms. ii. p. 697.
11 Τ[ρι]ῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγενόμη[ν δ]ημοσίων πραγμάτων κατορθωτὴς συνεχέσιν ἔτεσιν δέκα Mon. Anc. Gr. iv. 1.
12 Mon. Anc. v. 3.
13 Id. vi. 13, and Gr. xvii. 19.
14 C. I. L. vi. 873; Orell. 596; Wilm. 879.

claims to have then restored the Republic: 'Rempublicam ex mea potestate in senat[us populique Romani a]rbitrium transtuli[1].' This statement is echoed by writers near the time[2], and a coin of this date describes him as 'libertatis P. R. vindex[3].' On the other hand, Dio alludes to this time as the date of a re-established monarchy[4], and Tacitus as the period when the ascendancy of Caesar was secured[5]. The reconciliation is simple: the extraordinary dictatorial and constituent powers surviving from the triumvirate, after spending their force in these enactments[6], are surrendered, and all the arbitrary acts of that period cancelled[7]; but the permanent constitution of the principate begins. The senate and the comitia resume their regular functions; and, after a professed restoration of all the provinces, armies, and revenues[8], the unarmed provinces are actually given up, and those requiring military force, with the legions stationed in them, are retained, professedly for ten years only[9], with proconsular 'imperium;' while, in his home government, Caesar 'claims only to be consul, and to be satisfied with his tribunitian right to protect the people[10].'

It is claimed as proof of his moderation or discretion, that his constitution made him not king or dictator but 'princeps[11];' and he is careful to state that, while thus holding the first rank in the state, he had no more power than his colleagues in any magistracy[12]. This appellation has been commonly identified with that of 'princeps senatus,' which had been some thirty-three years dormant; an honorary rank, conferring no other privilege than that of being asked first, when the consuls designate were absent. That Caesar was 'princeps senatus' from the census-list of 726, B.C. 28, to his death, is affirmed by himself[13]: and such designation is the natural mode of reminding senators at each revision of the list that he was one of themselves[14]. But, from the earliest date, he is always spoken of not as 'princeps senatus,' but as simply 'princeps[15];' and speaks thus of himself[16]. Also a saying

[1] Mon. Anc. vi. 13.

[2] Ov. Fast. 1, 589; Vell. 2. 89, 3.

[3] Eckhel, vi. 83.

[4] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι αὖθις ἀκριβῶς ἤρξαντο 52. 1, 1.

[5] 'Potentiae securus, dedit iura quis pace et principe uteremur' 3. 28, 3.

[6] It is thought by Mommsen that the expression 'dedit iura' (Tac. l. l.) implies autocratic legislation without the comitia.

[7] Dio, 53. 2, 5.

[8] Id. 53. 4, 3; 9, 6.

[9] Id. 53. 12, 2; 13, 1.

[10] Ann. 1. 2, 1. The absence of any word like 'mox' with 'tribunitio iure' is evidence that Tacitus knew this power to have been held by Augustus contemporaneously with his consulships.

[11] 1. 9, 6.

[12] Mon. Anc. Gr. xviii. 6.

[13] Πρῶτον ἀξιώματος τόπον ἔσχον τῆς συγκλήτου ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς ταῦτα ἔγραφον, ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα Mon. Anc. Gr. iv. 2. The years are reckoned from 726, B.C. 28 (Dio, 53. 1, 3), to 767, A.D. 14, not inclusively.

[14] Cp. the language of Vitellius, H. 2. 91, 5.

[15] E.g. Hor. Od. 1. 2, 50.

[16] 'Me principe' Mon. Anc. ii. 45; vi. 9.

quoted of Tiberius makes him express by that title his relation, not to the senate, but to the citizens[1]; and the earlier Greek writers render the word by ἡγεμών[2]. It is therefore probably to be considered as a separate designation, originating at the same date, which had become confounded with 'princeps senatus' (πρόκριτος τῆς γερουσίας), by the time of Dio. Such a term would seem to convey no more than the fact that Caesar was the foremost citizen of Rome; and had been so used of Pompeius by Cicero[3] and Sallust[4]. Even long after it had become distinctive, it is still used informally by the elder Pliny of Servilius Nonianus[5]; and at all times so far refused to pass into a definite title, that it never appears in the regular list of those borne by the Caesar, and when used at all in inscriptions, has almost always some personal term of honour accompanying it, as 'princeps optimus,' 'princeps et conservator[6],' etc.

His new position is, as it were, consecrated by the title of Augustus, decreed by the senate[7], and assumed on the 16th of January 727, B.C. 27[8]; a title expressive of sanctity, and a step to the divine honours paid to him, even during life, in various parts of the empire[9]. This title is always distinctive of the 'princeps,' and until the division of the empire in later times, is shared with no one.

In the middle of 731, B.C. 23, Augustus closed his series of consulships, afterwards holding this office twice only, each time for a few days, on the introduction of his grandsons to public life[10]. His domestic magistracy was now formally limited to the tribunitian power, which from this time is assumed as a title and reckoned annually from June 27[11]. There is no trace of annual re-election, and the object of the change seems to be merely to substitute some other computation of his years of rule for that supplied by his consulships. It has been thought that a nominal change was made from 'ius tribunitium' to 'tribunitia potestas[12],' and that the power was further defined and amplified. At the same time the powers of his 'proconsulare imperium' were greatly extended[13].

A further step is marked, when he received, in 735, B.C. 19, at first for

[1] Δεσπότης μὲν τῶν δούλων, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν πρόκριτός εἰμι Dio, 57. 8, 2.

[2] Mon. Anc. Gr. vii. 9, etc.; Strab. 7. 5, 3, p. 314, etc.

[3] Ad Fam. 1. 9, 11.

[4] H. 3. 61 D, 82 K, p. 152, 23 G (speech of Macer).

[5] 'Princeps civitatis' N. H. 28. 2, 5, 29. Cp. the expression of Tacitus in Ann. 3. 75, 1.

[6] Inscr. Orell. 25; 617; (C. I. L. ii. 2038; Wilm. 906).

[7] Δόγματι συγκλήτου Σεβαστὸς προ[σηγορεύθη]ν Mon. Anc. Gr. xvii. 22.

[8] Kal. Praenest. Orell. ii. p. 382, 409.

[9] See on 1. 10, 5.

[10] 749, 752, B.C. 5, 2.

[11] Fasti, 731. '[Augustus postquam consu]latu se abdicavit, tr[ib. pot. annua facta est]' Momms. 772, n. 1.

[12] See note on 1. 2, 1.

[13] Dio, 53. 32, 5. See below, p. 69.

five years only, such censorial power as belonged to the 'regimen legum et morum[1].' It is also stated by Dio that he received at the same time for life the consular power, with its insignia, the regular attendance of twelve lictors, and a curule chair between those of the consuls of the year[2]. This is treated by Mommsen as an error, except so far as relates to the mere assumption of the insignia[3]. Augustus himself mentions two facts only that bear upon the point. Firstly, that in 732, B. C. 22, he refused the dictatorship, and also both the annual and perpetual consulship[4]. Secondly, that twice in the latter part of his life he held a census with 'consulare imperium[5],' censorial power being, in the theory of the constitution, inherent in the consular, before the existence of the censorship as a separate office. It is inferred, both from what he says and from what he appears to imply, that this 'consulare imperium' was used for this purpose only, and that no general or permanent consular power was ever assumed[6]. It is obvious that a ruler holding a 'proconsulare imperium' valid within the pomoerium[7] had already what was most important in the consular power, and Augustus showed no desire for the accumulation of empty titles. It would seem, however, possible that the decree which Dio appears to quote may have given something more than mere consular insignia. The conception of the princeps as the chief magistrate of the state, implied in many powers exercised by Augustus and his successors, might not impossibly have been represented by a consular power or certain specified powers under that name; the more so, as such power might be conceived by a fiction as comprehending functions of other magistracies, as those of censor, praetor, or curule aedile, originally included in the consulship. Some of these powers of the princeps are specified below[8]; to which may be added that of 'nominating' candidates for magistracies[9], which appears in some sort to assume that the princeps was imagined as personally holding the comitia, which (in the case of elections to the greater magistracies) would be a consular function[10].

During the remainder of this principate the chief points to notice are the successive quinquennial or decennial renewals of the 'proconsulare imperium[11];' the assumption, on the death of Lepidus in 742, B. C. 12, of

[1] ['Επιμελ]ητὴς τῶν τε νόμων [κ]αὶ τῶν τρό[πων τῇ με]γίστῃ ἐξουσίᾳ [ἐ]χειροτονήθην Mon. Anc. Gr. iii. 15.

[2] Dio, 54. 10, 5.

[3] Momms. ii. p. 836, n. 2.

[4] Mon. Anc. Gr. iii. 2, 9.

[5] Mon. Anc. Lat. ii. 5, 8.

[6] The same inference is suggested by what appears to be a temporary assumption of consular power by Claudius to hold games (Dio, 60. 23, 4).

[7] See p. 69.

[8] See p. 72.

[9] See p. 80.

[10] The occasional appointment of consuls and other magistrates by Augustus when the comitia failed to elect, seems to have been merely arbitrary, and taken as justified by the emergency.

[11] Dio, 53. 16, 2.

the office of 'pontifex maximus [1],' always henceforth held by the princeps until a Christian emperor conferred it on the bishop of Rome [2]; and the formal acceptance, on universal acclamation, of the title 'Pater Patriae' in 752, B.C. 2 [3].

The following inscription gives his titles nearly at the close of his life: 'Imp. Caesar, Divi F. Augustus Pontif. Maxim. Cos. xiii. Imp. xx. Tribunic. Potestat. xxxvii. P.P. [4]'

The first succession to the principate must have been modified by the fact that the successor was already possessed of 'proconsulare imperium,' and had the tribunitian power [5], and afterwards numbered his years of this office without recognising any change at the death of Augustus. He also dropped the fiction of periodical renewal of imperium, though a decennial festival was held [6]. He must have at least received by decree the title of 'Augustus,' which, though he affected some reserve in its use [7], appears on all his coins and inscriptions; but he never allowed himself to be called 'pater patriae [8].' It is also noteworthy that neither Tiberius, Gaius, nor Claudius, uses the 'praenomen imperatoris [9].' The titles borne by Tiberius at the close of his life are seen from an inscription quoted elsewhere [10].

Gaius appears, from the account of Dio, to have been the first to receive all the powers of the principate by a single decree [11]; while Claudius was the first to take the name of 'Caesar,' to which he had no family claim, as a name of the princeps and his house.

It has been seen that the term 'princeps' in itself implied no monarchy, or even magistracy; but in fact stood for a combination of magisterial powers, so as to be contrasted as a kind of greater magistracy with the office of consul, praetor, or aedile [12]. The boast of Augustus, that his eminence in rank gave him no more power than his colleagues in any office [13], can only apply, even in the letter, to such a case as that of his consulships, and has no meaning in relation to the most essential powers of the principate, the 'proconsulare imperium' and 'tribunitia potestas,' in which he had, as a rule, no colleague. Nor were these powers confined to their original limits, but received great successive extensions by steps

[1] Mon. Anc. Lat. ii. 23–28; Gr. v. 19—6, 6; Kal. Praen. March 6.

[2] See Momms. ii. 1054, n. 1. The princeps was also member of all the other priestly colleges, but generally without their recognition in his titles.

[3] Mon. Anc. vi. 24; Gr. xviii. 9. He is called 'pater' many years earlier in Hor. Od. 1. 2, 50.

[4] Inscr. Orell. 604.

[5] See on 1. 3, 3.

[6] Dio, 57. 24, 1; 58. 24, 1.

[7] Suet. Tib. 26; Dio, 57. 2, 1.

[8] 1. 72, 2; 2. 87, 2.

[9] Momms. ii. 745.

[10] See ch. ix. note 28.

[11] Dio, 59. 3, 2.

[12] 3. 53, 4.

[13] Mon. Anc. vi. 21. See above, p. 65.

not now always traceable; besides which, other powers not clearly belonging to the idea of either of these offices, centre in the princeps, conceived generally as the chief magistrate and representative of the state.

I. The 'proconsulare imperium,' as has been seen, must have been at first no more than was involved in the charge taken for ten years of certain provinces[1]. 'Imperium' must belong to a definite magistracy; all military command, from the time of Sulla, had been vested in proconsuls or propraetors; and the power given to Augustus would seem only a step beyond several republican precedents[2], and his own action one of surrender rather than aggrandisement[3]. But his proconsular power soon became virtually, that of his successors even formally, perpetual; and when, on the cessation of his consulships in 731, B.C. 23, it apparently first received formal definition, it was made coextensive with the empire, and valid even within the walls of Rome[4]. By this act the senate and people had surrendered the whole power of the sword into his hands. Besides the command of his own provinces and his own legati, he held now an 'imperium maius' also over the proconsuls of senatorial provinces[5], supreme command even of troops under their immediate orders[6], and the right to collect fiscal revenue there through his own officers[7]; nor had proconsuls power in their province over the life of a soldier[8]. With him rest all ordinances respecting the levy, payment, and dismissal of troops, and regulation of the military hierarchy. He levies war, makes peace or treaty[9], and represents the state in relation to all foreign or dependent powers. Again, he is the high admiral of the empire, with fleets near at hand[10]; and, besides the troops attached to these, not only the praetorian guard, his proper household brigade, but even the police and night-watch of the city, owned no allegiance to any magistrate of the republic, but only to Caesar and his prefects, and formed no insignificant force at his disposal on the spot[11]; while the validity of his imperium within the walls explains his power to put to death citizens even of senatorial rank[12]: and he is so far the 'imperator'

[1] That this 'imperium' from the first was proconsular, follows from the fact that the vicegerents, even when of consular rank, were only 'legati, Augusti propraetore,' while senatorial governors, even when not of consular rank, were styled 'proconsuls.'

[2] See below, p. 84.

[3] See above, p. 65.

[4] Dio, 53. 32, 5.

[5] Dio, l. l.

[6] Thus the proconsul of Africa reports on military matters to Caesar as his superior officer, not to the senate. See on 3. 32, 1.

[7] See on 4. 15, 3.

[8] Dio, 53. 13, 7.

[9] 'Foedusve cum quibus volet facere liceat' Lex de Imp. Vesp. 1. See below, p. 71.

[10] 4. 5, 1.

[11] 4. 5, 4.

[12] Dio, 53. 17, 6.

of the whole Roman world, that the whole senate and people, and even the provinces, take the 'sacramentum' in his name, binding themselves in the most solemn terms to maintain his authority against all enemies, and not to hold even their own children dearer [1]. Naturally, in time the 'imperator' and 'princeps' became synonymous [2], and this power was held sufficient in itself to constitute a principate; and, although formally given by senatorial decree, retained a fatal memory of the old popular or military origin of an 'imperator's' title [3], and of the irregular command of Augustus 'by universal consent [4],' out of which this form of 'imperium' had risen; so that even a constitutional ruler like Vespasian takes the salutation and 'sacramentum' of the soldiers as a valid title, and reckons from it, not from the senatorial decree, his 'dies accepti imperii [5].' Hence the revelation of that 'state secret' so fruitful in subsequent history, that 'a "princeps" could be made elsewhere than at Rome [6];' and hence the 'imperator,' even in profound peace, felt that 'he held a wolf by the ears [7],' and was safe only as long as the soldiers were contented.

II. The tribunitian power added a civil and urban magistracy to the military command; and was not, like the formal office of tribune, untenable by a patrician. Gracchus and others had shown the formidable political strength of the tribunate, not only as regarded its wide and indefinite coercive powers, but also in its legislative initiative. Experience had no less shown its inherent weaknesses, the liability to paralysis by the veto of a colleague, the annual tenure with a doubtful chance of re-election, and the want of armed support in case of the last appeal to force. But from the tribunitian power of the Caesar all these weaknesses were removed. The tribunes of the year were in no sense his colleagues, and their voice was powerless against his [8]; the office was held for life; and the power of the sword was known to be in reserve. This office also retained memory of its popular origin; for the decree of the senate conferring it was only preliminary to a ratificatory 'lex' or 'plebiscite,' which survived even the general abolition of the comitia [9]. A fragment

[1] 1. 7, 3; 34, 1. The form of oath may be seen from a Lusitanian inscription (Orell. 3665) of the date of the accession of Gaius.

[2] The 'imperium proconsulare' does not appear among the titles of the princeps; but the 'praenomen imperatoris,' though originally unconnected with this power (see above, p. 63), may in later times have been taken to denote it.

[3] See on 3. 74, 6.

[4] See above, p. 64, and Mon. Anc. vi. 14.

[5] Suet. Vesp. 6.

[6] H. 1. 4, 2.

[7] Suet. Tib. 25.

[8] E. g. in 1. 77, 3 it is mentioned that a tribune uses his 'intercessio,' but that it was valid only because Tiberius permitted it. It is probable that the tribunitian power of Caesar was defined as a 'potestas maior' to that of the tribunes of the year.

[9] This is shown by several references to the 'Acta Arvalium.' Momms. 839, n. 2.

still remains of the 'lex de imperio Vespasiani[1],' which, though apparently conveying in form the tribunitian power, specifies far more prerogatives than belong to the conception of that office, and must either be taken to show an almost indefinite extension of its idea[2], or to include other powers vested in the princeps. That this power would of itself give full right to convoke and consult the senate, as well as to control[3] its decisions, is matter of course: we find also that the princeps could dispense with legal formalities in summoning it[4], and could, when absent, bring before it in writing a certain number of motions, which took precedence of all others[5]; and when Caesar in person put the question, the magistrates so far became 'privati' as to be asked their 'sententia[6];' while he himself either guided their decision by speaking first, or reserved himself to the end[7], so as either by formal veto[8] or less formal modification[9] to amend the proposals of others. It appears also that the 'ius auxilii, ad tuendam plebem,' and general coercive power even originally extended a mile beyond the pomoerium[10], and must ultimately have been unrestricted by any limit of distance[11]. We can thus readily understand the description by Tacitus of this power as 'a title of supremacy devised by Augustus, to make him pre-eminent over all other authorities, without assuming the name of king or dictator[12].'

III. The remaining magisterial functions are chiefly censorial or consular-censorial[13]. The censorship itself fell into abeyance from 730, B.C. 24, till it was assumed temporarily by Claudius[14], and for life by Domitian[15]. But Augustus, besides permanently assuming the 'regimen legum et morum[16],' makes use on one occasion (726, B.C. 28) of his consulship, and twice (746 and 767, B.C. 8, A.D. 14) of an 'imperium consulare[17],' to hold a 'census populi,' with which, on each occasion, a formal 'lectio senatus' appears to have been joined[18]: he also, in and after 745, B.C. 9[19], revised annually, as 'corrector morum,' the

[1] C.I.L. vi. 1, 930; Wilm. 917; Orell. 1. p. 567.
[2] See 1. 7, 5; Dio, 54. 3, 3.
[3] See 1. 8, 1, etc.
[4] Lex de Imp. Vesp. 8.
[5] Mommsen thus explains 'relationem facere' (distinct from 'referre') Lex de Imp. Vesp. 4, as also χρηματίζειν Dio, 53. 32, 5. The letters of Caesar respecting such questions are often called by a fiction 'orationes,' see Ann. 3. 57, 1, compared with 56, 1. The number of such 'relationes' is at first limited to one at each sitting (Dio, l.l.), but afterwards extended.
[6] See 3. 17, 8.
[7] See 1. 74, 6.
[8] As 3. 70, 2; Suet. Tib. 33, etc.
[9] As 3. 18, 1, etc.
[10] Dio, 51. 19, 6, speaking of the year 724, B.C. 30.
[11] Tiberius, when associated in this power, is said to have exercised it at Rhodes. Suet. Tib. 11.
[12] 3. 56, 2.
[13] See above, p. 67.
[14] Suet. Cl. 16.
[15] Dio, Epit. 67. 4, 3.
[16] See above, p. 66.
[17] See above, p. 67.
[18] See the whole passage, Mon. Anc. ii. 1–11.
[19] Dio, 55. 3, 3.

'album senatorium,' and either then, or as occasion offered, expunged the names of unworthy members [1]. We also hear, during and after this principate, of similar regular revision of the 'decuriae equitum' for judicial purposes [2], and of the 'turmae equitum equo publico [3];' besides special gifts or withdrawals of equestrian privileges [4], and the creation from time to time of new patrician houses [5]. These functions, as well as various minor censorial duties, such as the regulation of public buildings, of the course of the Tiber, etc., or aedilician, as the 'cura annonae,' were undertaken or delegated by the princeps [6], whether as possessed of any general consular power [7], or as in some way conceived as the chief magistrate of the state.

In describing the growth of the power of Augustus from its modest beginnings, Tacitus says that he gradually engrossed more and more of the senatorial, magisterial, and legislative (or comitial) functions [8]. His encroachments on the senate and magistrates of the Republic will be readily understood from the sketch already given of his powers; other magisterial encroachments may be seen in the multiplication of his own officers, to whom he delegated duties either purely military, as to the 'praefectus praetorio;' or of a mixed character, as to the 'praefectus urbi' or 'praefectus vigilum;' or purely civil, as to the 'praefectus annonae,' by whom Caesar was assisted in superseding a function of the aediles [9], and in discharging what Tiberius stated to be his most arduous and unremitting duty [10].

In respect to the laws, Caesar assumed extensive powers both legislative and judicial.

It is obvious that in right of his tribunitian power he could initiate legislation; and the 'leges Iuliae' of 736, B.C. 18, were proposed by Augustus in person in the forum [11]: but such instances appear to be very rare. On the other hand, there are abundant instances of direct legislative action, even by the earliest principes, through ordinances [12], forming part of their 'acta,' and having the force of

[1] On the subsequent practice, see Ann. 2. 48, 3, and note there: also Dio, 53. 17, 7.

[2] Pl. N. H. 33. 1, 30; Suet. Aug. 32; Tib. 41, 51; Cl. 15. This was originally the function of the praetor. See Cic. Clu. 43, 121.

[3] Suet. Aug. 38. We find 'censoria potestas,' for the time being, also conferred on those to whom this duty was delegated. See 3. 30, 2.

[4] H. 1. 13, 2; 2. 57, 4.

[5] Mon. Anc. ii. 1; Ann. 11. 25, 3; Agr. 9, 1.

[6] Suet. Aug. 37. See Momms. p. 1000, 1046.

[7] See above, p. 67.

[8] Ann. 1. 2, 1.

[9] See Liv. 10. 11, 9, etc.

[10] 3. 54, 8.

[11] Sen. de Benef. 6. 32, 1.

[12] Gaius 1. 5 'Constitutio principis est quod imperator decreto vel edicto vel epistula constituit: nec umquam dubitatum est, quin id legis vicem obtineat, cum ipse imperator per legem imperium accipiat.'

law[1]. Such power is derivable from that exercised in old times by those who held the 'imperium' of the state, and the authority of the senate to 'give laws' in its name[2]. Many such imperial 'leges datae' are mentioned, and fragments of some are preserved[3]; many of them giving colonial or municipal rights[4], or ordaining statutes for such communities[5]. Again, the citizenship, formerly given, as a rule, by plebiscite, but often also through authority committed to commanders, as Marius, Pompeius, etc.[6], is now formally given by the 'princeps,' both to individuals[7], usually as the reward of service in the auxiliary forces[8], and also to whole communities[9]. The legal force of these edicts and rescripts, though strictly limited to the life of the princeps, was in most cases permanent through confirmation of his 'acta' after his death.

Again, by his indirect and direct judicial power, he became practically the sole fountain of justice. Besides framing the lists of 'iudices selecti[10],' and regulating their duties[11], Augustus had, in 726, B.C. 28, 'and often afterwards,' selected the 'praetor urbanus,' 'extra sortem[12].' The princeps frequently sat as assessor at the praetor's side[13], and even in absence appears to have been treated as present by the fiction of a 'calculus Minervae' deposited in his name[14]. Tiberius constantly presides in person at the senatorial high court of justice[15], influencing it by his manner[16] no less than his vote; and exercises his power of intercession, whether in refusing to admit the case[17], or in modifying the sentence, either at the time[18], or before its formal enrolment[19]. The power of pardon, vested to some extent in every magistrate[20], and especially reserved by the old constitution for the people[21], has now passed wholly to Caesar[22], as in some sense their representative.

[1] On the oath to the 'acta,' see on 1. 72, 1; 4. 42, 3, etc.

[2] Cic. Verr. ii. 2. 49, 121 'Quas leges sociis amicisque dat is qui habet imperium a populo Romano, auctoritatem legum dandarum a senatu, hae debent et populi Romani et senatus existimari.'

[3] E. g. 'Aes Salpensanum,' 'Aes Malacitanum,' belonging to the time of Domitian. See Henzen, p. 524.

[4] E. g. 14. 27, 2.

[5] See Plin. Ep. ad Traj. 79.

[6] See Cic. Balb. 8, 19; 20, 46.

[7] See 1. 58, 2; 3. 40, 2; 6. 37, 4, etc.

[8] See the 'diplomata militaria' or 'tabulae honestae missionis,' C. I. L. iii. p. 843, etc., and Wilm. 904, etc.

[9] E. g. H. 1. 8, 3.

[10] 'Adlectus inter selectos ab Imp. Caes. Aug.' Henzen, 6158. See other references in Momms. p. 918.

[11] Suet. Aug. 32.

[12] Dio, 53. 2, 3.

[13] 1. 75, 1.

[14] Dio, 51. 19, 7, on the year 724, B.C. 30.

[15] See 3. 12, 1, etc.

[16] See 4. 34, 2, etc.

[17] See 3. 70, 2, etc.

[18] As 3. 18, 1, etc.

[19] See 3. 51, 4.

[20] See Plin. Epp. ad Trai. 31; 32; 56, 57.

[21] By 'leges Valeriae de provocatione' Liv. 2. 8; 3. 55; 10. 9.

[22] E. g. 4. 31, 1; 12. 8, 3; 13. 11, 2; 14. 12, 6. Tacitus appears (3. 51, 4) to recognise no such power of pardon vested in the senate as later jurists and inscriptions (see Momms. 848, n. 3) mention.

The most peculiar judicial prerogative, consisting in the right of the princeps to try offences of all kinds in a private court of his own, is traceable as early as the time of Augustus[1]. This court, usually, but not invariably[2], restricted to cases of criminals of rank, probably arises from the validity of the 'proconsulare imperium,' and consequent power of life and death, within the pomoerium[3]. Tiberius was asked to try Cn. Piso, and, after preliminary investigation, exercised his power by 'remitting' the case to the senate[4]; upon which it was his usual practice to devolve judicial responsibility, even in cases most naturally belonging to his personal jurisdiction[5]. We find instances of such private trials after his retirement to Capreae[6], though even then he more commonly calls in the consuls and senate to pass sentence on the record sent to them[7]. After him, these private courts became such an engine of tyranny[8] as to lead to a reaction under the Flavian Caesars[9]. From this high criminal jurisdiction flows that delegated to others, as to the 'praefectus urbis' at home[10], and 'legati' in the provinces, who however were obliged to allow the appeal to Caesar, in capital charges affecting a Roman citizen[11].

The civil jurisdiction of the princeps sitting personally, whether as a court of first instance or of appeal, is also found as early as the time of Augustus[12] and Tiberius[13]. This also might be, and was delegated, with appeal from the delegate to the delegant. On this subject most of the information comes from jurists of much later date[14].

We also trace an informal board of assessors as well as delegates, from the earliest date[15] till the retirement to Capreae, and again under Claudius[16]; which passed, at a later time, into a permanent body of salaried jurists.

This body is distinct from the more definite political cabinet or committee of twenty senators, regularly appointed in virtue of magistracy or by lot[17], for discussion of questions to be afterwards submitted to the full house[18]; though these persons might also occasionally act as judicial assessors[19].

[1] Suet. Aug. 32.
[2] Id. 51.
[3] See above, p. 69, and cp. H. 3. 68, 3; 53. 17, 6; 32, 5.
[4] See 3. 10, 6. 'Relationem remittere' is the special privilege of the princeps. Lex de Imp. Vesp. 5. Cp. Plin. Epp. 4. 9, 1 'accusatus . . . ad senatum remissus diu pependit.'
[5] E. g. 4. 15, 3.
[6] See 6. 10, 2.
[7] See 6. 47, 4, etc.
[8] See 13. 4, 2.
[9] Suet. Tit. 9; Dio, Epit. 67. 2, 4.
[10] 6. 11, 4.
[11] Acts 22, 24; Plin. ad Trai. 96, 4.
[12] Val. Max. 7. 7, 4; Suet. Aug. 33.
[13] 2. 48, 1.
[14] See Momms. p. 943, etc.
[15] Suet. Aug. 33; Ann. 3. 10, 6; Dio, 57. 7, 2.
[16] Dio, 60. 4, 3.
[17] Dio, 53. 21, 4.
[18] Suet. Aug. 35.
[19] Dio, l. l.

Notwithstanding these powers, the early 'princeps' has no such monarchy as that of Diocletian or Constantine; nor, on the other hand, does the principate follow the democratic lines traced by the dictator Caesar, whose memory Augustan literature seems to have been instructed rather to obliterate than to glorify [1].

The popular assemblies, suspended by the triumviri, restored, but gradually controlled by Augustus [2], are practically abolished at his death [3]. From this time, whatever share they may have retained in the forms of legislation [4], their most important function, that of electing the magistrates of the state, survives at most in the plebiscite, following a 'senatus-consultum,' by which tribunitian power is conferred on the princeps or his associate [5]; and, in other elections, in a mere formal 'renuntiatio' of the choice made by the senate [6]. The importance of this change is only paralleled by the ease with which it appears to have been effected.

While the people thus cease to be an element of the constitution, the Caesars have made their peace with the aristocracy, and in outward form share a dual government with it. There are two sets of magistrates; on the one hand, the old republican and senatorial hierarchy of consuls, praetors, etc.; on the other, the praefects and other delegates of the princeps: the former, as of old, elected to office, grouped in 'collegia,' partitioning duties by lot, with annual tenure: the latter appointed by Caesar, having no colleagues [7], with duties specifically assigned by him, and holding office during his pleasure.

The old magistrates are indeed styled 'mere names [8];' still it is admitted that, in the best days of Tiberius, 'consuls and praetors had their proper state, even the lesser magistrates had their powers in exercise [9];' and this admission can be supported by detail.

The office of consul, though no longer, as a rule, tenable throughout the year, and lowered as a distinction by the multiplication of 'consules suffecti,' or of 'consulares' who had received only the 'ornamenta,' yet shares such dignity as remains to the senate; with whom the consuls are the official channel of communication [10], and its regular presidents when it

[1] The silence of Horace, and reserve of Vergil, respecting him, have been often remarked.

[2] Suet. Aug. 40.

[3] 1. 15, 1. The shortlived restoration by Gaius (Suet. Cal. 16) hardly needs mention.

[4] 'Senatus consulta' and 'leges' are still formally distinct (see 4. 16, 4, etc.), but the mode of enactment of the few 'leges' cited as belonging to the time of Tiberius, such as the 'lex Iunia Norbana' and 'lex Visellia,' is unknown.

[5] See above, p. 70.

[6] Dio, 58. 20, 4; Suet. Dom. 10.

[7] A solitary exception is shown in the 'praefectura praetorii,' usually shared between two.

[8] 'Eadem magistratuum vocabula' 1. 3, 7.

[9] 4. 6, 3.

[10] See 1. 73, 3; 6. 39, 2, etc.

meets either as a deliberative[1] or judicial[2] body. They can also still issue edicts to the people[3], and a survival even of their old summary power of life and death is yet traceable[4]. It is indeed probable that the other magistrates, both through increase of their number, and through transference of many of their duties to imperial officers, must have often had merely honorary functions; still, of the twelve praetors, the two foremost have their old 'iurisdictio[5],' and others preside at the 'quaestiones perpetuae[6];' also the important charge of the aerarium[7], and the 'cura ludorum,' transferred from the aediles[8], belonged to this body. The aediles, of whom probably two were curule and four plebeian, though no doubt relieved of their 'cura annonae' by the 'praefectus,' retain a certain 'cura urbis' with power to regulate markets and prices[9], to control places of public resort[10], and to impose fines[11].

The ten tribunes of the people appear still to have retained their seat of honour in senate[12] and theatre[13], their viatores[14], and also their 'ius relationis[15],' and, on sufferance, even their 'intercessio[16].' Of the quaestors, two are charged with communication between Caesar and the senate[17]; four, until the time of Claudius, have 'provinciae' in Italy[18]; one is attached to each consul[19]; one accompanies the proconsul to each senatorial province[20]. This office would be always keenly sought[21], as admitting to the senatorial rank with all its duties and privileges; the praetorship and consulship, again, or, failing them, the 'ornamenta' of such offices, would be the highest objects of senatorial ambition, not only as adding to the 'nobilitas' of families, but as stepping-stones to provincial governments; the praetorship to those of the lesser provinces, the consulship, both to the greater Caesarian provinces and to the great senatorial prizes of Asia and Africa. On the other hand, the offices of

[1] See 1. 13, 4, etc.
[2] See 1. 73, 3; 2. 28, 4; 50, 2; 3. 10, 1, etc.
[3] 6. 13, 3.
[4] See 2. 32, 5. Even the powers conferred by the old 'ultimum senatus consultum' are still, by a fiction, treated as inherent in their office, 4. 19, 2. On the connection of these powers with the criminal jurisdiction of the senate, see below, p. 78.
[5] See Ann. 1. 15, 5; Agr. 6, 4.
[6] See Momms. ii. p. 193.
[7] 1. 75, 4; Suet. Aug. 36. Claudius gave it back to quaestors. See 13. 29, 2.
[8] Dio, 54. 2, 3. See Ann. 1. 15. 5; 77, 2, etc.
[9] See 3. 52, 3, etc.; Suet. Tib. 34; Claud. 38.
[10] As baths (Sen. Ep. 86, 10), popinae (Mart. 5, 84, etc.), and lupanaria (Ann. 2. 85, 2).
[11] See 13. 28, 4, and on their office to burn books, 4. 35, 5.
[12] Suet. Claud. 23.
[13] Dio, 49. 15, 6.
[14] Ann. 16. 12, 2.
[15] 6. 12, 1.
[16] 1. 77, 3; 6. 47, 1. On an attempt to make this a reality, see 16. 26, 6.
[17] The 'quaestores Caesaris' or 'Augusti.' See Suet. Tit. 6; Momms. ii. 517.
[18] See on 4. 27, 2.
[19] See 16. 34, 1, perhaps two (Cp. Dio, 48. 43, 1).
[20] 1. 74, 1; Agr. 6, 2, etc.
[21] This is implied in 11. 23, 3, etc.

aedile and tribune, though one or other seems usually to have formed part of the 'cursus honorum [1],' had so far fallen into disrepute, that properly qualified candidates were apt to be wanting [2]. The lesser magistracies, held before the quaestorship, and often collectively designated as the 'vigintiviratus [3],' consisted of four separate boards. (1) The 'tresviri capitales' were still charged with the duty of executing capital sentences, burning books, etc. [4]; but their summary jurisdiction at the Moenian column [5] had probably wholly or mainly passed to the praefectus urbis. (2) The 'tresviri monetales,' or 'tresviri aere argento auro flando feriundo' must have had their office restricted to the copper coinage still struck by the senate. Their names disappear from the coinage from and after the later years of Augustus [6]. (3) The 'quatuorviri viis in urbe purgandis' appear to have been subordinate officers to the aediles [7]. (4) The 'decemviri stlitibus iudicandis,' a very old separate board, became now presidents of the centumviral courts [8]. It is evident that all these greater and lesser magistracies filled considerable departments of the home government; and it is also known that the concurrent, and, ultimately, encroaching functions of Caesar's 'praefecti' began by being far less than they ultimately became [9].

Thus the two classes of magistrates coexisted; and a similar duality pervades the whole government. We have the two classes of provincial governments; the senatorial proconsuls, appointed by lot, with annual tenure; and Caesar's legati, specially designated, and continuing during his pleasure. There are two judicial systems; on one side the consular-senatorial high court, the tribunals of the praetor and iudices, and of the centumviri; on the other, the personal court of the princeps and those of his delegates. There are two treasuries, each of which receives and expends public money; even two coinages, as the princeps coins gold and silver, and the senate copper [10].

In some departments, indeed, of the thus divided government the senate has, in outward show, more even than its old constitutional power. In form, since the abolition of the comitia, it elects the magistrates of the state, who, through such election, themselves become

[1] See Agr. 6, 3, etc. Probably patricians, who could neither be tribunes nor plebeian aediles, passed at once from quaestors to praetors.

[2] This is stated of the tribuneship (Suet. Aug. 40), and of the aedileship (Dio, 55. 24, 9). An attempt was made to ennoble this office by its tenure by Agrippa, already a consular (Dio, 49. 43, 1), and Marcellus (Ann. 1, 3. 1) On the tribuneship, see also Plin. Epp. 1. 23.

[3] See 3. 29, 1; Dio, 54. 26, 6.

[4] 5. 9, 3; Agr. 2, 1.

[5] Cic. Div. in Q. Caec. 16, 50.

[6] Momms. ii. p. 588.

[7] Lex Iulia mun. 50; Momms. ii. p. 588.

[8] Suet. Aug. 36; Dio, 54. 26, 6.

[9] On the praef. urbis, see 6. 11, and, on the praef. praetorio, 4. 2.

[10] See Momms. p. 984, etc.

senators. In form, again, even the choice of a princeps rests with it. In several other departments, its formal powers, if not increased, are yet retained. The domestic history of this period is still mainly a record of its debates and decisions; nor is the right to express opinion limited strictly to the question before the house [1]. Formally, again, it is still the fountain of honour; triumphs [2] and triumphal insignia [3], days of public rejoicing [4] and other compliments to the ruling family [5], public funerals [6] and other memorials to the dead [7], are awarded by its decree. By its decrees, again, vices [8], disorder [9], unlawful religions [10], are repeatedly rebuked or dealt with.

Still more remarkable is the institution and development at this time of the senatorial high court of criminal judicature [11], whose proceedings occupy so large a space in the history of this period. It may not improbably have arisen out of a survival of the old criminal jurisdiction of the consuls [12], the senate being conceived as his assessors, as the 'iudices' were those of the praetor [13]; and the accuser might apply to either of these courts or to the personal court of the princeps as he thought fit [14]. In practice, the senate becomes under Tiberius by far the most important criminal tribunal of the state, dealing generally with the greatest [15], especially with political, offences, and with criminals mostly of senatorial or equestrian rank or family [16]. The court is competent to refuse to receive a case [17], and has some discretion in respect of sentence on the accused [18] or amount of recompence to the informer [19], but is described as powerless to reconsider a sentence once passed [20].

Abroad, though no longer controlling the greater provinces, it formally retains its old power over those remaining to it. To these it appoints

[1] See 2. 33, 2; 38, 3; 3. 34, 1, etc.
[2] 1. 55, 1; 3. 11, 1.
[3] 1. 72, 1; 2. 52, 9, etc.
[4] 2. 32, 3; 3. 47, 3, etc.
[5] 1. 14, 1; 3. 57, 2; 64, 3, etc.
[6] 3. 48, 1; 4. 15, 3; 6. 11, 7, etc.
[7] 2. 83, 2; 4. 9, 2, etc.
[8] 2. 33, 1; 85, 1, etc.
[9] 1. 77, 5; 4. 14, 4; 6. 13, 3, etc.
[10] 2. 32, 5; 85, 5, etc.
[11] See Momms. ii. p. 111–117.
[12] See above, p. 76, note 4.
[13] The magistrate presiding appears no less bound by their decision, which was sometimes, but not as a rule, given on oath (see 1. 74, 5; 4. 21, 5). The process is called technically 'cognitio patrum,' as distinct from the 'iudicia' of the praetor's court. See 1. 75, 1.
[14] This may be illustrated by the trial of Piso, who at first assumes or affects to assume that the process will be the ordinary 'quaestio de veneficiis' before the praetor (2. 79, 2). Trio lays a charge before the consuls, when by another move it is carried before the princeps, who after an informal hearing 'remits' it to the senate (3. 10), choosing this course rather than that of sending it to the praetor (3. 12, 10). It is implied that any of these three tribunals could have heard the case.
[15] That it was not restricted to these would appear from 3. 22, 1; 14. 40, 1; H. 4. 45, 1, etc.
[16] Criminals of lower rank are mentioned in 3. 32, 5; 15. 22, 1, etc., also foreign princes 2. 42, 5; 67, 3, etc., also slaves (14. 42, 2) or freedmen (Plin. Epp. 8. 14, 12) of senators.
[17] 4. 21, 4; 13. 10, 3.
[18] 3. 50, etc.
[19] 4. 20, 3, etc.
[20] 3. 51, 4. See above, p. 73, note 22.

governors, as of old, by lot or otherwise[1]; from these it receives all deputations for redress of grievances; one such scene, that of the audience of the many embassies on the right of asylum, being described as unusually impressive[2]. Petitions, at other times, are addressed to it for relief of burdens[3], and for erection or restoration of temples[4]; and judicial questions of boundary[5], or property[6]. We have even survivals of the old correspondence with foreign princes[7], and embassies of honour to such as have deserved well of Rome[8].

The princeps keeps the senate constantly informed by reports of all the more important occurrences in the provinces[9]; and it surprises us to find, that even on purely military questions, though their unasked interference is resented[10], they are represented as sharing a responsibility[11].

To maintain such double government in true equilibrium would be impossible, even if honestly attempted; but the hollowness of this apparent duality is clearly seen, not only in that the power of the sword is wholly excepted from it, but also in the securities taken by the princeps to ensure a subservient senate.

Admission to this body, as well as promotion to its higher ranks, was ordinarily gained through magistracy; and the abolition of the comitia would have left the senate self-elective, were not the choice of candidates influenced in two distinct modes by Caesar.

(1) Any influential citizen in the old Republic might informally commend a candidate, by introducing him to the tribes, and canvassing for him. Augustus originally supported his friends in this manner[12]; but in and after 761, A.D. 8, a formal written 'commendatio' is substituted[13]. Henceforth in each election we have 'candidati Caesaris[14],' in respect of whom the comitia, and afterwards the senate, have a mere *congé d'élire*[15]; and this right of 'commendatio' is strictly guaranteed in the 'lex' conferring the principate at each succession[16]. The proportion of such candidates is definite, and not large; in the quaestorship apparently only

[1] See 3. 32, 1; 35, 1; 58, 1, etc.

[2] 3. 60, 6.

[3] 1. 76, 4; 2. 47, 3; 4. 13, 1, etc. On such questions the initiative appears usually to rest with Caesar.

[4] 4. 15, 5; 37, 1; 43, 6; 55, 1.

[5] 4. 43, 1.

[6] 4. 43, 7.

[7] 2. 88, 1.

[8] 4. 26, 4.

[9] On the constant consultation of the senate by Tiberius, see Suet. Tib. 30; Dio, 57. 7, 2. He reports to it on the suppression of the mutiny (1. 52, 2), the state of the east (2. 43, 1), the Gallic rebellion (3. 47, 1), etc. Subsequently such reports become rare except where request is made for a decree of triumphal honours. See Mommsen, p. 916.

[10] 6. 3, 1.

[11] 1. 25, 3; 26, 1. The words are probably insincere.

[12] Suet. Aug. 56.

[13] Dio, 55. 34, 3. A return to the practice of the dictator (Suet. Jul. 41).

[14] Vell. 2. 124, 4. Cp. Ann. 1. 15, 2, etc.

[15] 'Sine repulsa et ambitu designandos' Ann. l.l.

[16] Lex de Imp. Vesp. 12. There appears also to have been right of commendation to priesthoods. See note on 3. 19, 1.

two[1] out of twenty[2], in the praetorship four out of twelve[3]; with some unknown proportion of tribunes and aediles[4].

(2) The presiding magistrate at the old comitia could always refuse to receive the name of, and reject votes tendered for, an unqualified candidate[5]. Out of this grew a right, claimed by Caesar as chief magistrate, to 'nominate' candidates, as well as to 'commend[6].' Such 'nominatio,' made by publishing a list of candidates, implied no more than that they were qualified to receive votes, and might contain any number of names; but it was the interest, and probably a common practice, of the princeps, to name no more nor fewer candidates than there were vacancies[7]; and thus to reduce the whole election to a sham; for, though the presiding consul had probably power to publish a supplementary list[8], those 'nominated' by Caesar would be sure of preference. In the choice of consuls this mode of influence seems to have been adopted. There is no trace of formal 'commendatio,' or of special 'candidati Caesaris' for this office, but care seems to have been taken to control the elections informally[9].

Again, candidates for the quaestorship, which gave admission to the senate, must have been 'tribuni militum,' or have served on the 'vigintiviratus[10],' and had usually filled both positions. Of these qualifications, the first, as a military rank, could clearly be only obtained with consent of Caesar[11].

Besides those entering the senate through magistracy, others are mentioned in inscriptions, as early as the time of Claudius, as 'adlecti a principe[12],' and names were probably then added at the 'lectiones senatus' held by Augustus[13]. Such 'adlecti' have usually a rank assigned as if they had been qualified by office[14]. The power of expulsion of senators and annual revision of the list has been already mentioned, as well as the constant control of that body by the rights of 'relation' and

[1] 'Quaestores Caesaris' and 'quaestores candidati Caesaris' are generally identified, Momms. ii. 517.

[2] 11. 22, 9. The doubling of the number by the dictator Caesar (Dio, 43. 47, 2) was probably not permanent.

[3] 1. 15, 2. The number 12 is sometimes exceeded. See on 2. 32, 1.

[4] As to tribunes, it is only known that some were 'candidati Caesaris' (Henzen, Inscr. 6501); as to aediles, not even this.

[5] E.g. Liv. 7. 22; 9. 46. The phrase is 'accipere nomen' or 'rationem habere, alicuius.' See also Vell. 2. 92, 3.

[6] See Dio, 53, 21, 7; 58. 20, 3.

[7] See 1. 14, 6.

[8] The language of Plin. Pan. 69 appears to imply that those who were neither 'commended' nor 'nominated' by Caesar, had yet hope of election.

[9] See on 1. 81. Afterwards they seem more directly appointed by Caesar. See H. 1. 77, 2; 2. 71, 3; Momms. p. 884.

[10] See on 3. 29, 1.

[11] In form, some are still 'a populo,' others 'Augusti.' See Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 354.

[12] Henzen, Inscr. 6005, etc.

[13] See above, p. 71, and Mon. Anc. ii. 1.

[14] 'Inter tribunicios,' 'praetorios,' etc. Orell. Inscr. 1170, etc. 'Adlecti inter consulares' are not found till the third century. Momms. p. 901.

'intercession[1];' to which may be added the power of preventing obnoxious senators from drawing lots for provinces[2].

The duality of government is thus shown to be fictitious; but it was the policy of most principes, especially of Augustus and Tiberius, to lay 'public affairs and the most important matters relating to individuals' before the senate, 'to allow the chief men to debate, and even to check their servility[3].' Besides the formal share of government already mentioned as left to them, we find, as an additional recognition of their dignity, that even the commanders of the legions, and the governors of Caesarian provinces, in whose choice the senate has no share, are yet always chosen from its ranks.

Similar prudent moderation marks the position and demeanour of the early Caesars in other respects; notwithstanding that Oriental ideas of monarchy could not fail to modify the professed idea of the Augustan constitution, whereby the princeps was but the first citizen of Rome[4]. The vast patronage at his disposal would of itself surround him with the atmosphere of a court and its crowd of petitioners for favour[5]. His daily levee was thronged by magistrates and senators of highest rank, as those of other Roman nobles by their humble clients; while the assemblage on greater occasions approached a national gathering[6]. The 'cohors amicorum,' though an old Republican institution, acquires a new significance, and has its hierarchy of grades, grounded partly on the rank or official position, but chiefly on the actual personal intimacy of the friend[7]. The interchange of presents on gala days[8], the invitation to occasional banquets[9], the selection of a person as a companion in travel[10], were valued as marks of special favour; the formal renunciation of friendship was tantamount to a sentence of banishment[11]. Yet, on the other hand, the early princeps disclaims the public title of 'dominus[12];'

[1] See above, p. 71.

[2] Ann. 6. 40, 3. Another means of control over the senate consisted in the appointment by Caesar of the registrar of their 'acta' (5. 4, 1), so as to ensure suppression of obnoxious records.

[3] 4. 6, 2.

[4] For a full account of the court of the princeps and its ceremonial, see Friedlaender, Sitteng. i. ch. 2. The subject belongs chiefly to a later period, and will be further mentioned in the Introduction to vol. ii. It may here be mentioned that Tiberius prohibited the daily kiss, apparently introduced from the East by Augustus, and limited the gifts ('strenae'). See Suet. Tib. 34.

[5] See the reasons for retirement, pressed on Tiberius by Seianus (4. 41, 4).

[6] See Dio, 56. 26, 3, etc.

[7] On the distinction 'primae et secundae admissionis' and the republican precedents, see Friedl. l. l. p. 119, also a full list of the friends of the Caesar, from the time of Augustus, p. 182, sqq.

[8] Especially on the 1st of January. See Dio, 54. 35, 2, etc.

[9] 'Solennes coenae' (Suet. Tib. 34).

[10] The 'comitatus' usually included senators and knights, and others of neither rank, who are rather 'grati' than 'amici.' See note on 4. 58, 1; also Suet. Tib. 46.

[11] See 3. 24, 5. The banishment of Ovid was more formal, but apparently by mere command, without judicial process.

[12] 2. 87, 2 (where see note). On the use of this title in ordinary life, see Friedl. i. p. 395, sqq.

nor has he throne or diadem, but the familiar curule chair, the laurel-wreath and lictors. His household troops keep the old title of 'cohors praetoria.' Nor is Dio right in representing him as 'legibus solutus[1];' his special exemption from some laws[2] implying that he is bound by all others. Again, his family have no dignities except by special decree. Livia, the type in early times of exceptional female privilege, received tribunitian sanctity, and was made 'sui iuris' in her husband's lifetime[3]: her honours at his death were strictly limited[4]; her deification at the time of her death refused[5]; her political influence was only personal: not till after Domitian does 'Augusta' become a regular title[6]: only Agrippina seems formally to share the power of husband or son, and to be in very deed an 'empress:' the association of the sisters of Gaius in the oath[7] seems a mere freak of power: sons of the ruling house are no more than, and are not always, 'principes iuventutis[8]' in youth; and are afterwards enabled only by special decree[9] to forestall the lawful age for magistracies: the households of Caesar are at first no greater than those of other eminent citizens[10]; his secretaries, accountants, etc., no higher than freedmen.

Nor could the princeps formally name a successor; much as he could do indirectly to guide the choice of one. The person left heir in his will had a position of vantage by succeeding to the 'fiscus,' in which public money was mingled with the 'res privata principis:' yet neither Livia[11] nor Tiberius Gemellus[12] acquired by heirship any share of empire. An act of adoption by the princeps is figuratively called by Tacitus 'comitia imperii[13];' but such adoption was not limited to one[14], and hardly receives its full significance till the adoption of Trajan. Similarly the title of 'princeps iuventutis,' though sometimes taken to mark out a successor[15], might be shared by more than one[16], and was usually dropped at manhood. Far more influence would be exerted by the association of an intended heir in the 'proconsulare imperium,' or 'tribunitia potestas,' or, as was the case with Tiberius, in both[17]. But this step was rarely taken, and

[1] Dio, 53. 18, 1.
[2] See Lex de Imp. Vesp. 24.
[3] Dio, 49. 38, 1 (719, B.C. 35). Octavia received the same privilege with her.
[4] 1. 8, 2; 14, 1. On subsequent marks of respect, see 3. 64, 3; 71, 1; 4. 15, 4; 16, 6.
[5] 5. 2, 1.
[6] Momms. p. 794.
[7] Suet. Cal. 15.
[8] See on 1. 3, 2.
[9] See on 3. 29, 1.
[10] See 4. 6, 7.
[11] See 1. 8, 1; Suet. Aug. 101.
[12] Suet. Tib. 76.
[13] H. 1. 14, 1.
[14] Gaius and Lucius were adopted together (see on 1. 3, 2), as were afterwards Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus (Suet. Tib. 15).
[15] Gaius Caesar is called 'iam designatus princeps' in the cenotaph of Pisa, Orell. 643.
[16] As by Gaius and Lucius.
[17] See on 1. 3, 3.

might even be dangerous, for not every heir could so be trusted[1]. 'Proconsulare imperium' seems indeed capable of degrees, and was given to Germanicus[2], probably to Drusus[3], probably also to Seianus[4], in a lower form than the full 'consortium' held by Tiberius[5] with Augustus. The tribunitian power seems to be treated as more significant, and is shared still more sparingly; with Augustus only by Agrippa and Tiberius, with Tiberius only by Drusus[6]; never again, till shared by Titus with Vespasian[7]: and even Tiberius, when first admitted to share that power, must have felt that others stood nearer to the succession than he.

But whatever the position of the expectant successor, the formal choice lay with the senate, and its ratification with the comitia[8], and the powers were again defined at each succession[9]. In any case, the principate is no monarchy in which 'the king never dies;' there is always an interval, during which its character as an excrescence of the revolution reappears, in that no 'interrex' is needed as if the republic had been left without chief magistrates. The competence of the consuls still survives; to them a living princeps can pretend[10], or even offer[11] to resign; and at his death they carry on government during the interval[12], and the form of the constitution is still complete.

The senate again at these epochs may assert itself by 'condemning the memory[13]' of the dead, whether by omitting his name from the list of precedents in the 'lex' of his successor[14], or by the milder ἀτιμία of refusing deification[15]. Among other formidable 'secret principles of the constitution' revealed in 821, A.D. 68, was also this, that the senate could even unmake and outlaw a living princeps, through the old formula, invoked by Tiberius against his own natural heirs[16], of declaring him a public enemy[17].

Without doubt the early principes owed much of the stability of their

[1] See on 3. 56, 3.
[2] See 1. 14, 4. It was not valid in the East without a fresh decree (2. 43, 2).
[3] It is probable (see 1. 14, 5) that Drusus had it after his consulship; but it was not valid within the pomoerium (see 3. 19, 4). So that of Nero under Claudius was only 'extra urbem' (12. 41, 2).
[4] Seianus is called 'adiutor,' not 'collega' (4. 7, 2). The term in 5. 6, 2, is of doubtful meaning.
[5] We are not told that even this was valid within the city, though the command taken of the guard by Tiberius on the death of Augustus (1. 7, 7) would appear to imply it.
[6] 3. 56, 5.
[7] Suet. Tit. 6.
[8] See above, p. 70.
[9] As in the Lex de Imp. Vesp.
[10] As Tiberius, 4. 9, 1.
[11] As Vitellius, H. 3. 68, 3.
[12] Ann. 1. 7, 4; Dio, 60. 1, 1.
[13] See Momms. p. 1078.
[14] Thus the names of Gaius and Nero, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, are omitted from the Lex de Imp. Vesp. The 'rescissio actorum' rested rather with the successor. Suet. Cl. 11.
[15] Tiberius, though his name was not omitted like those mentioned above, was not deified, nor were his 'acta' included in the annual oath of maintenance. See Dio, 59. 9, 1.
[16] Suet. Cal. 7.
[17] Suet. Ner. 49.

rule to their subtle manipulation of republican ideas. Not even 'the extinction of the bolder spirits by proscription and battle [1],' and the growth of 'a generation bent on slavery [2],' helped them more than the homage paid at least in the letter to constitutional forms, the respect for which, even in the character of fictions and survivals, is so marked a trait of the Roman mind; especially at a time when demoralisation and its remedies were alike felt to be burdensome [3], and men could neither bear complete bondage nor complete liberty [4]. If Julius Caesar might have pleaded that he had but gone a step further on the path of Sulla; Augustus, with far more prudence, made a show of imitating the great autocrat of the aristocracy only in his wish to abdicate; while ruling under more skilful disguise, and with more complete precedents. Men might recollect, and were, no doubt, industriously reminded, that even his more irregular powers were severally such as their fathers had acquiesced in: that there had always been a constitutional right to commend and to reject candidates for a magistracy [5]: that the senate had been always in theory no more than an advising body: that a 'cohors praetoria' was as old as the days of Scipio Africanus [6]: that Gracchus had contemplated, and partly realised, a continuity of 'tribunitian power:' that Marius and Sulla, and still more Pompeius, and yet more recently Cassius [7], had held an 'imperium maius,' embracing more than a province: that Pompeius again, most dangerous innovator of all, had been admiral of the state, with power to send his fleets where he would [8]; and had even been consul at home, while holding 'proconsulare imperium' abroad, administered by legati in his name. It was by a strange irony of fate, that, not only demagogues, but even the last great champions of the 'optimates,' supplied the leading political ideas of the Caesars; and that it was by weapons drawn mainly from its own armoury that the senatorial rule had perished.

[1] 1. 2, 1.

[2] 3. 65, 3.

[3] 'Nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus' Liv. Praef. 9.

[4] 'Imperaturus es hominibus qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem' H. 1. 16, 11.

[5] See above, pp. 79, 80.

[6] Festus, s. v.

[7] See Cic. Phil. 11. 12, 30.

[8] 'Omnes terras Cn. Pompeio atque omnia maria esse permissa' Cic. Leg. Agr. 2. 17, 46.

# CHAPTER VII.

## ON THE GENERAL ADMINISTRATION AND CONDITION OF THE ROMAN WORLD AT THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS, AND DURING THE PRINCIPATE OF TIBERIUS.

### SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.



In the selection of what can here be said on this great subject, chief stress must be laid on the information furnished by Tacitus himself. Among modern works, especial obligations must be acknowledged to Marquardt's 'Römische Staatsverwaltung,' and Friedlaender's 'Sittengeschichte,' to which those who seek further information must be referred [1].

### The People of Rome.

Towards the aristocracy the policy of Augustus and Tiberius was eminently conservative; and though many noble houses had perished in the revolution, many others were saved from decay by imperial gifts [2], sufficiently frequent to be almost regarded by a Hortensius as his right [3]. Tiberius is also specially recorded to have considered nobility of ancestry in his award of honours [4]. Consequently, we still find under him not only the Aemilii Lepidi [5] and Calpurnii Pisones [6] holding their heads

[1] Several matters, belonging more properly to a later date, will be mentioned in the Introduction to vol. ii.

[2] See 1. 75, 5; 2. 37, 1; Suet. Aug. 41.

[3] 2. 37, 7.

[4] 4. 6, 2.

[5] See 3. 22, 1; 6. 27, 5; and notes.

[6] 2. 43, 4.

almost as high as under the republic, but also many other time-honoured names frequent in high positions, such as those of Aurelius Cotta [1], Cassius Longinus [2], Cornelius Lentulus [3], Cornelius Sulla Felix [4], Domitius Ahenobarbus [5], Furius Camillus [6], Junius Silanus [7], Mamercus Scaurus [8], Scribonius Libo [9], Sulpicius Galba [10], Valerius Messala [11], and others. Such families showed their pride of ancestry in the host of ancestors surrounding their atrium [12] and paraded at their funerals [13]; and even their unworthy members seem to have retained no small share of popular reverence [14]. Side by side with these are the houses that had come to the front in the revolution, as the descendants of Agrippa [15], Pollio [16], and Taurus [17], or those since ennobled like the Vitellii [18]; while a Sulpicius Quirinus [19] under Augustus, or a Curtius Rufus [20] under Tiberius, are examples of men of the people rising to rank by personal energy. Such decay of old families as belongs to this stage, seems thus to be traceable to little else but their own hideous gluttony and luxury [21], and ruinous ostentation [22]; to their vast parks and villas which helped to make the food of Italy dependent on wind and wave [23], and which had seemed, even in the time of Horace, to be crowding the fish out of the sea and leaving on land few acres for the plough [24].

It must be borne in mind that senatorial families must have ranged in wealth from the bare census of a million H.S. [25], exceeded by many knights and even freedmen, to the 400 millions of an augur Lentulus [26]. The greatest, with their vast estates and slave-gangs in Italy and the provinces, and often with great sums employed in trade and usury, through indulgent administration of prohibitory laws [27], lived on a princely scale, and rewarded their host of retainers with almost royal munificence [28]. On the other hand, the amount of state and style of

[1] 3. 2, 5, etc.
[2] 6. 15, 1, etc.
[3] 4. 46, 1, etc.
[4] 6. 15, 1, etc.
[5] 4. 75, 1, etc.
[6] 2. 52, 5 etc.
[7] 2. 59, 1, etc.
[8] 1. 13, 4, etc. He is said to have been the last of his house. See note on 6. 29, 7.
[9] 2. 1, 1, etc.
[10] 3. 52, 1, etc.
[11] 1. 8, 5, etc.
[12] 2. 27, 2, etc.
[13] 3. 76, 4, etc.
[14] Sympathy is shown on this ground to the undeserving Lepida. See 3. 23, 1.
[15] 1. 77, 3, etc. His descendants by Julia are not here meant.
[16] 1. 12, 6, etc.
[17] 2. 1, 1.
[18] See Suet. Vit. 2.
[19] 3. 48, 2.
[20] 11. 21, 3.
[21] 3. 55, 1. See Introd. to vol. ii.
[22] 'Studio magnificentiae prolabebantur' l. l.
[23] 3. 53, 5; 54, 7.
[24] Cp. Hor. Od. 2. 15, 1; 3. 1, 33.
[25] See note on 1. 75, 5.
[26] See note on 3. 59, 1.
[27] 'Neque enim quisquam tali culpa vacuus' 6. 16, 5.
[28] Messalinus Cotta (see on 2. 32, 2) was long remembered for his munificence (Juv. 5, 109; 7, 95); which is illustrated by an inscription, recording repeated gifts of 400,000 H.S. to a freedman, and other bounty to his family. See Friedl. i. 220.

life [1] imposed even on the poorest would make many anxious to lay down their rank [2], and many outsiders of moderate means well-satisfied not to enter it [3]. On the whole, however, such a position was the great object of ambition, and admission to its ranks or a rise in them was sought by fair means or foul. The base side of senatorial character is abundantly brought before us by Tacitus; on the other hand, it is but fair to recollect that from this class come the series of provincial governors, of whom few are unequal to their place, and many show high qualities of the soldier and statesman, while even so low a nature as that of L. Vitellius rises above itself under the responsibilities of power [4]. At home again even the pliant Ateius Capito shares with his nobler rival Antistius Labeo the glory of founding the system of jurisprudence which forms the greatest legacy bequeathed by Rome to the world [5].

The second or equestrian order had also undergone many changes under Augustus; who, besides reconstituting the judicial body into four decuriae each about 1000 strong, of whom the three first were essentially equestrian [6], had also reorganized and frequently revised the list of 'equites equo publico,' who, as a more select body within the mass, are called 'equites Romani' in a stricter sense. Their solemn processions were revived [7], and the expectant heirs of the empire, Gaius and Lucius, became their heads, under the title of 'principes iuventutis [8].' The 'ius annulorum,' still, as would appear, not permitted beyond this select body [9], was further subjected in the ninth year of Tiberius to stringent regulations respecting birth as well as census [10].

From Augustus also dates the rise of a still more select equestrian aristocracy under the title of 'equites illustres' or other similar names [11]; men of senatorial census, or even among the wealthiest in the state [12], who remained within the equestrian rank from choice. Of these the most famous was Maecenas, and those who filled similar positions in

[1] In the time of Tiberius, a house rented at 6000 H.S. would be almost too mean for a senator. Vell. 2. 10, 1.

[2] 1. 75, 5.

[3] Cp. the sentiment of Horace, Sat. 1. 6, 100–109.

[4] 6. 32, 6.

[5] See 3. 75.

[6] See Pl. N. H. 33. 1 (7), 30. It would appear that Augustus did not really reconstitute the 'tribuni aerarii,' to whom, as representatives of the plebs, his fourth 'decuria' practically corresponded; but formed his first three 'decuriae' of senators and knights mixed; and that, when the senate itself became a judicial body, senators probably ceased to sit on the 'decuriae iudicum,' which thus come to be called 'decuriae equitum' (Suet. Tib. 41). See Marquardt, Hist. Eq. Rom. p. 50, note. Subsequently, the fourth 'decuria,' originally plebeian (Suet. Aug. 32), became equestrian, and a fifth was added by Gaius.

[7] Suet. Aug. 38.

[8] 1. 3, 2.

[9] Plin. l. l.

[10] Plin. l. l. 32.

[11] See note on 2. 59, 4.

[12] Vedius Pollio (see on 1. 10, 4) was a knight of enormous wealth, the son of a freedman. Dio, 54, 23, 1.

imperial confidence after him, as Sallustius Crispus [1] and Seianus, and many others who by filling such offices as the important 'praefecturae' in Rome [2] and that of Egypt [3] held a position superior to most senators. The equestrian order was thus a gainer by the revolution, both through the relative depression of the order above them, and through the special career of emolument and distinction held out to them [4]. Throughout the empire, their 'societates' farmed the revenue [5]; the residence of senators in Rome left them the aristocracy of municipal Italy and the provinces; and many might pass from the lower to the higher rank of their order by gaining the 'knights' patent of nobility [6],'—a procuratorship.

The resident senators and knights with their wives and children, and many of the families of those absent on foreign service, formed an upper population in Rome, variously estimated at from 10,000 to nearly 50,000 [7]. To these wealthy classes belonged most of the 'domus' or palaces [8], filling, with their gardens and grounds, so large a portion of the city; which, with the great addition made by Augustus to the public buildings and open spaces, must have compressed into closer and closer quarters the vast crowd occupying the chambers in the 'insulae' or blocks of buildings, towering often seventy feet high [9], where the 'plebs' found such lodgings as they could afford, and, in the labyrinthine streets of 'vetus Roma' before the fire of Nero [10], lived in probably even greater discomfort than in the time of Juvenal [11]. The plebs, however, had its many grades of position within its ranks. Many must have been only barely below the equestrian census [12], and many others, if not, like the senators and equites, great capitalists, must have earned in various ways large incomes, in the thousand callings and trades of Rome. To this class also belonged vast numbers, among freeborn or freedmen, of what are now called the liberal professions. The schoolmaster, as Orbilius [13]

[1] See 3. 30, 4.

[2] The 'praefectus urbi' was a senator of consular rank, but the 'praefecti praetorio,' 'annonae,' and 'vigilum,' were knights.

[3] H. 1. 11, 1.

[4] The equestrian 'cursus honorum' may be illustrated by the inscription to Valerius Proculus (Wilm. 1256), who was successively praefectus cohortis, legionary tribune, praefectus classis, procurator of five provinces rising in importance, praefectus annonae, and lastly praefectus Aegypti.

[5] 4. 6, 4.

[6] Agr. 4, 1.

[7] See Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 120; Friedl. i. p. 52; Dyer, Dict. of Geog. 'Roma,' p. 747.

[8] On the distinction of 'domus' and 'insulae,' see 6. 45, 1, etc.

[9] Augustus had fixed this limit (Strab. 5. 3, p. 235), which would be far below the height of many houses in the old city of Edinburgh.

[10] 15. 38, 4; Liv. 5. 55.

[11] Juv. 3. 193–225.

[12] Hor. Ep. 1. 1, 58.

[13] Id. Ep. 2. 1, 70.

or Verrius Flaccus [1]; the rank and file of advocates [2], who managed cases beneath the dignity of the great senatorial pleaders; many, if not most of the teachers of rhetoric [3]; lawyers even of such reputation as Masurius Sabinus [4], were still plebeians. Such again, probably not so often freeborn Romans as freedmen or foreigners, were the architects, sculptors, painters, and other artists, the musicians and players [5], the physicians [6], and practitioners of the forbidden arts of astrology [7] and magic. Another large class would include the inferior officials in the public service, scribes, apparitors, attendants on magistrates, and many other walks of middle-class life which cannot here be specified.

Below all these lay a great mass of poverty, ranging from those who had more or less scanty or precarious earnings down to the beggars who, as now, infested the public places. For the 'plebs sordida,' many of whom were outside the pale of the thirty-five tribes [8], such provision as would answer to a modern poor law was made by the monthly corn dole and other occasional subsidies [9]. Also large numbers of the poorer and many also of the better classes got what they could from the position of clients of noble houses. On the 'clientela' under the empire most of our information is of later date; but it would seem even from Horace that the old ideas [10] and old personal relation of clientship [11] had passed away, and that already great men had their ostentatious crowds [12] of such dependents. Still Augustan literature knows nothing of the scramble for the 'sportula,' or the ignominious position of a Trebius at the table of a Virro.

Side by side with the rapidly diminishing 'plebs ingenua [13]' was the swarm of freedmen. Most of these were probably still outside the pale of the tribes [14], and none had yet the political and social position in which this

[1] A freedman, whose reputation as a teacher induced Augustus to employ him to teach his sons. Suet. de Ill. Gr. 17.

[2] 'Cogitaret plebem quae toga enitesceret' 11. 7, 7. In the time of Juvenal (7, 106, sqq.) they were an ill-paid order.

[3] Blandus, in the time of Augustus, was the first knight who ever adopted this profession. See note on 6. 27, 1.

[4] He was made a knight by Tiberius, but not till he was fifty years old. On plebeian lawyers, cp. Juv. 8, 49.

[5] The singer Tigellius was a Sardinian (Hor. Sat. 1. 3, 3); most of the 'histriones' were freedmen. See notes on 1. 54, 3, etc.

[6] Antonius Musa, a freedman, was made a knight (Dio, 53. 30, 3). On domestic physicians, see on 4. 63, 3.

[7] As Thrasyllus (6. 20, 3).

[8] See the inscription (Orell. 754) of the time of Titus, 'Pleps urbana quae frumentum publicum accipit et tribus;' also the distinction in Suet. Aug. 57, between 'tribus' and 'ceterum genus.'

[9] See 2. 87, 1, etc.

[10] 'Clienti promere iura' Ep. 2. 1, 104.

[11] Horace gives a picture of friendly clientship in the later Republic, in the story of Philippus and Volteius (Ep. 1. 7, 46, sqq.).

[12] 'Turba clientium' Od. 3. 1, 13.

[13] 4. 27, 3.

[14] Later, the tribes were full of them (13. 27, 1).

class are found a generation later [1]. Even at this date there are those whose wealth and position might vie with that of the nobles [2], and great numbers must have belonged to professions or callings requiring high education and earning high payment. The remainder probably swelled the ranks of the client-class. Augustus endeavoured both to limit manumission by enactment and precept [3], and also to utilise freedmen in the service of the state; in which they formed the bulk of the 'vigiles [4],' and were even drafted wholesale into the legions after the catastrophe of Varus [5]; while under Tiberius a large number were deported to be made useful or left to perish in Sardinia [6], and a law was passed to define the status of a class of this order [7].

Any numerical estimate of the 'plebs urbana' with their wives and families rests almost wholly on guess-work. We cannot tell how many of the suburban or even nearest rural population may have helped to swell the numbers of the 200,000 recipients of public corn under Augustus [8], or the 250,000 to 300,000 sharers in his occasional 'congiaria [9].' It is therefore not surprising that calculations from such data give a result varying from more than a million to less than half that sum [10].

Similar uncertainty attends the attempt to estimate the mass of public and private urban slaves. They are generally called a vast multitude [11]; the 'familia' of Pedanius Secundus alone numbers 400 [12]; still the majority of the plebs must have had none or next to none, and many poor knights or senators very few. A reasonable estimate takes them at 800,000 or 900,000, who, with perhaps 60,000 peregrini, and a garrison of 20,000 [13], may make up the million and a half to two millions of souls in Rome [14].

To this vast crowd the chief gift of Augustus was a fairly efficient organization of police. The city was partitioned into fourteen 'regiones,' each allotted to the charge of one of the magistrates for the year [15].

[1] See Introd. to vol. ii.

[2] The wealth of Licinus under Augustus is proverbial (see Juv. 1, 109, and Mayor, ad loc.); and under Tiberius we hear of a freedman temporarily prefect of Egypt (Dio, 58. 19, 6); and of others, Thallus, Euhodus (Jos. Ant. 18. 6, 4, 8), and Nomius (Plin. N. H. 13. 65, 94), as rich and influential.

[3] He restricted those to be manumitted by will to 100, and advised his successors to be sparing in the practice. Dio (Zon.) 56. 33, 3.

[4] Dio, 55. 26, 4.

[5] 'Vernacula multitudo' 1. 31, 4.

[6] 2. 85, 5.

[7] 'Lex Iunia Norbana.'

[8] Mon. Anc. iii. 21.

[9] Id. iii. 14–16.

[10] See Marquardt, ii. p. 120; Friedl. i. p. 52; Merivale, Hist. c. xl. p. 495, etc.; Dyer, l. l. p. 747.

[11] 3. 53, 5; 4. 27, 3.

[12] 14. 43, 5.

[13] I. e. the vigiles, urban cohorts, and, from the ninth year of Tiberius, nine praetorian cohorts.

[14] See the authorities above cited.

[15] Dio, 55. 8, 6, under the year 748, B.C. 6.

Under these were grouped the 265 'vici [1],' or quasi-parochial corporations, choosing each their four wardens or 'vico-magistri [2],' whose duties, though mainly religious, were also in part constabulary [3], at least till the institution in 756, A.D. 6, of the 'vigiles [4],' who were so distributed that each cohort, 1000 strong, had watch and ward of two regions [5], to guard from fire and robbery; both of which were still rife enough in crowded districts, and streets lit only by the poor passenger's lamp-wick, and now and then by the rich man's torch train [6]. Besides the 'vigiles,' the urban and praetorian guards were in reserve, if needed, and the police magistracy, beyond such powers as remained to aediles and other magistrates [7], rested with the city praefect [8].

The principate of Tiberius seems on the whole to mark the period when the populace are least considered. They take the oath of allegiance at his accession [9], and then seem to retire from prominence. They have no votes to sell [10], the general tie of clientship would thereby become more unmeaning, and the rabble are not yet the 'clientela Caesaris.' Their only interest is in their bread and their amusements [11], and in both they seem to have their grievances. To keep famine at bay is indeed felt by the princeps to be his most arduous task [12], and to require efforts far exceeding those of Augustus [13]. Still, the cry for bread, finding expression at the great popular gatherings of the games, is fierce and even menacing [14]; in the general poverty even a small tax seems burdensome [15]; and, beyond doing his utmost for the food supply, Tiberius keeps them at a distance. The legacies of Augustus are paid grudgingly [16], 'congiaria' are infrequent [17]; and, though the people have the cheap daily lounge of their public baths, thanks to Maecenas and Agrippa, and their 'circenses' and new 'ludi Augustales [18];' yet the presence of the princeps at their games, if vouchsafed at all, is no longer genial [19], and the sanguinary excitement of gladiatorial shows so rare, that crowds flock to one given by private speculation in the neighbourhood [20]. Their moods are schooled [21] and rebuked [22] by edicts, their murmurs treated as vapour [23],

[1] Plin. N. H. 3. 5, 66.
[2] Suet. Aug. 30; Dio, 55. 8, 6.
[3] Dio, l. l. See Marquardt, iii. p. 198.
[4] Dio, 55. 26, 4.
[5] Paulus, Dig. 1. 15, 3. See Marquardt, ii. p. 470.
[6] Juv. 3, 197, sqq.; and 278, sqq.
[7] See above, ch. vi. pp. 76, 77.
[8] 6. 11.
[9] 1. 7, 3.
[10] Juv. 10, 77.
[11] Id. 10, 80.
[12] 3. 54, 8; 4. 6, 6.
[13] 6. 13, 2.
[14] Ann. l. l.
[15] 1. 78, 2.
[16] Dio, 57. 14, 2.
[17] See 2. 42, 1; 3. 29, 3.
[18] 1. 15, 3; 54, 3.
[19] 1. 54, 3; 76, 6.
[20] 4. 62, 3; Suet. Tib. 47.
[21] 1. 8, 6; 3. 6, 1; 4. 67, 1.
[22] 6. 13, 3.
[23] 1. 15, 2, etc.

their compliments declined[1]. One genuine enthusiasm, that for Germanicus and his house[2], seems left to them; otherwise those for whom none care, care for none; and find it their one sound instinct to side with fortune and to hate the fallen[3]; worthy parents of those who, half a century later, looked on civil war in the streets as only a more exciting gladiatorial combat[4].

## Italy.

Few changes of importance in the administration or condition of Italy belong to this period. Augustus was but recognising facts already accomplished, in fixing the western frontier of Italy at the line of the Varus (Var)[5] and of the small procuratorial province of the maritime Alps[6]: a small semi-independent state being reserved in the district of the Cottian Alps round Segusium (Susa) near Turin[7]. On the east, Istria was included, the Arsia (Arsa) being fixed as the boundary towards Illyricum[8].

Augustus had also given the peninsula its first organization as a whole, by mapping it out into the eleven regions recorded by Pliny[9]; an arrangement which, though probably intended only to facilitate a census, became the permanent basis of its administration, which in other respects appears to have undergone little change till the second century A.D.[10].

The probable population of Italy at this time can be barely guessed at[11]; but there is abundant evidence that the free rustic people, rapidly diminishing as early as the time of the Gracchi[12], and further thinned by civil wars, had sunk far below the number that could have been employed or supported; probably even below the δεινὴ ὀλιγανθρωπία[13] of the time of the dictator Caesar. Strabo attests the depopulation of Southern Italy[14]: Livy is no less explicit on that of the central districts, and is amazed that the country which once sent forth the Aequian and Volscian armies could now barely recruit the household troops of Rome, and would be a desert, but for the slave-gangs[15]: the most eloquent words ascribed by Tacitus

[1] As the title of 'pater patriae' 1. 72, 2; 2. 87, 2.

[2] See 1. 33; 2. 41; 82; 3. 1–6; 11; 5. 3–5.

[3] Juv. 10, 73.

[4] H. 3. 83, 1.

[5] Plin. N. H. 3. 5, 44; Luc. 1, 404.

[6] Ann. 15. 32, 1; H. 2. 12, 5.

[7] The native prince, Cottius, ranked as 'praefectus.' Insc. Orell. 626. Under Nero it became a province. Suet. Ner. 18.

[8] Plin. N. H. 3. 5, 44.

[9] N. H. 3. 5, 46, etc. See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 69.

[10] Spart. Hadr. 22, 13.

[11] Merivale (ch. xxxix. p. 432) would estimate it as high as thirteen millions; which, when all the towns are allowed for, and the rural slaves, would still leave the free rustic population scanty for the area. But probably this total is far too high.

[12] Plut. Ti. Gracch. 8.

[13] Dio, 43. 25, 2.

[14] 5. c. 4, p. 242; and 6. p. 253, 281.

[15] 6. 12.

to Tiberius dwell on the scanty produce of a soil that cannot have been cultivated to its best [1]. Pliny traces the evil to the 'latifundia,' which had extinguished all careful and energetic husbandry [2]; the words of Tiberius point scornfully to the tracts made wholly unproductive by the noble mansions with their parks and pleasure grounds [3]. Probably the rich and fertile Transpadane district, less devastated by civil war, and apparently more free from the curse of the chained slave-gangs [4], may have formed a contrast to the general state of the peninsula, in which the huge city, and many flourishing towns, must have made the desolation of other towns and of the rural districts only more evident.

Love of country life, with its frugal simplicity and healthy habits, is undoubtedly genuine in Horace; and the ideal of such a life, or of that of a retired Italian town, is professedly admired by many a Roman who knew as little of it as the money-lender Alfius [5], or who had little real intention to take refuge at Cumae with Umbricius [6], or to change the perilous distinctions of Rome for the simple duties of an aedile at Ulubrae [7]. As a fact, the tide still set from Italy, as from the rest of the world, to Rome: nor do sober critics in any age take the ideal pictures of retired life as altogether serious. However the contrasts drawn by Roman writers are so far substantiated, that Vespasian not only learnt, in a municipal home, the habits which trained him to be the reformer of imperial extravagance; but was also enabled, by a stream of new men of similar origin, to recruit the effete Roman aristocracy with an infusion of healthier blood [8].

## The Provinces.

When it is said that the empire at the death of Augustus was bounded by the ocean or by distant rivers [9], not only are the provinces on the African continent left out of sight, but also the northern and eastern frontiers are very loosely indicated. In speaking of the Rhine as a boundary, it should be remembered that, besides such outposts as Aliso [10], the Batavi, between the branches of its bifurcation [11], and the Frisii and part of the Chauci wholly beyond it [12], were subject to Rome; while above Moguntiacum (Mainz), the only frontier definitely known to us is that of the 'limes [13],' chiefly constructed by Domitian [14] and Hadrian [15], extending from the Main near Obernburg to the Danube near Ratisbon [16].

[1] 3. 54, 7.
[2] N. H. 18. 6, 35.
[3] 3. 54, 7.
[4] Pl. Epp. 3. 19, 7.
[5] Hor. Epod. 2, 67.
[6] Juv. 3, 1, sqq.
[7] Id. 10, 102.
[8] Suet. Vesp. 2; Ann. 3. 55, 4.
[9] 1. 9, 6.
[10] 2. 7. 5.
[11] 2. 6, 4; G. 29, etc.
[12] 1. 38, 1; 4, 72, etc.
[13] See Marquardt, i. p. 124, foll.
[14] G. 29, 4; Frontin. Strat. 1. 3, 10.
[15] Spart. vit. Hadr. 12, 6.
[16] Another portion reached from the Main to the Lahn, not far from Coblenz, but this appears at the time of Tiberius to have been hostile ground. See on 1. 56, 1.

Within this tract, the district afterwards known as the 'agri decumates' was no doubt at this time a debateable ground[1]; but some such line as that of the 'limes' must have been already the frontier of Vindelicia, until the point at which the Danube, by far the greatest river-frontier of the Empire, forms, during the whole of its remaining course, the boundary of Vindelicia or Rhaetia, of Noricum[2], of Pannonia, and of Moesia.

In Asia Minor the frontier would mainly coincide with the Halys[3] and Mount Taurus, till the incorporation of Cappadocia and Commagene with the provincial empire in 771, A. D. 18[4], made the Euphrates a continuous frontier of these and of the province of Syria from a little above lat. 39° to about 36°.

From this point, neither east nor south has any such clearly marked natural frontiers. We know that neither Palmyra[5] nor Petra[6] was within the limits of Syria or Palestine; that Egypt ended at Elephantine and Syene[7]; while the other provinces on the African continent must have occupied generally the strip possessed in earlier times by Greek, Phoenician, and Libyan, as distinct from the abode of the Aethiopian races[8]. This portion of the empire was completed to the straits of Gibraltar, by the addition of Mauretania in the time of Claudius[9].

Besides the many acts of Augustus, in respect of the acquisition, extension, consolidation, and regulation of provinces; by far the most important change dating from his time is the division of the provincial empire between himself and the senate[10]. Out of the distinct governments, about thirty in number[11], subsisting at his death, only the following, and these not at all times, remain in the hands of the senate: 1. Sicily; 2. Sardinia and Corsica[12]; 3. Hispania Baetica; 4. Gallia Narbonensis; 5. Macedonia; 6. Achaia[13]; 7. Asia; 8. Bithynia (with part of Western Pontus); 9. Cyprus; 10. Crete and Cyrenaica[14]; 11. Africa (with New Africa or Numidia). It has been mentioned above[15] that the governors

[1] 'Dubiae possessionis solum' G. 29, 4.
[2] Ann. 2. 63, 1.
[3] Strab. 12, p. 544. Some of Pontus was however already included. Marquardt, i. p. 192.
[4] See 2. 42, 6; 56, 4. Commagene was afterwards again given to a native prince, but finally incorporated by Vespasian. Suet. Vesp. 8.
[5] Plin. N. H. 5. 25, 88.
[6] It was conquered in the time of Trajan. Dio, 68. 14, 5.
[7] 2. 61, 2.
[8] See Hdt. 4. 145, sqq.
[9] Dio, 60. 9.
[10] See chap. vi. p. 65, etc.
[11] The combinations or subdivisions of provinces at various times make the number variable. At the death of Trajan, when the empire stood at its highest point, there appear to have been forty-five provincial governments. See Marquardt, i. p. 330.
[12] These were counted as senatorial in the original division, but, as a fact, were under Caesarian procurators from A.D. 6 to 66. See Marquardt, i. p. 97.
[13] Macedonia and Achaia were transferred to Caesar from 768 to 797, A.D. 15–44. See 1. 76, 4; Dio, 60. 24, 1.
[14] See 3. 38, 1; 70, 1.
[15] See ch. vi. pp. 69, 77, 78.

of these provinces were appointed usually by lot, with annual tenure; Asia and Africa being reserved for consulars, the others, as a rule, given to 'praetorii;' but that both classes of governors are properly styled proconsuls [1], and have, as in old times, each his attendant quaestor; and also, in praetorian provinces one, in consular three 'legati [2];' who are fully styled 'legati propraetore [3],' though sometimes even consulars [4]. The proconsul received a salary from the treasury [5] and had also the lictors and other insignia of his rank, except the military dress and sword, withdrawn to denote that he had no longer power to execute a soldier [6]. Some further check was placed on him by the presence of a Caesarian officer, the 'procurator fisci,' whose functions, originally strictly limited [7], received such extension as to encroach considerably on those of both quaestor and proconsul [8].

Some illustration of the mode of appointment to and tenure of these proconsulates may be drawn from such lists as can be compiled of the proconsuls of Asia and Africa during this period. In Asia the following can be made out [9]:—

1. L. Valerius Pot. f. Messalla Volesus, cos. 758, A. D. 5; procos. about 765, A. D. 12 [10].
2. Q. Poppaeus Q. f. Q. n. Secundus, cos. suff. 762, A. D. 9 [11]; procos. about 772, A. D. 19 [12].
3. C. Junius C. f. M. n. Silanus, cos. 763, A. D. 10; procos. 773–4, A. D. 20–21 [13].
4. M. Aemilius L. f. Lepidus, cos. 759, A. D. 6; procos. 774–5, A. D. 21–22 [14].
5. C. Fonteius Capito, cos. 765, A. D. 12; procos. in some year before 778, A. D. 25 [15]; perhaps substituted for Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis (cos. suff. 763, A. D. 10), who was disqualified to be procos. in 775, A. D. 22 [16].
6. M'. Lepidus, cos. 764, A. D. 12; procos. 779–780, A. D. 26–27 [17].

[1] See note on 1. 74, 1.
[2] Dio, 53. 14, 7.
[3] Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 236.
[4] As Vitellius, Suet. Vit. 5.
[5] 'Salarium proconsulare' (Agr. 42, 3); cp. Dio, 52. 23, 1.
[6] Dio, 53. 13, 6. The exceptional position of the proconsul of Africa, in this respect, is noted below. See 3. 21, 1.
[7] 4. 15, 3; Dio, 57. 23, 5.
[8] 12. 60, 1; Suet. Cl. 12.
[9] These names are taken from the list in Waddington's 'Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques.'
[10] See 3. 68, 1; Sen. de Ira, 2. 5, 5.
[11] Dio, 56. 10, 3.
[12] Coin of Pergamum with heads of Augusta and Tiberius.
[13] 3. 66–69.
[14] See on 3. 32, 2.
[15] 4. 36, 4.
[16] 3. 58, 1; 71, 3.
[17] See on 4. 56, 3.

7. Sex. Appuleius, Sex. f. Sex. n., cos. 767, A. D. 14[1]; procos. probably between 780 and 783, A. D. 27–30[2].
8. Sex. Pompeius, Sex. f. Cn. n., cos. 767, A. D. 14[3]; procos. also probably between 780 and 783, A. D. 27–30[4].
9. P. Petronius[5], P. f., cos. suff. 772, A. D. 19; procos. probably for six years, from 782 to 788, A. D. 29–35[6].
10. C. Asinius, C. f. C. n. Pollio, cos. 776, A. D. 23[7]; probably not procos. till the time of Gaius[8].

The proconsuls of Africa can be less fully made out, and appear to have oftener exceeded the limit of annual tenure:—

1. L. Asprenas, cos. suff. 759, A. D. 6; procos. 767, A. D. 14[9].
2. L. Aelius Lamia, cos. 756, A. D. 3; procos. probably between 768 and 770, A. D. 15 and 17[10].
3. M. Furius P. f. P. n. Camillus, cos. 761, A. D. 8; procos. 770–771, A. D. 17–18[11].
4. L. Apronius, C. f. C. n., cos. suff. 761, A. D. 8; procos. for three years, 771–774, A. D. 18–21[12].
5. Q. Junius Blaesus, cos. suff. 763, A. D. 10; procos. extra sortem, in 774 and 775, A. D. 21, 22[13].
6. P. Cornelius Dolabella, cos. 763, A. D. 10; procos. 777, A. D. 24[14].
7. C. Vibius Marsus, cos. suff. 770, A. D. 17; procos. three years, probably 780–782, A. D. 27–29[15].
8. M. Silanus, cos. 772, A. D. 19[16]; procos. apparently for six years, 785–790, A. D. 32–37[17].

Augustus had reestablished the rule enforced by Pompeius, prescribing an interval of five years between the tenure of magistracy and the 'sortitio provinciae[18].' It is however plain from the above lists that the interval in the case of consular provinces was now usually much longer. This would be the natural consequence of the increased number of consulars resulting from the frequent appointment, especially after 742, B. C.

[1] 1. 7, 3.
[2] An Inscr. at Assos (C. I. G. 3571) attests the fact of his proconsulate, but the date is conjectural.
[3] 1. 7, 3.
[4] Val. Max. 2. 6, 8. The date is conjectural.
[5] 3. 49, 2; 6. 45, 4.
[6] For the evidence, see Waddington, p. 119.
[7] 4. 1, 1.
[8] Medal at Sardis commemorating Drusus and Germanicus (Waddington).
[9] See note on 1. 53, 9.
[10] See note on 4. 13, 5.
[11] 2. 52.
[12] See on 3. 21, 1.
[13] 3. 35, 2; 58, 1.
[14] 4. 23, 2.
[15] Eckhel, iv. 148; Mionnet, vi. 589. See note on 2. 74, 1.
[16] 2. 59, 1.
[17] H. 4. 48, 2; Marquardt, i. p. 308; Henzen, Scavi, p. 11.
[18] Dio, 53. 14, 2.

12[1], of 'consules suffecti;' which would tend to produce an increasing stagnation in the succession to proconsulships. This again was remedied in various ways. Some consulars were disqualified[2], others set aside by the senate[3] or by Caesar[4], others declined the 'sortitio[5].' The lists also show that the order of seniority was not always adhered to; being probably modified by the preference enjoined by the 'Lex Papia Poppaea[6],' and probably also by a postponement of the turn of any who, when their time came, were absent from Rome.

A few words may be added on the extent and resources of these two provinces, the great prizes left to the senatorial award.

Asia on the north was bounded by the line of the Rhyndacus, on the south by that of the Calbis; the two lines enclosing a kind of triangle, having its apex near Philomelium, and comprising, with nearly all Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, the Aeolian, Ionian, and Dorian Greek cities, with most of the adjacent islands, inclusive of the Cyclades[7]. The chief city and residence of the governor was Ephesus; but several others are entitled μητροπόλεις, two have the rank of coloniae, at least eighteen that of 'civitates liberae[8].' Only a passing reference can here be made to the frequent prominence of this province in the business before the senate[9]; and to the evidence of its great resources and high civilisation at all times[10], as well as of its gradual recovery from the ravages of war and extortion; and the general qualities which, in spite of imperial vigilance, made it in the time of Domitian, hardly less than in that of Cicero[11], a snare to governors.

Africa was bounded on the east by 'Philaenorum arae[12],' at the eastern recess of the Great Syrtis, near Muhktar; while on the west, during the independence of Mauretania, the boundary between them was fixed at Saldae[13], identified with Bûdjâya (Bougie). It had thus a coast line extending some fifteen degrees of longitude, and comprising the greater part of modern Tripoli, the whole of Tunis, and a considerable portion of Algeria. In the time of Pliny it contained thirty 'civitates liberae,'

[1] See C. I. L. i. p. 546.
[2] As Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, 3. 71, 3.
[3] See 3. 32, 2.
[4] As C. Galba, 6. 40, 3.
[5] As Agricola, Agr. 42, 1.
[6] See 2. 51, 2; Appendix to B. iii.
[7] On these boundaries, see Waddington, 'Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques;' and Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 190.
[8] Marquardt, i. p. 189.
[9] E. g. 2. 47; 3, 60–63; 66, etc.; 4. 14; 15; 36; 55; 56.
[10] E. g. Cic. Leg. Man. c. 6; Ep. ad Q. F. 1, 1. Its famous orators are alluded to in Ann. 3. 67, 2.
[11] 'In provincia tam corruptrice' Cic. ad Q. F. 1. 1, 6, § 19; 'provincia dives et parata peccantibus' Agr. 6, 2.
[12] Plin. N. H. 5. 4. 29; Mela, 1. 7, 33.
[13] Strabo, p. 831. On the formation of the provinces of Mauretania, this became the western limit of Mauretania Sitifensis; which reached eastward to the Ampsagas, which is thus the western limit of Africa in Plin. N. H. 5. 4, 29.

fifteen 'oppida civium Romanorum,' and six coloniae [1]; the most famous towns in these two latter classes respectively being Utica and Carthage [2].

Our record of African events at this time mentions only the predatory warfare of Tacfarinas [3]; but there is abundant other evidence that Africa was in many respects the most important senatorial government, and therefore with reason the most jealously watched by Caesar. Next to Egypt it was the most important source of the corn supply of Italy [4]; and, probably on this account, the proconsul was assisted or controlled not by one, but by two or more 'procuratores fisci [5].' Again, here alone the senatorial proconsul has regular command of a legion [6], and the chance of winning military renown; an exceptional position which Gaius removed by introducing the anomaly of a co-ordinate 'legatus Augusti,' who had command of the troops, and, apparently, also some territorial government [7].

The Caesarian provinces can be classified in three ranks, of which the two first answer to the two classes of senatorial provinces; the legati being in the greatest provinces always of consular, and in those of the second class, of praetorian rank [8]; although, in recognition of the 'proconsulare imperium' as vested in Caesar, all have the uniform title of 'legati Augusti propraetore,' and the same insignia of five fasces, with the military dress and sword [9]; their difference of rank being only noted by the addition to their titles of 'vir consularis [10],' by those who were such. To the highest class belong all those provinces involving important military commands; of which the following had been established at the death of Augustus [11]: 1. Hispania Tarraconensis; 2. Germania superior; 3. Germania inferior; 4. Pannonia; 5. Moesia; 6. Dalmatia (with Illyricum); 7. Syria (with Cilicia) [12]. The second class, as constituted at the same period, will comprise: 1. Lusitania; 2. Aquitania; 3. Gallia Lugdunensis; 4. Gallia Belgica [13]; 5. Galatia [14]; 6. Pamphylia. A third class

[1] Plin. N. H. 5. 4, 29.

[2] Id. § 24.

[3] 2. 52; 3. 20; 32; 73; 4. 23.

[4] Its fertility is often extolled by Horace, e.g. Od. 1. 1, 10; 3. 16, 31; Sat. 2. 3, 87.

[5] H. 4. 50, 3.

[6] The presence of a second legion is exceptional. See note on 4. 6, 3.

[7] H. 4 48, 2; Dio, 59. 20, 7. The words of Dio appear to indicate the creation of a separate province, which might possibly be that of Numidia. Tacitus speaks rather of a divided command of the same province.

[8] E. g. in Spain, Strab. 3. p. 167.

[9] Dio, 53. 13, 6.

[10] Or 'consularis legatus,' as H. 1. 56, 1; 2. 86, 4.

[11] From the time of Claudius, Britannia would be added to this list.

[12] On the union of Cilicia with Syria, see Ann. 2. 78, 3; 80, 1, etc.

[13] During most of the time of Augustus and the first three years of Tiberius, some eminent person, as Agrippa, Drusus, Tiberius, or Germanicus, in charge of the German war, governed also the three Gaulish provinces, with legati under him. See Marquardt, i. p. 116.

[14] With 'Pontus Polemoniacus,' from Nero's time. Marquardt, i. p. 202.

of provinces, consisting of those in which little or no military force was stationed, had no higher officer than the 'procurator Augusti,' who appears as a subordinate officer in greater provinces. To this class belong at this time[1]: 1. Alpes Maritimae; 2. Rhaetia; 3. Vindelicia[2]; 4. Noricum; 5. Judaea (when not under native princes)[3]. The procurator of Judaea was certainly responsible to the legatus of Syria[4], and probably all such governors were subordinated to their nearest 'legati.' An exception to all these classes is the position of Egypt, where Caesar represented the king and had an equestrian 'praefectus' as vicegerent[5].

The governors appointed by Caesar held office during pleasure and for no fixed term[6], though a period of from three to five years seems usual[7]. Tiberius is especially noted for continuing them in office during periods of indefinite length[8]; as may be illustrated from such lists as can be made of the governors of important provinces during this period.

In Syria we find only the following[9]:—

1. Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus, cos. 760, A.D. 7; legatus Syriae from at least 763–4, A.D. 10–11[10], to 770, A.D. 17[11].
2. Cn. Calpurnius Piso, cos. 747, B.C. 7; legatus 770–772, A.D. 17–19[12].
3. L. Aelius Lamia, cos. 756, A.D. 3; leg. Syr. for many years ending in 785, A.D. 32[13], and possibly even the next successor to Piso[14].
4. L. Pomponius Flaccus, cos. 770, A.D. 17; leg. Syr. 785–786, A.D. 32–33[15].
5. L. Vitellius, cos. 787, A.D. 34; leg. Syr. 788–792, A.D. 35–39[16].

In Lower Germany we have only record of three legati:—

[1] To these were added Thracia and the two Mauretaniae in the time of Claudius, and the Alpes Cottiae in the time of Nero. See H. 1. 11, 3; Suet. Ner. 18. Also Cappadocia belonged to this class from the time of Tiberius to that of Vespasian, who placed it under a consular legatus. Suet. Vesp. 8.

[2] Vindelicia was perhaps at this time separate from Rhoetia (2. 17, 6), but afterwards certainly joined with it. H. 1. 11, 3; 3. 5, 4, etc.

[3] I.e. 759–794, A.D. 6–41; and again after 797, A.D. 44.

[4] See 12. 54, 5; Jos. Ant. 18. 4, 2.

[5] H. 1. 11, 1. See also Ann. 2. 59, 4; Strab. 16. 1, 12, p. 797.

[6] Dio, 53. 13, 6.

[7] Dio, 52. 23, 2, where this is represented as the advice of Maecenas.

[8] Ann. 1. 80, 2.

[9] See Zumpt, Comm. Epigr. vol. ii. pp. 125–135: Marquardt, i. 260; and authorities there cited.

[10] Mommsen, 'Res gestae Divi Aug.' (Mon. Anc.), p. 115.

[11] 2. 43, 6.

[12] 2. 43–69, etc.

[13] 'Administrandae Suriae imagine tandem exsolutus,' as having been kept in Rome, 6. 27, 2.

[14] The irregular appointment of Cn. Sentius (2. 74, 1) was probably not permanent.

[15] 6. 27, 3.

[16] See 6. 32, 5. Probably the office had been vacant since the death of Flaccus.

1. A. Severus Caecina, legatus probably from about 767–772, A. D. 14–19[1].

2. C. Visellius Varro, cos. suff. 765, A. D. 12; mentioned as legatus in 774, A. D. 21[2].

3. L. Apronius, cos. suff. 761, A. D. 8; legatus in 781, A. D. 28[3]; and appears still to be so in 787, A. D. 34[4].

The long tenure of appointments under Tiberius is further illustrated by the fact that in Upper Germany C. Silius (cos. 766, A. D. 13) was legatus from 767 to 774, A. D. 14–21[5]; and C. Lentulus Gaetulicus (cos. 779, A. D. 26) from 782 to 792, A. D. 29–39[6]; while L. Arruntius was nominally legatus of Spain for at least ten years[7]; and Poppaeus Sabinus had charge of important provinces for no less than twenty-four years[8]. The procuratores also were constantly retained in office[9]. Among such, it is known that Valerius Gratus[10] and Pontius Pilatus[11] were respectively eleven and ten years procurators of Judaea; 768–779, and 779–789, A. D. 15–26, and 26–36.

The legati and procurators had fixed salaries from the treasury[12]; and the former were assisted by their 'legati legionum' as vicegerents[13], while in financial matters the procurator corresponded to the proconsul's quaestor[14].

These vast provinces cannot be here described; by far the most important were the 'Germaniae' and Syria. In each of the two former, the legatus and his four legions lived as in a camp, confronted by warlike tribes, and were also liable to furnish troops for a not impossible Gaulish rising[15]. In Syria, the garrison of similar strength, if actually enervated by peace, had yet the whole prestige of Rome in the East depending on it; while the tact and firmness of its ruler would alike be exercised in controlling the mixed crowd, Greek, Phoenician, and Jewish, made subject to him, especially in his vast capital, Antioch: which, in population second only to Rome itself[16], by its seductions, as well as those of its famous suburb of Epidaphna[17], would be fatal to many a soldier's

[1] 1. 31, 2, etc.; 3. 33, 1.
[2] 3. 41, 3.
[3] 4. 73, 1.
[4] 6. 30, 3.
[5] 4. 18, 1.
[6] 6. 30, 3; Dio, 59. 22, 5.
[7] 6. 27, 3.
[8] 6. 39, 3.
[9] See 4. 6, 5.
[10] Jos. Ant. 18. 2, 2.
[11] Id. 18. 4, 2.
[12] Dio, 52. 23, 1. For the various amounts, see Marquardt, i. p. 416.
[13] The 'legati iuridici' in these provinces seem of later date (Marquardt, i. p. 411), but there may probably have been now some such officers in great provinces such as Syria.
[14] Marquardt, i. p. 412.
[15] See 3. 40, etc.; also the great rising in 822, A.D. 69.
[16] See Merivale, Hist. ch. xl. p 454.
[17] Ann. 2. 83, 3. For a description, see Gibbon, ch. 23.

discipline. Next to these, Egypt, with its vast granaries, strange fanaticisms [1], and the motley crowd of Alexandria, almost rivalling that of Antioch [2]; and Moesia and Pannonia, where Dacian hordes were already beginning to be heard of on the Danube [3]; must have been the chief objects of solicitude to Caesar.

The amount of provincial revenue was probably not reduced, but the mode of assessment reorganized [4]; and, in general terms, it is admitted even by Tacitus, that the provinces were better off under the principate than under the Republic [5], and were treated with marked justice and moderation during at least the early years of Tiberius [6]; and that the Caesarian provinces were so far more economically governed than the senatorial, that a change from one to the other was a virtual abatement of tribute [7]. In both classes of provinces, extortion was severely checked [8] instead of being criminally connived at; and governors were warned to shear, not flay, their sheep [9], whose prosperity had become the common interest of ruled and ruler.

Nevertheless, it is easy to exaggerate the beneficial results and to overlook the still existing evils [10]. Conviction of the guilty did not necessarily imply restitution to the pillaged [11]; and the punishment must have been often inadequate [12], and have failed to deter others. In the last years of Augustus, the atrocities of Volesus Messalla in Asia [13] were such as could hardly have been exceeded under the Republic: in the same province, within the next ten years, another proconsul [14] and a procurator [15] are convicted of extortion; and proconsuls of two other provinces [16] are condemned on equally serious charges: nor does Silius come with cleaner hands from Germany [17]: in Spain a legatus is assassinated through some money grievance, of which we have only the Roman version [18]: the Frisii are goaded into rebellion

[1] See H. 1. 11, 1, etc.

[2] See Merivale, l. l.

[3] See Hor. Od. 3. 8, 18, etc.

[4] By means of the great provincial census (ἀπογραφή) instituted in 727, B.C. 27, and probably revised every five years. See Marquardt, i. p. 204, sqq.; and note on 6. 41, 1.

[5] See 1. 2, 2.

[6] 4. 6, 7.

[7] 1. 76, 4.

[8] This is shown by the numerous convictions mentioned below. It is noted that provincials themselves are encouraged to appear as accusers (3. 67, 2; 70, 1; 4. 15, 3, etc.); and if influential, are even courted by governors (15. 21, 2). See also Marquardt, i. p. 416.

[9] Suet. Tib. 32; Dio, 57. 10, 5.

[10] Juvenal's advice to a provincial governor (8, 87–139) gives a sufficiently dark picture of the cruelty and extortion still practised in his time.

[11] See 4. 20, 1. Cp. 'tu victrix provincia ploras' Juv. 1, 50.

[12] As that of Marius Priscus, Juv. 1, 49.

[13] 'Cum trecentos uno die securi percussisset, incedens inter cadavera superbo vultu . . . Graece proclamavit: O rem regiam.' Sen. de Ira, 2. 5, 5.

[14] 3. 67, 2.

[15] 4. 15, 4.

[16] 3. 70, 1; 4. 13, 2.

[17] 4. 19, 5.

[18] 4. 45, 5.

by the exactions of a subordinate officer[1]; and the chief Gaulish tribes driven to the same course by a load of debt[2], probably not unconnected with ruinous requisitions for the wars of Germanicus[3]: Pontius Pilate was allowed ten years of misgovernment in Judaea[4]: and fuller records from the provinces themselves would probably have shown many other such blots on the administration, under even one of the most frugal and vigilant of the Caesars.

With the provinces should be enumerated the semi-independent states and kingdoms, whose position must have varied greatly. Some were small free states, as Samos[5], Rhodes[6], Lycia[7]; analogous to the many free cities within the provinces. In others the prince had the title of 'praefectus' (as Cottius[8]), or the position in fact (as Herod and his sons) of a procurator[9]; or may have been under a similar control to that exercised over the Thracian princes[10]. Juba and his sons in Mauretania[11], and the princes left in Cilicia[12], may have been free from other obligations than to furnish troops on demand[13]. The Cappadocian king was even liable to be brought before the bar of the senate[14]. The relation of Commagene is unknown[15]. Beyond this the Armenian kingdom and the smaller Caspian principalities[16] seem to have accepted a kind of Roman suzerainty as their best protection against Parthia.

Many of these were subsequently incorporated into the empire[17]; but the conquest of Britain is the principal departure, prior to Trajan, from the cautious advice of Augustus[18]. The campaigns of Germanicus did but avenge the fate of Varus, and secure the frontier by spreading terror beyond: though visions may have passed before his own mind of a frontier on the Elbe[19], which he never really reached[20], and which fades more and more out of Roman knowledge[21].

1 4. 72, 1.

2 3. 40, 1. Heavy tribute, cruel and haughty governors are complained of (§ 4).

3 Offerings, represented as wholly voluntary (1. 71, 3), are yet admitted to have exhausted their means. See 2. 5, 3.

4 Jos. Ant. 18. 3 and 4.

5 Plin. N. H. 5. 31, 135.

6 Ann. 12. 58, 2.

7 Suet. Cl. 25.

8 Inscr. Orell. 626.

9 See Marquardt, i. p. 249.

10 Part of Thrace at least had to furnish troops (4. 46, 2), and the prince in his minority had a Roman tutor (2. 67, 4).

11 His kingdom is distinctly 'donum populi Romani' (4. 5, 3).

12 2. 42, 7; 6. 41, 1, etc.

13 2. 78, 3; 4. 24, 3.

14 2. 42, 5.

15 2. 42, 7.

16 See 4. 5, 4.

17 See Suet. Cl. 25; Ner. 18; Vesp. 8.

18 Ann. 1. 11, 7.

19 2. 22, 1.

20 See on 4. 44, 3.

21 G. 41, 2.

## The Military and Naval Forces.

The vast army which had come under the command of Augustus, through the addition of the legions of Lepidus to his own and the subsequent union of as much as he retained of this combined force with the legions of Antonius, appears to have been reduced by him after Actium to a standing army of eighteen legions; of which twelve, numbered consecutively, had been always his own, and six, also bearing numbers below twelve, had belonged to his colleagues[1]. Eight more legions, numbered from 13 to 20, had been added afterwards, probably at the time of the war with Maroboduus and the great rising in Pannonia and Illyricum[2]. Of these eight, three, the 17th, 18th, and 19th, were annihilated with Varus and never reconstituted[3]; but two others, the 21st and 22nd, were enrolled after that disaster[4].

We can thus explain the absence of some numbers and duplication or even triplication of others, in the following list of the legions as existing in the time of Tiberius. The number and local disposition of several can be supplied from Tacitus; for others, as well as for the titles borne by all, the chief evidence is to be found in numerous inscriptions.

| *Legion.* | *Where quartered*[5]. |
|---|---|
| I. Germanica | Lower Germany. |
| II. Augusta | Upper Germany. |
| III. Augusta | Africa. |
| III. Gallica | Syria. |
| III. Cyrenaica | Egypt. |
| IV. Macedonica | Spain. |
| IV. Scythica | Moesia. |
| V. Macedonica | Moesia. |

*Provincial Summary.*

**Spain** (3).

IV. Macedonica.
VI. Victrix.
X. Gemina.

**Lower Germany** (4).

I. Germanica.
V. Alaudae.
XX. Valeria Victrix.
XXI. Rapax.

[1] This inference is drawn by Mommsen, 'Res gestae Divi Augusti,' p. 47, from evidence there given.

[2] Legions with these numbers are first mentioned from 760, A.D. 7. See Mommsen, l. l.

[3] Evidence as to the two latter is furnished by Ann. 1. 60, 4, and Inscr. Orell. 621. From the absence of any subsequent mention of a 17th legion, it is inferred that this was the third.

[4] Of these the 21st furnishes the 'vernacula multitudo' of 1. 31, 4; the other is presumed to have been raised with it. See Mommsen, l. l. On the opinion that the 1st legion was also raised at this date, see on 1. 42, 6.

[5] Tacitus specifies the legions of Pannonia (1. 23, 6), of Lower Germany (1. 31, 3), and of Upper Germany (1. 37, 4), and two of the Syrian legions (2. 57, 2; 79, 3). The 9th legion was temporarily in Africa (3. 9, 1; 4. 23, 2), and is counted there in the general summary (4. 5, 3). On the whole list, see Mommsen, 'Res gestae Divi Augusti,' p. 46; Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 432.

| Legion. | Where quartered. |
| --- | --- |
| V. Alaudae | Lower Germany. |
| VI. Victrix | Spain. |
| VI. Ferrata | Syria. |
| VII. [Claudia] | Dalmatia. |
| VIII. Augusta | Pannonia. |
| IX. Hispana | Pannonia. |
| X. Fretensis | Syria. |
| X. Gemina | Spain. |
| XI. [Claudia] | Dalmatia. |
| XII. Fulminata | Syria. |
| XIII. Gemina | Upper Germany. |
| XIV. Gemina Martia Victrix | Upper Germany. |
| XV. Apollinaris | Pannonia. |
| XVI. Gallica | Upper Germany. |
| XX. Valeria Victrix | Lower Germany. |
| XXI. Rapax | Lower Germany. |
| XXII. Deiotariana | Egypt. |

*Provincial Summary.*

**Upper Germany** (4).
II. Augusta.
XIII. Gemina.
XIV. Gemina Martia Victrix.
XVI. Gallica.

**Pannonia** (3).
VIII. Augusta.
IX. Hispana.
XV. Apollinaris.

**Dalmatia** (2).
VII. } afterwards Claudiae.
XI. }

**Moesia** (2).
IV. Scythica.
V. Macedonica.

**Syria** (4).
III. Gallica.
VI. Ferrata.
X. Fretensis.
XII. Fulminata.

**Egypt** (2).
III. Cyrenaica.
XXII. Deiotariana.

**Africa** (1).
III. Augusta.

By the year 882, A.D. 69, we find the number of legions increased to thirty-one, chiefly in consequence of the occupation of Britain and the Jewish war; but it is subsequently reduced to thirty. The local disposition is also altered by that time in many cases [1].

The legion consisted, as at other times, of ten cohorts, divided into thirty maniples and sixty centuries [2]; but we have no certain information of its numerical strength. The estimate of 6100 foot and 726 horse given by Vegetius [3], would certainly not agree with that of this time in respect of the 'equites legionis,' who appear now to have only numbered 120 [4], nor is there any evidence that the first cohort was now, as in the time of Vegetius, twice the strength of the others [5]. If a medium estimate of about eighty men to the century be taken [6], the total strength of the legion, including its officers, its cavalry, and those in charge of the 'ballistae' and other engines forming its train of artillery [7], would amount to rather more than 5000.

[1] For the legions of still later date, as related to these, see Dio, 55. 23, 24.

[2] Gell. 16. 4 (quoting Cincius).

[3] Veg. 2, 6.

[4] Jos. B. J. 3. 6, 2. They were probably on the footing of auxiliaries in respect of not being citizens. See Nipp. on 4. 73.

[5] Veg. 2, 6. See note on 3. 21, 2.

[6] Hygin. § 1, 2.

[7] Cp. 'Quintae decumae legionis ballista' H. 3. 23, 2; Jos. Bell. Jud. 5. 6, 3; Marquardt, ii. p. 508.

The old names 'hastati,' 'principes,' and 'pilani,' survive[1]; and, though no longer designating any difference of equipment, denote precedence in honorary rank. Each cohort contained two centuries, or one maniple, of each of these; and the cohorts also rank in honour according to their number. This hierarchy of rank serves to place the sixty centurions in a constantly ascending series[2]; the maniple, rather than the century, being the unit of the legion, and being under the command of the first of its two centurions. The lowest centurion would thus be the subordinate centurion of the 'hastati' of the tenth cohort, styled 'decumus hastatus posterioris centuriae,' or 'decumus hastatus posterior;' and the highest, the commander of the maniple of 'pilani' in the first cohort, who would be fully styled 'primae cohortis pilus prior,' or more commonly 'centurio primipilus' or 'primopilus[3].' In passing through all these gradations, the centurion changed his century at each successive step[4], and in this highest position had custody of the legionary eagle, with large accompanying emoluments[5]; ranked next to the 'tribuni;' and was admitted with them to the council of the general[6]. The centurions appear to have still appointed their subordinate officers[7], but to have been themselves now directly appointed by Caesar, often as a personal favour[8], and, apparently, without previous service[9].

Augustus had perpetuated the custom introduced by the dictator Caesar[10], of placing the whole legion under the command of a 'legatus.' These 'legati legionum[11]' are senators of praetorian rank, or in a position to expect such rank[12], and, as has been seen, ranked also as provincial vicegerents under the 'legatus Augusti[13].'

The position of the legionary 'tribuni militum' now becomes somewhat anomalous; inasmuch as they are no longer, as formerly, commanders in turn of the legion[14], and several of their other duties[15] must have been transferred to the 'praefectus castrorum[16].' Nor do they appear to have commanded the legionary cohorts, which, so far as they had a separate command, were probably placed each under its first cen-

[1] The older term 'triarii' seems obsolete, and the term for the 'ordo' and its centurion is not 'pilanus' but 'pilus.' See Marquardt, ii. p. 362, n. 18. 'Pilanus' is found in Varro and Ovid.

[2] See Marquardt, ii. p. 359, etc.

[3] Also 'primi pili,' or 'primi ordinis' 'centurio' H. 3. 22, 5; Ann. 1. 29, 2, etc. See Marquardt, ii. p. 363.

[4] Veg. 2, 21.

[5] 'Locupletem aquilam' Juv. 14, 197.

[6] Polyb. 6. 24, 2.

[7] As 'optiones' Veget. 2, 7, etc.

[8] Cp. 'vitem posce libello' Juv. 14, 193. See also Marquardt, ii. p. 366.

[9] Ἐκ τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἑκατονταρχησάντων Dio, 52. 25, 7.

[10] Caes. B. G. 1. 52, 1; 2. 20, 3; 5. 1, 1, etc.

[11] See Ann. 1. 44, 3; 4. 73, 4; 14. 32, 6, etc.

[12] 2. 36, 1; 14. 28, 1, etc.

[13] See above, p. 100.

[14] Polyb. 6. 34, 1.

[15] See Marquardt, ii. p. 443, n. 9.

[16] See 1. 20, 1.

turion [1]. Such of their duties as are still traceable can hardly be generally characterized [2]; and this rank becomes hardly so much one of military promotion, as a 'tirocinium' for young men of the highest rank [3], and a stepping-stone to the quaestorship and senate [4].

### *Auxiliary Citizen Troops.*

1. 'Vexillarii,' or 'veterani sub vexillo retenti.' Augustus had ordained that the legionary soldier should be dismissed with gratuities after a term of service originally fixed at sixteen [5], and later at twenty years' service [6]. Probably the same events which led to the enrolment of additional legions, combined with the exhaustion of the 'aerarium militare [7],' led him to postpone his obligations by a characteristic fiction; by which the veterans, though removed from the legion and released from the oath, were kept together under separate colours, perhaps exempted from camp duties and reserved for battle [8], but awaiting indefinitely their final discharge and reward. The words 'vexillum,' 'vexillarii,' and 'vexillatio,' though often used of any legionary detachment under separate command [9], appear to have a special application to these troops, who are distinguished from the legions by Tacitus in several places [10]. They might be quartered with [11], or separated from their legions [12], and, perhaps by combination, are sometimes 1000 strong [13]; but if the number 500, the only estimate of such a battalion given in these books, may be treated as the normal strength of those belonging to one legion [14], it would agree with the computation of Hyginus, who reckons them as equivalent to an extra cohort [15].

2. 'Cohortes civium Romanorum' are mentioned in several inscriptions, usually as volunteers, frequently as Italians [16]; and may probably have been generally formed of such as chose a military profession, and who lived in other districts than those from which the home army was raised. There appear to have been at one time at least thirty-two such cohorts [17];

[1] See Marquardt, ii. p. 447.
[2] See 1. 37, 1; 44, 4; also Marquardt, ii. p. 446.
[3] E. g. Suet. Tib. 9. See Marquardt, ii. p. 355.
[4] See above, ch. vi. p. 80.
[5] Dio, 54. 25, 6.
[6] Id. 55. 23, 1.
[7] Id. 55. 25, 2; Ann. 1. 78, 2.
[8] See 1. 36, 4. Whether such was already the position of 'veterani sub vexillo' is doubtful. See note there.
[9] E. g. 'vexillum tironum' 2. 78, 3; and many other contexts.
[10] E. g. 1. 17, 4; 26, 2; 35, 2; 36, 4; 39, 2; 44, 6; 3. 21, 2; H. 2. 11, 6. Cp. 'veteranorum exercitus' Inscr. Orell. 3877.
[11] E. g. 1. 39, 2.
[12] E. g. 1. 44, 6.
[13] Inscr. Henzen 5456.
[14] 3. 21, 2.
[15] De M. C. § 5. May it be possible that this is the origin of the doubling of the first cohort in the time of Vegetius? See above, p. 104
[16] See Inscr. Henzen 6709. The 'cohors Italica' of Acts 10. 1 appears to be of this description; possibly also the 'cohors Augusta' of Acts 27. 1. Other such appear in Egypt. Strab. 17. 1, 12, 797.
[17] Inscr. Henzen 6756, etc.

but they are omitted in the general summary of Tacitus[1], though mentioned with the legions in the will of Augustus[2].

*Other auxiliary forces, 'Cohortes alaeque sociae.'*

These forces are too numerous and manifold to be here described; their titles are given in a multitude of inscriptions[3], and their total strength is estimated by Tacitus as being much the same in the aggregate as that of the legions[4]. Commanded by separate officers[5], such forces, when attached to the legion, were under the supreme command of its 'legatus,' and compensated for its weakness in cavalry[6], besides supplementing it with light-armed troops of various descriptions[7], and with others armed and disciplined like the legions themselves[8]. Other such forces were more locally distributed[9], and furnished protection where no legionary troops were stationed. It is shown by inscriptions that they were constantly employed in other than their own native provinces.

*Special forces of Italy.*

**A.—Military.**

1. Praetorian cohorts. These are stated to have been nine in number in the time of Tiberius[10]; each cohort being apparently 1000 strong[11], including a force of cavalry[12]; and all having their headquarters in the camp just outside the 'agger[13].' These cohorts were increased to sixteen by Vitellius[14], reduced again to nine by Vespasian[15], and subsequently fixed at ten[16].

2. Urban cohorts. Of these, the 'proprius miles' of the 'praefectus urbis[17],' three were kept in Rome under Tiberius[18], and four under Vitellius and Vespasian[19]; and they are so far joined to the praetorians as to be numbered in a series beginning where the former end, as the tenth to the fourteenth[20]. The praetorian cohorts have titles similar to those of the legions; the urban are known by their numbers only[21].

The home army had the privilege of being professedly enlisted from the

1 4. 5.
2 1. 8, 3.
3 See Inscr. Henzen, Index, pp. 134–142.
4 4. 5, 5.
5 Usually 'praefecti,' sometimes 'tribuni.' See Inscrr.
6 'Alae' were 500 or 1000 strong. See Marquardt, ii. p. 456.
7 1. 51, 7; 2. 16, 5, etc.
8 3. 43, 2, etc.
9 'Apud idonea provinciarum' 4. 5, 5.
10 4. 5, 4.
11 H. 2. 93, 3.
12 1. 24, 3. Apparently a 'turma' of horse went with each 'centuria.' Marquardt, ii. p. 462.
13 4. 2, 2.
14 H. 2. 93, 3.
15 Dipl. C. I. L. iii. p. 853.
16 Inscr. Henzen 6862.
17 H. 3. 64, 1.
18 Ann. 4. 5, 4. See note on 3. 41, 2.
19 H. 2. 93, 3; C. I. L. iii. p. 853.
20 See Henzen, Index, p. 132.
21 Id. p. 131.

old recruiting grounds of the Republic [1]. The rest of Italy, so far as its scanty free population admitted it, might help to keep up the legions and other cohorts of citizens, but of all these the main supply was now drawn from the civic population throughout the empire [2]. Voluntary enlistment seems usual, but 'delectus' in the provinces preferable [3]; and enlistment was no doubt kept down to a minimum by withholding the 'missio [4].'

On the pay and grievances of the legionary soldier it is sufficient to refer to the narrative of the mutiny [5], and the contrast there drawn between themselves and the praetorians; while a more favourable estimate of their privileges, at a somewhat later date, can be formed from the sixteenth Satire of Juvenal; and some information as to the rewards on retirement, chiefly the gift of 'civitas' to auxiliaries, and the ratification of marriages generally, can be gathered from the various 'diplomata [6].' To those of higher rank, many further advantages were attainable. Centurions, besides being promoted to such posts as the command of auxiliary cohorts or squadrons [7], or the rank of 'praefecti castrorum [8],' had regular pensions on retirement [9], and the 'primipili' appear to have retained even for life the title of 'primipilares [10],' and to have been appointed to responsible posts in the army, or as subordinate governors of provincial districts [11].

### B.—Naval.

The fleets of Misenum and Ravenna [12] are each dignified with the title 'classis praetoria [13],' but otherwise rank below not only the household troops but the legions. The admiral, 'praefectus [14],' ranks below the 'praefectus praetorii [15],' and is, at first, a knight; or, later, sometimes a freedman [16]. The marine soldiers, 'classiarii,' are not Roman citizens, and, though of more consideration than the rowers [17], are so far on a par

[1] 4. 5, 5.
[2] See 3. 40, 5 'Inops Italia, imbellis urbana plebes, nihil validum in exercitibus nisi quod externum.'
[3] 4. 4, 4.
[4] 'Missiones veteranorum rarissimas fecit' Suet. Tib. 48.
[5] See Ann. 1. 17; 26; 35; 36; 78.
[6] These are collected in C. I. L. iii. p. 843, etc. For specimens, see Henzen 6857, etc.; Wilm. 904, etc.
[7] Esp. 'primipili,' cp. Henzen, Inscr. 6947.
[8] 1. 20, 2.
[9] These were reduced by Caligula. Suet. Cal. 44.
[10] 'Primipilaris senex' Quint. Inst. Or. 6. 3, 92.
[11] Marquardt, ii. p. 365. See 2. 11, 2; 4. 72, 2; 13. 36, 2; H. 1. 31, 3; 87, 2; 2. 22, 6; 3. 70, 1; 4. 15, 6. They had often equestrian rank on retirement. See Mart. 6. 58, 10.
[12] Ann. 4. 5, 1.
[13] See Inscr. Henzen, Index, p. 142. As a fixed and regular title, the epithet appears to be of later date. See Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 827.
[14] The elder Pliny, who held this office at his death, had been previously 'praefectus alae' and procurator.
[15] E. g. Lucilius Bassus, H. 2. 100, 4.
[16] E. g. Anicetus, Ann. 14. 3, 5.
[17] See on 14. 4, 5.

with them that we find both rewarded with the 'civitas' after twenty-six years' service [1]. The ships are usually either 'triremes' or 'Liburnae [2],' and are distinguished by names like modern ships [3]. The captains, whether of triremes or Liburnians, are designated as 'trierarchi [4].' We have no knowledge of the strength of these fleets; which are little mentioned in general, but acquire some prominence in the civil war of 822, A.D. 69.

Various auxiliary fleets, whether of ships of war [5] or transports [6], existed in the provinces, and are mentioned in various inscriptions [7].

The total strength of all these forces can be only very roughly estimated. Taking the legion with its auxiliaries at 10,000, we have a total of 250,000 for the main armies; to which the home army, the 'classiarii,' and all the various detached forces may add a further total of 100,000. This it should be remembered represents at that time the whole military and naval force of the civilised world.

## Consolidation of the Empire.

Augustus is said to have bequeathed at his death not a mere aggregate of territories, but an organized whole [8]. The administration, especially of the provinces and armies, was centralised in a way previously unknown, and the improvement of roads [9] and institution of couriers [10] gave new rapidity to inter-communication: and, not to speak of his periodical financial statements [11], his summary of the whole position of the empire, published after his death [12], must have given to the senate a new insight into its organization. If, beyond this, neither he nor his successor had devised any plans for bringing the whole mass into a condition of homogeneous unity; it is none the less evident that tendencies in this direction were constantly operating. The practical recognition of common interests between rulers and ruled; the security of traffic; the vast requirements of the city of Rome, both as regards necessaries of life [13] and luxuries [14]; the local centres of traffic afforded especially by camps and

[1] See the 'diplomata' cited by Marquardt, ii. p. 493, n. 2.

[2] The inscriptions show a few ships above triremes: the 'biremes' (4. 27, 1, etc.) are probably the same as the 'Liburnae.'

[3] See Henzen, Index, p. 143.

[4] E. g. H. 2. 16, 2.

[5] 'Sociae triremes' Ann. 4. 5, 5.

[6] See 2. 6, etc.

[7] E. g. 'classis Germanica,' 'Moesica,' 'Pannonica,' 'Syriaca.' See Henzen, Index, p. 142.

[8] 'Cuncta inter se connexa' 1. 9, 6.

[9] Suet. Aug. 30; Ann. 3. 31, 7.

[10] Suet. Aug. 49. On the rapidity of communication, see note on 1. 16, 1.

[11] This custom was dropped by Tiberius, and revived by Gaius. Suet. Cal. 16.

[12] 1. 11, 7.

[13] E. g. the corn trade.

[14] 3. 53, 5, etc. See Friedl. vol. iii. ch. 1.

colonies; must have tended, even more than the centralised government, to level the barriers of nations. Two languages again were more and more taking the place of a Babel of tongues: the prevalence of Greek in the East may be estimated from the extent of its use among even a race so tenacious of nationality as the Hebrews[1]; while, in the West, Latin, already prevalent in Gaul, making the vernacular forgotten in many parts of Spain[2], and generally spoken also in Pannonia[3], was not wholly lost even by Rome's bitterest enemies[4]; and, as the official language of the whole empire, had some hold even in the East[5].

Again, though Tiberius probably imitated the reserve of Augustus in bestowing the 'civitas[6];' yet even this great equalisation of privilege must have been steadily extending itself. By the manumission of slaves, which, in spite of checks imposed upon it, must have been constant, any Roman could call into existence those who at a stroke of the wand succeeded to most[7], and whose sons would succeed to all, civic privileges. Many a Roman pauper by transplantation to a colony became there the parent of a prosperous civic family. Many an auxiliary soldier, already habituated to Roman customs by service under the standards, received the civitas on his discharge[8], and his sons might serve and rise in the ranks of the legions and thus lay the foundation of a career of honour.

Lastly, in spite of the vast diversity of tolerated religions, some traces of common religious ideas begin to develope themselves. The restoration of religion had formed a great part of the policy of Augustus, and his aspirations are devoutly seconded by the poets of his court[9]. Besides the rebuilding or restoration of almost every temple in the city[10], he had endeavoured to bring home religion to the mass of the people by a kind of parochial system, in the worship of the 'Lares compitales' at the 300 chapels[11] instituted in the various vici, under the ministration of their freedmen priests ('Augustales'), and superintendence of the 'vicomagistri[12].' With these the worship of his own 'Genius' was associated[13], by which constant usage, as well as by the 'ludi compitalicii[14],' the polit-

[1] It is implied in Acts 22. 2 that Greek would have been intelligible, though less so than Hebrew, to most of the crowd at Jerusalem.

[2] Strabo, 3. c. 2, p. 151.

[3] Vell. 2. 110, 5.

[4] As Arminius. See 2. 10, 3.

[5] Besides the trilingual inscription on the cross, and Latin words in N. T., the mixture in the names of Jewish persons is noticed, as 'Simon the Cyrenian, the father of Alexander and Rufus' Mark 15. 21. See Merivale, ch. xxxix. p. 377.

[6] Suet. Aug. 40. We find it however given by Augustus not only to individuals (e. g. 1. 58, 2), but to communities (Suet. Aug. 47); of which Utica is an instance. Dio, 49. 16, 1.

[7] See Persius, Sat. 5, 78.

[8] See the 'diplomata' above referred to, p. 108.

[9] As in Vergil and Horace frequently.

[10] Livy 4. 20, 5; Mon. Anc. iv. 1–30.

[11] Verg. Aen. 8, 716.

[12] See Marquardt, iii. p. 198.

[13] Ovid, Fast. 5, 145; Hor. Od. 4. 5, 34.

[14] Suet. Aug. 31.

ical order was connected with the sacred ideas of domestic security; not only in Rome and Italy, but in many parts of the empire[1]. To this was added afterwards throughout the empire the later cult of the 'Divus Augustus[2]' and his deified successors; as also in some cases, that of the living Caesar, associated with the imperial city[3]: the whole forming a kind of apotheosis of order and peace, which appears to have been for the present the nearest approach to an universal religion.

Otherwise there was more interchange than fusion of manifold religions. Temples to Jupiter Capitolinus are found in provinces[4]; and, in turn, whatever was attractive in provincial religions struck root in Rome; and supplied, what the colder forms of the state ritual failed to supply, some food for the fervour of religious enthusiasm and for speculative theology. Many foreign religions obtained special licence, and even the illicit might enjoy practical impunity, till circumstances pointed attention to them; as in the suppression of Isiac rites by Agrippa[5]; or the stern vengeance taken by Tiberius on the priests of this cult for a flagrant moral scandal[6]; or the deportation of Jews arising out of a gross pecuniary fraud[7]: the penalty being apparently in neither case such as sensibly to abate the prevalence of such worships.

Nor could any coercion keep out the forbidden mysteries of astrology and magic[8]; the former of which had the direct countenance of Tiberius, though his protection of Thrasyllus[9] did not interfere with the chastisement of the meaner herd[10]. The influence of all foreign superstitions on a less strong mind may be seen in the case of Germanicus; in the restless search after foreign oracles, worships, miracles[11], which seems to have so far guided his movements in the East; and in the belief shared by his friends as well as himself, that the magician was as capable of causing his death as the poisoner[12].

Meanwhile, the only religion capable of taking the place both of the effete ideas of old Roman worship, and of the gross fanaticisms of foreign superstition, was known as yet only to a few poor Jews, and hardly reaches to the outer world till the time of Claudius[13].

[1] Sacrifice for the health of Augustus was offered daily in the Jewish temple. Philo, leg. ad C. 588.

[2] This was allowed by Augustus in the provinces even during his life. See on 1. 10, 5.

[3] See 4. 15; 37; 55.

[4] Pausan. 2, 4.

[5] In 703, B.C. 20. Dio, 54. 6, 6.

[6] Jos. Ant. 18. 3, 4; Ann. 2. 85, 5.

[7] Jos. l. l., Ann. l. l.

[8] See 2. 27, 2, etc. 'Genus hominum . . . quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur' H. 1. 22, 2.

[9] 6. 20, 3.

[10] 2. 32, 5.

[11] See 2. 54, 61.

[12] 2. 69, 5.

[13] On the attitude of the Roman authorities at that period to Judaism and Christianity, see Introd. to vol. ii.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## ON THE ESTIMATE IN TACITUS OF THE CHARACTER AND PERSONAL GOVERNMENT OF TIBERIUS.

### SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.



NOTE.—Several of the works on this subject are mentioned by Nipp. (Introd. p. 33); to whose list of various judgments may be added the vigorous defence of Tiberius by Professor Beesly ('Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius,' London, 1878), the more modified praise in M. Duruy's History, the more unfavourable view taken by M. Boissier in his work, 'L'Opposition sous les Césars' (especially ch. 6, on the delators), and the unmeasured invective of Comte Champagny (Les Césars, i. p. 280–360).

Many obligations, not easy to specify in their places, must be here acknowledged to several of these works; but my chief endeavour has been to give an independent judgment on the facts and interpretations of facts contained in Tacitus and other original authorities.

TACITUS would undoubtedly wish his readers to take, as his most deliberate judgment on Tiberius, the summary at the end of the Sixth Book, where his life is marked out into periods, showing a gradual moral deterioration, affecting both his private habits and personal government[1]. It will therefore be convenient to examine these successively.

I. 'Egregium vita famaque quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto vixerat.'

This emphatic praise, from so unfavourable a witness, though perhaps qualified by insinuations of latent cruelty[2], and tales, which we seem intended to believe, of a foretaste at Rhodes of Capreae[3]; must at least be taken as an admission that his public life to his 56th year was unimpeachable, and seems to carry with it a disbelief in the tales of drunkenness caught up by Suetonius[4].

'From earliest infancy, his lot was one of peril[5].' Born in the year of Philippi[6] (712, B. C. 42), he shared in unconscious infancy the hurried flight of his parents from Perusia; was only four years old when

[1] 6. 51, 5.
[2] 1. 4, 3.
[3] What is given as a rumour, 1. 4, 4, is assumed as a fact, 4. 57, 4.
[4] Suet. Tib. 42.
[5] 6. 51, 2.
[6] Suet. Tib. 5.

his mother became the wife of the triumvir; only nine[1] when his father's death transferred him to the tutelage of his stepfather, who two years later became the undisputed master of the Roman empire. From this point, his life, in the judgment of popular exaggeration, seemed enviable in the extreme. He is 'brought up from infancy in a reigning family, loaded with consulships and triumphs in his youth[2].' To a more careful observer, the thirty-five years next ensuing are a history of harassing intrigues and rivalries[3] and souring disappointments, hardly compensated by ultimate success.

He assumed the 'toga virilis' in 727, B.C. 27, and by special privilege became quaestor in his nineteenth year, in 731, B.C. 23[4]; at which time the death of young Marcellus, who was about a year older, removed the first of his various rivals from his path[5]. He was praetor in 737, B.C. 17, at the age of twenty-five, and consul in 741, B.C. 13, at the age of twenty-nine[6].

Side by side with his advancement in civil offices came a succession of military commands. After a 'tirocinium' as military tribune in the Cantabrian war, he was sent in 734, B.C. 20, in his twenty-second year, with forces to the East, to give a king to Armenia; and had the honour of bringing back the standards lost with Crassus[7]. In 739, B.C. 15, he shared with his brother Drusus the more arduous task of subduing the mountaineers of the Grisons and Tyrol[8]; a service which probably gave the youths their 'nomen imperatorium[9].' About this time he received in marriage Vipsania Agrippina, daughter, by a former wife[10], of Agrippa, who now stood next to Augustus as his son-in-law[11] and his colleague in the tribunitian power[12].

Whatever hopes may have been raised by the unexpected death of Agrippa, in 742, B.C. 12, at the age of fifty-one—which left only two boys, aged eight and five[13], between the stepsons and the succession—would fade gradually as time went on and the lads grew older; while the immediate disastrous consequence to Tiberius was the shadow cast over his domestic life, by his forced divorce from Vipsania, to whom he was deeply attached[14], and his marriage, for mere dynastic reasons, to Julia, who may have courted him as a lover, but despised him as her husband, and showed her contempt by her outrageous profligacy[15]. Almost

[1] Suet. Tib. 6.
[2] 1. 4, 4.
[3] 'Multis aemulis conflictatus est' 6. 51, 2.
[4] Dio, 53. 28, 3.
[5] Id. 30, 4.
[6] Id. 54. 25, 1.
[7] Suet. Tib. 9; Ann. 2. 3, 4.
[8] Suet. Tib. l. l.; Hor. Od. 4. 14.
[9] 1. 3, 1.
[10] Pomponia, daughter of Atticus the friend of Cicero. See 2. 43, 7.
[11] Dio, 54. 6, 5.
[12] See 3. 56, 3.
[13] A third was born afterwards.
[14] Suetonius (Tib. 7) gives a touching anecdote of their only meeting after the divorce.
[15] 1. 53, 2; Suet. Tib. 7.

immediately after this marriage he was sent to suppress a rising in Dalmatia and Pannonia[1]; and, after the death in 745, B.C. 9, of his brother Drusus, at the head of whose funeral train he marched on foot in mid-winter from the Rhine to Rome[2], he prosecuted the war in Germany[3]; for successes in which he was rewarded in 745 and 747, B.C. 9, 7, by triumphal distinctions of some kind[4] and a second consulship in the latter year. In 748, B.C. 6, he seemed still more fully to fill the place of Agrippa, by receiving for five years the tribunitian power; a position which Augustus felt he could safely trust to one of such an 'unambitious temperament[5].'

It was now that he formed his strange resolution of retirement to Rhodes, and with great difficulty obtained the necessary permission[6]. The conduct of his wife is assigned as the most potent reason[7]; an influential second motive can be traced in the rise to manhood of the young Caesars: and his retirement of seven years is characterised by studious, not to say pedantic pursuits[8], and initiation by Thrasyllus into the dangerous mysteries of astrology, which took so firm a hold upon his mind[9]. After the banishment of Julia in 752, B.C. 2, he had desired, but had not been permitted, to return. The protection of his tribunitian power expired, and the rest of his absence was a scarcely disguised exile[10]; in which he was made to feel once for all that a private position to one in such a rank was impossible, by being exposed to insult and even to peril of life, during the progress of Gaius Caesar to the East under the sinister influence of M. Lollius[11]. In 755, A.D. 2, the year of the death of Lucius Caesar, he obtained leave to return to Rome; but lived in complete retirement till the death of Gaius in 757, A.D. 4, caused a complete change in his position.

Now, at the age of forty-six, he was adopted into the family of the Caesars[12], his tribunitian power was renewed for another five years[13], and he was displayed as the heir before the greatest armies of the state[14]. If we are to believe Velleius, he was welcomed by the legions with raptures of enthusiasm, and his achievements in the next seven years place him in the front rank of Roman generals[15]. The aim of these military

[1] Dio, 54. 31, 2.
[2] Dio, 55. 2, 1; Suet. Tib. 7.
[3] Vell. 2. 97, 2; Suet. Tib. 9; Dio, 55. 6, 1.
[4] On the exact nature of these there appears to be some discrepancy between Vell. 2. 97, 4 and Suet. Tib. 9.
[5] 3. 56, 4.
[6] Suet. Tib. 10.
[7] 1. 53, 2.
[8] Suet. Tib. 11.
[9] 6. 20, 3.
[10] Suet. Tib. 11; 12.
[11] 3. 48, 3; Suet. Tib. 13.
[12] Suet. Tib. 15. His adoption took place June 26 (Kal. Amit.) or 27 (Vell. 2. 103, 2), 757, A.D. 4. The renewal of trib. pot. may probably have dated from July 1. See Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 774.
[13] See note on 1. 10, 7.
[14] 1. 3, 3.
[15] Vell. 2. 104, etc.

operations was to found a great province in further Germany, and to transfer the frontier from the Rhine probably to the Elbe. In the two campaigns of 757 and 758, A.D. 4 and 5, the resistance in North Germany appeared to have been broken; a third campaign was intended, by a concentrated attack with twelve legions on Bohemia, to crush Maroboduus, who had organized what might be called an empire of South Germany[1]; when the blaze of rebellion in Pannonia and Dalmatia in 759, A.D. 6, taxed all the resources of Rome to face a crisis which, with some apparent forgetfulness of the Teutons and the Cimbri, is called the gravest since the Punic wars[2]. By the time that this was quelled all had been lost in Germany by the annihilation of the army of Varus in 762, A.D. 9[3]; and nothing remained but to exact vengeance and secure the frontier. The schemes of German conquest would seem to have been less nearly executed, or their feasibility more misconceived, than our authorities admit to us; but the restoration of order within the empire at least was complete and permanent, and the triumph of Tiberius in 765, A.D. 12, well earned[4]. Nor is there reason to doubt the most distinguishing trait of his generalship, his carefulness of his soldiers' lives[5], a duty more than ever incumbent on a general who knew that almost the last reserve of Rome was in the field[6]. Rewarded, besides his triumph, with a permanent renewal of tribunitian power[7], and a 'proconsulare imperium' coordinate in the provinces with that of the princeps[8], he had again set out for Illyricum when the last illness of Augustus recalled him hastily to Italy, which for the remaining twenty-three years of his life he never quitted.

Our attention throughout this period must be mainly directed to the circumstances which formed the character of the future prince. It was evidently always the dearest wish of Augustus to found a family dynasty, The principate could never be formally bequeathed[9], and, by the first princeps, even the custom of succession had wholly to be created: but he seems clearly to have seen that with tact and discretion he could practically name his successor; and, though a sonless man, had no such noble ambition as Galba conceived and Nerva realised, of directing choice to the worthiest. Yet he could see that his intended successor

[1] The chief authority for these campaigns is Velleius, who served in them. On their strategy, see the remarks of Professor Beesly.

[2] Suet. Tib. 16. On this war, see Vell. 2. 110–116.

[3] See Vell. 2. 117–120.

[4] Vell. 2. 121, 3.

[5] Id. 114.

[6] On the difficulty of finding soldiers, see Dio, 55. 31, 1; 56. 23, 2.

[7] This renewal had probably taken place during his absence. See note on 1. 10, 7.

[8] Suet. Tib. 21. See above, ch. vi. p. 83.

[9] See ch. vi. p. 82.

must be ripe in years and tried in service, prominent enough to be such as a free state might be supposed to choose. Again, the precariousness of his own health obliged Augustus always to contemplate the possibility of a speedy as well as a distant succession. Hence it was always his policy to surround his throne with props[1], and to have different heirs in various grades of expectancy. In the first rank were his nearest relatives, to be his choice if time allowed him to make them sufficiently prominent. Such in the earlier years was Marcellus, and such in later times were Gaius and Lucius Caesar. Secondly, there must be another in reserve, already ripe in years and tried in real life, who might fill the chief place in case of a sudden vacancy; but who, after a sacrifice of the best years of his life for the ruling house, might expect to be summarily set aside for a youth, if circumstances hereafter made it feasible. Such in the earlier years was Agrippa, and such was in later times the position of Tiberius. Each was victim in turn to the matrimonial arrangements which Augustus always carried out with more than a Roman's disregard of natural affection, often with a cynical contempt even for common decency[2]. Each had endeavoured to escape from an intolerable position by retirement from Rome[3]. Agrippa, had he lived long enough, would probably again have had to retire before his own sons, adopted into the family of the Caesars over his head. Tiberius, even at the death of Gaius, had Germanicus been ten years older or Augustus ten years younger, would probably have been again postponed to the grandson of Octavia, whose children by Agrippina would still more nearly represent the true blood of Augustus[4].

We may well believe that a sense of public[5] duty cooperated with the solicitations of Livia, in procuring the adoption of her son, which she so often recalled to him in after times as the crowning service of her life[6]. Still, with the tenacity that marked all his policy, Augustus seemed even then to leave a chance open for future family schemes, not only by himself adopting at the same time the worthless Agrippa Postumus[7], but also by compelling Tiberius, as the price of his own adoption, to adopt

[1] 'Quo pluribus munimentis insisteret' 1. 3, 5.

[2] To secure one political ally he had himself set aside the daughter of Servilius for Clodia (Suet. Aug. 62); to win another, he married Scribonia (App. B. C. 5. 53), whom he divorced, on the day of her daughter's birth (Dio, 48. 34, 3), for the scandalous marriage with Livia (Ann. 1. 10, 4). For like reasons he sacrificed Octavia to Antonius, and compelled Agrippa possibly to divorce Pomponia for Marcella, certainly Marcella for Julia, who was given, for mere dynastic reasons, to three successive husbands. The cruel divorce of Tiberius from Vipsania is mentioned above.

[3] On the retirement of Agrippa at the rise of Marcellus, see Vell. 2. 93, 2; Dio, 53. 32, 1.

[4] See ch. ix.

[5] See Suet. Tib. 21.

[6] 4. 57, 4.

[7] Suet. Tib. 15.

Germanicus[1], and thus to prejudice the position of his son by blood, Drusus, who was a year or two younger. Even the prospect of a possible civil war could not turn the old man from a scheme which might one day bring back the inheritance of the Caesars to his own direct descendants. Hence the undisguised coldness and jealousy of Tiberius and Livia towards Germanicus and his house, and the suspicions, not the less real because baseless, that the young man might turn his popularity to disloyal use; hence the idea that even Agrippa, though formally banished in perpetuity, was still formidable while he lived, and might any day return to favour[2].

Augustus again, while addressing Tiberius by letter in a fulsome strain of palpable exaggeration[3], is said to have often jested to his courtiers about the poor Roman people, who were to be 'so deliberately masticated;' often to have broken off lively conversation at his approach[4], and even in a public rescript to have 'taunted him with his personal peculiarities under colour of apology[5].' The epigrammatists who did not spare Tiberius even as prince[6], assuredly did not spare him all this time[7]; and even a posthumous stroke was dealt in the will which made him principal heir, by a pointed allusion to those who should have filled his place[8].

Such circumstances, acting on such a temperament, produced much such a character as we should expect. We are to think of the man Tiberius as one naturally austere, reserved, and distant[9]; the best of whose life had been spent in camps or in retirement; whose position at court had been generally more or less overshadowed by rivals; and whose domestic life had been wrecked for political objects in which he had no primary interest; while he had been schooled for years in repression and disguise, with fatalists always at his elbow to tell him that his day of revenge would come[10]. He had lived in the coldest shade of neglect, as well as in the full sunshine of flattery, and could rate the homage of senate and people at its proper worth. Of all views of his character, none is more amply borne out by facts than that which states that his resolution was as weak as his penetration was keen[11]; so that, the more clearly he could read men's minds, the more he was at a loss

[1] 1. 3, 5; Suet. l. l.
[2] 1. 5, 2.
[3] See Suet. Tib. 21.
[4] Id.
[5] 1. 10, 7.
[6] 1. 72, 5; Suet. Tib. 59.
[7] Ib.
[8] Suet. Tib. 23 'Quoniam atrox fortuna Gaium et Lucium filios mihi eripuit.'
[9] 'Tristissimum, ut constat, hominum' Plin. N. H. 28. 2 (5), 23.
[10] 'Circa deos ac religiones neglegentior, quippe addictus mathematicae, plenusque persuasionis, cuncta fato agi' Suet. Tib. 69. See on 6. 21.
[11] 1. 80, 3.

to deal with them. It is in this mixture of strength and weakness [1], as well as in the union of his natural self-distrust [2], reserve, and austerity, with the souring experiences of a lifetime, that we find the leading traits of character of the future ruler.

II. 'Occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere.'

This period, the first eight years of this principate, treated by Tacitus in the first three books, and reviewed at the beginning of the fourth, is at once that on which his information is most full, and his estimate most questionable: the whole time being thus summarily dismissed, not as that in which the purpose was most sincere, but in which the disguise was best sustained.

The fact of generally just and moderate government is admitted and indisputable. We are told of constant consultation of the senate, even on matters not strictly belonging to their cognisance [3]; that its chief members are encouraged to discuss, and rebuked for servility [4]; that the office of the magistrates of the republic is respected [5]; the laws, with one exception [6], uprightly administered; that in the bestowal of dignities the worthiest were selected; that Tiberius set an example of frugality, both in the moderate size and number of his Italian estates, amid the vast villas of the nobles [7], and in unostentatious management and retinue; as well as an example of moderation in conducting disputes with other citizens as between equals in the law-courts. It is further admitted that these characteristics at home were accompanied by clemency and vigilance abroad: that no new burdens were laid on the provinces; the old ones adjusted with care and remitted on occasion; personal violence and confiscation scrupulously avoided; cruelty and extortion in governors duly punished; fiscal procuratorships conferred on men of character, even without personal knowledge; and their tenure indefinitely extended, as if to diminish temptation to peculation, by giving men time to grow rich without it.

Many even of what seemed to Tacitus defects of policy, would be merits to an impartial critic; who, for instance, would hardly be induced to believe that Germanicus, whose chief recorded achievements are those of mere ravage and massacre [8], or ostentatious and futile obsequies to the

[1] Professor Beesly has well noted the indications of such a temperament in his physiognomy, as in the well known Vatican statue (Mus. Chiarom. 494).

[2] See on 1. 11, 1, etc., and especially 4. 38, 4, where his diffidence is variously explained, as due to modesty, self-depreciation, or meanspiritedness.

[3] See note on 1. 52, 2.

[4] E.g. 3. 47, 4; 59, 2.

[5] On their function at this time, see ch. vi. p. 75, etc.

[6] See below, p. 121.

[7] See 3. 53, 5.

[8] 1, 51; 56.

remains of those who fell with Varus[1], or at best barren victories in the field[2], balanced by disastrous retreats[3], and entailing untold requisitions on Gaul[4], was recalled from an all but completed conquest[5].

The general foreign policy of such a ruler naturally finds little favour with a historian who looked back with fondness to the military glories of the old republic[6], and was writing when the star of conquest was again in the ascendant, when the eagles had advanced to the Carpathians and the Pruth, the fleet to the Persian gulf and the Indian Ocean. His disdain is natural for the old 'narrow limits of empire[7],' for the 'timid or envious' advice of Augustus[8], and for a prince who 'cared not to extend the frontier,' and under whom 'peace was slightly if at all disturbed[9].' Yet this policy, while prudent and consistent, was not undignified. The civil war of Arminius and Maroboduus[10] fully attests the wisdom of leaving Germany to its internal conflicts[11]. The anxiety to preserve order[12], and to settle difficulties without recourse to arms[13], will commend itself no less than the just partition of Thrace under its own princes[14]; the acquisition of Cappadocia with advantage both to its own inhabitants and to the Roman people[15]; and the maintenance of prestige in the East without open breach with Parthia; while Armenia is secured to the Roman interest through a prince of Roman sympathies, yet not too Roman for his subjects[16].

Again, the severe punishment of governors for extortion will be generally held deserving of more praise than is awarded by the historian, who, even when candidly admitting a case of proved guilt in this respect, appears to lay no stress upon it[17]. Nor can we share his apparent regret that largess was not lavished on the needy descendant of the Hortensii[18]; the more so as it is admitted that Tiberius cared not, at least at this time, to enrich himself[19], or to be sparing of bounty to persons[20] or communities[21] on just occasion.

Again, when all his resources were strained to feed the people[22], we should hardly blame the economy, even if we are allowed to imagine no better motive, from which their mere amusements were curtailed[23].

1 1. 61.
2 2. 16, etc.
3 1. 63–71; 2. 23.
4 See 2. 5, 3.
5 2. 26, 2.
6 4. 32, 2.
7 4. 4, 6.
8 1. 11, 7.
9 4. 32, 3.
10 2. 44; 63.
11 2. 26, 3. Many other such conflicts are mentioned in the note there.
12 'Ne conposita turbarentur' 2. 65, 1.
13 2. 64, 2.
14 2. 67, 4.
15 By its revenue the 'centesima' was reduced (2. 42, 6); yet the burdens of its people were lessened (2. 56, 4).
16 Artaxias was the people's choice, and free from the defects of Vonones. See 2. 56, 2.
17 E.g. 1. 74, 7; 3. 38, 1; 70, 1; 4. 19, 5, etc.
18 2. 37; 38.
19 2. 48; 3. 18, 2.
20 See note on 1. 75, 4.
21 2. 47, 3; 4. 13, 1.
22 2. 87, 1; 4. 6, 6.
23 1. 54, 3; 4. 62, 3.

To say that he was austere and generally feared[1], is to say that his disposition was such as nature and circumstances had made it; nor is his carelessness of popularity unaccompanied with the rational desire of solid approval[2].

The evidence on which the whole of this period is pronounced to be one of mere sustained hypocrisy, is best challenged by taking the leading instances alleged.

The first instance is at the outset, when a show is made of declining the principate which every step had been taken to secure. Undoubtedly the reluctance was so far insincere, that his Rhodian retirement must have taught him, that for one so placed, the only safety was to rule; but if we suppose his natural irresolution to have mingled with his disguise, he would not be the only one whose self-reliance had failed him at the crisis of his fortunes: and of the reasons given for his conduct, two at least are thoroughly substantial. As regards the armies, he certainly did 'hold a wolf by the ears[3],' whether he was aware of the actual mutiny or not: and the constitution of the principate, as well as the absence at this date of any monarchical or dynastic tradition[4], required him to secure his position by laying all stress on the apparent free choice of the senate[5].

Another leading instance is sought in his whole conduct to Germanicus, which again, even in its most questionable points, shows habitual irresolution rather than malice. The position in which Germanicus is found at the death of Augustus[6] is strengthened rather than impaired[7]; he is allowed to levy war in such mode and on such scale as he pleases; his distinctions are at least equal to his deserts[8]; his recall, as has been said above[9], is justifiable. Yet it is but natural that the compulsory adoption[10] should rankle in a mind so disposed to brood on its grievances[11]: and, side by side with the confidence which Tiberius felt when great armies were under his sons[12], might lurk some distrust of the young man's popularity, and of the masculine energy of his wife[13]. Thus we discern a motive for sending him to the East, where the legions did not know him, and for replacing a legate so connected with him as Creticus Silanus[14] by one who could be trusted at least to hold his own. Cn. Piso, again, was much to be mistrusted. The proudest member of one of the noblest houses yet left[15], he had spoken out in the senate[16], and had perhaps been noted by Augustus as dangerous[17]. Yet his wife stood high in the favour

[1] 4. 7, 1.
[2] 'Oderint, dum probent' Suet. Tib. 59.
[3] Suet. Tib. 25.
[4] See above, p. 115.
[5] 1. 7, 10.
[6] 1. 3, 5.
[7] 1. 14, 4.
[8] See 1. 55, 1; 58, 9.
[9] p. 119.
[10] See above, p. 116.
[11] See 1. 7, 11, and note there.
[12] 2. 44, 1.
[13] 1. 69, 4.
[14] 2. 43, 3.
[15] Id.
[16] 1. 74, 6.
[17] 1. 13, 3.

of Augusta [1], and he could hardly be passed over in the award of provinces. It is reasonable to suppose that the one mistrust was set against the other, that he was to be some check on his young 'imperator [2],' who, in turn, was to check him by an 'imperium maius' on the spot. Such a view is consistent with the belief that the full extent to which such rivalry might be pushed was not foreseen. Nor need a word here be said on any insinuation of the complicity of Tiberius in a death ascribed by the superstitious to witchcraft, and by those who dispensed with evidence to poisoning [3]: still less on the imagination apparently for a moment entertained by Tacitus that the really fatal charge against Piso, that of levying civil war in the province, was somehow the outcome of a deep-laid plot of Tiberius to destroy him [4].

We pass to the state trials, especially those for 'maiestas,' the one point excepted in the summary [5] from the generally just administration of laws during this period.

Tacitus is himself our best authority as to the offences originally and subsequently made indictable under this term [6]; which appears to have been gradually defined, with increasing width, by the 'leges' 'Appuleia' (654, B.C. 100), 'Varia' (663, B.C. 91), 'Cornelia' (during the rule of Sulla), and 'Iulia' (enacted by Augustus); and which, even in the time of Cicero, has a formidably elastic meaning, which would hardly require pressing to make it cover offensive words [7]. This application is, however, at least extremely limited [8] until the time of Tiberius, under whom it is extended even to spoken words [9]: and the strict limitation to libels on the prince himself and his parent [10] is disregarded in practice [11].

During this first period, about twelve trials [12] may be noted, in which this is either the sole charge, or more frequently coupled with others [13]. In two cases acts are alleged, which in any age would have been treasonable [14], if proved; in the other the charge is grounded either on a more or less strained interpretation of acts, or, in one or two cases, on words [15]. It should be added, that in three cases the charge of 'maiestas' is dis-

[1] 2. 43, 5, etc.

[2] Germanicus is so styled, 3. 12, 4.

[3] This charge evidently broke down, but was still believed. See 3. 14, 2, 4.

[4] See on 1. 13, 3.

[5] 4. 6, 3.

[6] 1. 72, 3, where see notes.

[7] 'Maiestatem minuere est de dignitate, aut amplitudine, aut potestate populi aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare' De Inv. 2. 17.

[8] See on 1. 72, 4.

[9] We find this as early as the second year of his rule. See 1. 74, 3.

[10] See 4. 34, 3.

[11] E.g. 3. 49, 1.

[12] Such a case as that of Libo Drusus is here included for convenience, though not strictly one of 'maiestas.'

[13] 'Omnium accusationum complementum' 3. 38, 1.

[14] Cn. Piso, and Antistius Vetus (3. 38, 2).

[15] 1. 74, 3; 3. 49, 1. In some cases the nature of the charge is unspecified, as in 3. 66, 2.

missed before trial[1]; and that three others result in acquittal[2]; and that the one case in which death is inflicted for an offence of words takes place in the absence of Tiberius, who finds fault with, and takes measures to prevent in future so precipitate a sentence[3].

It may be admitted that the number of cases is not large in itself, and that many among this number seem due to the desire of accusers to secure a conviction by multiplying counts in the indictment, especially by adding a charge not less sweeping and formidable than the modern phrase of 'conduct calculated to bring the government into contempt;' a charge especially difficult to meet under such a constitution as that of the Caesars, resting on innumerable vague lines and fictions. We may also admit that Tiberius, though with frequent vacillations of purpose[4], shows on the whole at present no disposition to press for convictions, or for extreme sentences upon conviction. On the other hand, even a small numerical list of such trials becomes considerable, when viewed in relation to a period of profound tranquillity and acquiescence; when, with insignificant exceptions, the air is stirred by no conspiracies[5], and the nobles are servile, even to the disdain of their ruler[6]. We are far removed, both from such an open outbreak in the senate as that which had forced Augustus to withdraw the 'Lex Iulia maritalis[7],' and even from the attitude of the Stoic aristocrats under Nero; and the opposition has shrunk into epigrams[8], the babble of 'dinner parties and places of resort[9],' 'idle murmurs[10],' 'whispers or suspicious silence[11];' in a word, into what no despotism has ever been able to repress, and what no strong government need ever consider dangerous.

Nor are the charges in themselves so noteworthy as the accompanying growth of an organized system of delation, destined to acquire such fatal prominence for nearly a century afterwards. In Rome, at all times, the absence of a public prosecutor threw the duty of accusation on individuals; and the desire to conduct an impeachment was always strong among Roman orators; all the more so under the Empire, from the closing of other roads to distinction, and the increasing prevalence of rhetorical schools, in which the brilliant strokes of a fashionable accuser are held up to the admiration of the rising generation[12]. Even for men

[1] 1. 73; 3. 70, 2.
[2] 1. 74, 7; 2. 50, 4; 3. 38, 1 (comp. with 70, 1).
[3] 3. 51, 2.
[4] See especially the narrative of the trial of Aemilia Lepida, 3. 22, 3.
[5] Libo Drusus, if Tacitus is to be believed, was no real conspirator (2. 30, 2). The only instance of more importance is the attempt of Clemens to personate Agrippa, which is stated to have been influentially supported (2. 40, 6).
[6] 3. 65, 3.
[7] See Dio, 54. 16.
[8] 1. 72, 5; Suet. Tib. 59.
[9] 'In conviviis et circulis' 3. 54, 1.
[10] 'Inani rumore' 1. 15, 2.
[11] 3. 11, 3.
[12] Many famous delators are criticised, from a merely rhetorical point of view, by M. Seneca and Quintilian.

of rank and wealth [1], still more for the needy and obscure [2], such a career had thus manifold attractions. But Roman moral sentiment drew a strong distinction between those who had a right to accuse or were deputed to do so, and those who volunteered for the duty [3]; confining to the latter class the odious name of 'delator [4].'

By considering the strength of the impelling motives, we are led to see a plain truth in the maxim of Domitian at his best time, that 'the prince who does not check accusers stimulates them [5]:' and there can be no doubt that Tiberius encouraged them from the first, both in this sense and even in a more substantial manner [6]; and that (notwithstanding a few precedents under Augustus[7]) his principate is so marked by the development of delation as to be not unjustly termed the period of its origin [8].

We must suppose him to have intended the natural consequence, to let men see that the accuser was always on the watch, that even trivial acts or mere words, even the pasquinades so natural to Italian scurrility, were well within the scope of the law and placed them at his mercy; that by legal fictions their own household might be forced to give evidence against them [9], that the senate was only too forward to condemn, while the princeps reserved to himself the credit of extending clemency to the convicted.

We need not attribute this to any other motive than to his general policy of keeping himself in the background and using the instrumentality of others, and to that constitutional self-distrust and suspicion, which made him even at the outset feel insecure, unless surrounded by an atmosphere of intimidation. On any interpretation, while giving far more credit than Tacitus gives at this time for a genuine desire to govern well, we are compelled to qualify our praise by 'si maiestatis quaestio eximeretur.'

III. 'Inter bona malaque mixtus, incolumi matre.'

Such is the summary of the six years comprised in Book IV., 776–781, A.D. 23–28, the ninth to the fifteenth of the rule of Tiberius, and the sixty-fourth to the seventieth of his life. The words seem a platitude,

[1] 'Primores senatus' (6. 7, 4), such as Mamercus Scaurus (3. 66, 2, etc.).

[2] As Junius Otho, 3. 66, 4.

[3] Pliny says (Epp. 3. 7, 3) in censure of Silius Italicus 'credebatur sponte accusasse.'

[4] The word is wholly post-Augustan.

[5] Suet. Dom. 9.

[6] Even in the early period we find them rewarded with political promotion, and sharing all the property (2. 32, 1).

[7] Besides the case of Cornelius Gallus, we have a more systematic encouragement under the 'lex Papia Poppaea.' See 3. 28, 4.

[8] Cp. the language of Tacitus, 'Qui formam vitae iniit' etc. (1. 74, 1); 'Tum primum reperta sunt mala,' etc. (2. 27, 1).

[9] 2. 30, 3.

and the 'bona,' if not admitted to have been real before, must be supposed less real now. Tacitus must be understood to mean that some evil traits, such as cruelty and covetousness[1], begin to escape their disguise, but that the appearance of many virtues is kept up.

The ascendancy of Seianus, greatly extended by the death of Drusus[2], is still so far held in check by Augusta as to require him to proceed cautiously, and his bold request for the hand of Livia meets with a decided rebuff[3]. Yet, though only a knight, he appears to have already some share in the 'proconsulare imperium[4],' and has been able to carry out a change more fraught with results in later Roman history than perhaps any other event of this principate, the concentration of the praetorians in the well-known barrack outside the Servian 'agger[5]:' a change at once attesting the influence of the minister, and the timidity of the ruler, who could be persuaded that so powerful a force on the spot was necessary to his safety. Seianus is represented as already steadily aiming at the throne: Drusus is out of the way, and the house of Germanicus, though still personally secured, are represented as having their position undermined by insidious attacks[6], and by the overthrow of one friend after another[7].

This whole period is described in an eloquent passage as a dreary chronicle of 'cruel orders, incessant accusations, treacherous friendships[8].' Under an exaggeration, similar to that of earlier passages[9], we discern this truth, that the record of trials, mostly for state offences, is almost the sole history of the time; and that, besides a large increase in the number of such cases, from about twelve in eight years to about twenty in six[10], we have also an increase in the espionage of informers and in the severity of sentences.

Many distinctions must however be drawn. Serious charges were brought, and some of them really proved, against Silius[11], Serenus[12], Lucilius Capito[13]; and the gratitude of the cities of Asia[14] must be set against the murmurs of Roman nobles. All would now respect the indignant protest of Tiberius against leniency to Suillius, convicted of

[1] Cp. 'Saevire ipse aut saevientibus vires praebere' (4. 1, 1). Greed for confiscation is alleged to show itself first at the trial of Silius. See 4. 20, 2.

[2] 4. 12, 3.

[3] 4. 40.

[4] He is styled 'adiutor imperii,' which is implied to be a step to the full position of 'collega' 4. 7, 2. See ch. vi. p. 83.

[5] 4. 2, 1.

[6] 4. 12, 2; 17, 4; 59, 5; 60, 1.

[7] 4. 18, 1; 52, 1; 68, 1.

[8] 4. 33, 3.

[9] See 3. 38, 1; 44, 2.

[10] Trials for ordinary criminal offences, such as some of those in c. 22; 42; 52, are omitted, but the list is not confined to such as are strictly cases of maiestas. We may add from Dio (57. 22, 5) the name of Aelius Saturninus, thrown from the Tarpeian rock for libellous words in 776, A.D. 23.

[11] 4. 19, 5.

[12] 4. 13, 2.

[13] 4. 15, 3.

[14] 4. 15, 4.

selling justice; and the later history of the man is admitted to have shown that compassion was undeserved[1]. Nor will any regret the punishment of informers for false or vexatious charges[2]. Three again are acquitted[3], another saved by indefinite adjournment[4], another pardoned amidst genuine applause[5], in another case the gravest part of the charge is allowed to drop[6], in another expulsion from the senate is the only penalty[7].

Granting however that the numerical list shrinks thus considerably on investigation, many cases will still remain showing an increased sensitiveness to libels and vindictiveness in punishing them. Charges of this kind, if not, in the former case, actually entering into the indictment, help to bring about the downfall of Silius[8] and L. Piso[9]; it is for these that Votienus is condemned to exile[10], and that Cassius Severus, an old offender[11], has his punishment increased[12]. By a further stretch, the law is made to reach Cremutius Cordus for a work which, according to one account, was of old standing and had even been recited before Augustus[13], and for a mere passage in which the eulogy was awarded to Cassius which had once been spoken over him by Brutus[14]. We are assured that the whole circumstances of the trial left the accused no prospect of escaping condemnation but by suicide.

Sometimes again conviction is alleged to have been enforced where proof was wanting; as in the trial of old Serenus on charges of conspiracy preferred by his son; charges which were certainly dismissed as absurd in respect to some of the persons implicated in them, and on which the evidence is stated to have altogether broken down[15]. Yet Caesar is represented as insisting upon a condemnatory vote, though interposing to modify the proposed penalty of death or stricter banishment[16], satisfied apparently with the conviction itself.

Lastly, at the close of this period, in the case of Titius Sabinus we are informed of disgraceful expedients to procure evidence[17], of a hurried vote and immediate execution without trial, on the very opening festival of the new year, in obedience to a missive from the prince[18]. There may have been more in the case than is reported[19], but the ominous beginning of the terrible letters from Capreae must be noted here.

Informers again appear to be more openly encouraged, protected from just retribution in case of falsehood[20], and secured of their reward, even

[1] 4. 31, 6.
[2] 4. 31, 7. The most formidable are said to have escaped (c. 36, 5).
[3] 4. 13, 3; 36, 4.
[4] 4. 66, 3.
[5] 4. 31, 1.
[6] 4. 21, 4.
[7] 4. 42, 3.
[8] 4. 18, 2.
[9] 4. 21, 2.
[10] 4. 42, 3.
[11] See 1. 72, 4.
[12] 4. 21, 5.
[13] Suet. Tib. 61.
[14] 4. 34, 1; Suet. l. l.
[15] 4. 29, 1.
[16] 4. 30, 1.
[17] 4. 68; 69.
[18] c. 70.
[19] See on c. 70, 1.
[20] 4. 31, 8; 36, 5.

where condemnation was anticipated by suicide[1]. Confiscations also now begin to appear, and so far bear out the imputation that an appetite for them has arisen[2].

Traces of the better and greater side of his character still indeed remain, in the dignified address on the death of Drusus[3], energy in public business[4], prompt investigation of a crime[5], strict repression of a popular scandal[6], resolute disdain of extravagant honours[7], munificence on occasion of a public disaster[8]. Much again of mere gratuitous insinuation may yet be cast aside: such as that he was jealous of honour paid to young Nero and Drusus[9]; attended to public business only to disarm suspicion[10]; refused a temple from mere meanspiritedness[11]; suppressed mention of military disasters because he dared trust no one to levy war[12]; and the like. The memoirs of the younger Agrippina are once at least[13], and probably more than once[14], laid under contribution, with other matter which must be received with much reserve[15].

Still, after all deductions made, there seems to be evidence that, besides the increased sensitiveness to attack, already noticed, a change is growing upon him, a consciousness of failing powers[16], in which even the offer to resign may have been half-sincere[17], a growing dread of conspiracies and of those in whose interest they might be supposed to take place; whereby the house of Germanicus, still in favour at the beginning of this period[18], are on the brink of destruction at its close[19]. How far their conduct justified, or could be made to appear to justify, such estrangement, can be never known. We can see that their position was sufficiently secure at the outset to have made it their best policy calmly to bide their time: we can also see that Seianus had an obvious motive for insidious attacks on them; and may even have forced them to intrigue in self-defence: and that, with or without such incentives, the fiery and domineering nature of Agrippina[20] may have made her play only too readily into his hands.

These causes at any rate tended to promote the ascendancy of the only real minister whom Tiberius ever had. It is by playing on these weaknesses that Seianus is represented to have induced him to take the great step which marks the close of this period; that of permanently withdrawing from Rome[21], and fixing his headquarters in the natural island-

[1] 4. 30, 3.
[2] 4. 20, 2.
[3] 4. 8.
[4] 4. 13, 1.
[5] 4. 22, 2.
[6] 4. 14, 4.
[7] 4. 37; 38.
[8] 4. 64, 1.
[9] 4. 17, 2.
[10] 4. 55, 1.
[11] 4. 38, 4.
[12] 4. 74, 1.
[13] 4. 53, 3.
[14] E.g. c. 52; 54; 60.
[15] See on 4. 39; 40.
[16] 4. 8, 5.
[17] 4. 9, 1.
[18] 4. 8, 6.
[19] 4. 70, 7.
[20] 'Aequi inpatiens, dominandi avidi' 6. 25, 3.
[21] 4. 41; 57.

fortress of Capreae [1]. Accepting, on general authority, the counsel of this adviser as the primary motive for such seclusion, Tacitus adds, with perhaps more than due stress, others which we may place in the second rank [2]. The dictation still exercised by Augusta, even at the age of eighty-five, is intolerable to an almost septuagenarian son, and amounts to a virtual claim to share the power which she had won for him. His habits of life are said to have driven him to fly the restraint of society: even his personal appearance to have led him to shun the eyes of men. The tall gaunt form, awkward even in its erectness [3], has contracted an ungainly stoop; the countenance, so refined and distinguished in his busts and coins, has become a loathsome spectacle.

The period which begins with the concentration of a body-guard seems aptly to end with almost a self-imprisonment: and we appear to see a picture, neither inconsistent nor indistinct, of a phase intermediate between his best and worst; one of an old age of increasing timidity, suspicion, and isolation, aggravated by a counsellor whose interest lay in doing so; and tending to bear the fruit naturally borne by such qualities, when, to the misfortune of mankind, they are armed with power.

IV and V. 'Intestabilis saevitia, sed obtectis libidinibus, dum Seianum dilexit timuitve: postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur.'

These two periods, comprising together eight years and a quarter, 782–790, A.D. 29–37, may be taken together, and must in great part be studied without the aid of Tacitus.

The Fifth Book opens with the death of Augusta, who, after having been charged, by hints more or less explicit, with every death in the house of the Caesars, is now represented no longer as the 'terrible stepmother,' but as the sole remaining protection of the family supposed to have been most obnoxious to her [4]. In another place such discrepancies are loosely accommodated by saying that she ostentatiously supported in adversity those whom she had secretly undermined in their prosperity [5]. The verdict of historical criticism has generally acquitted her of these imputations, and regarded her throughout the long and unbroken period of her ascendancy, as a softening and moderating influence on the cruel propensities of her husband and her son. And indeed, whatever her personal feeling towards the house of Germanicus, we may suppose her sufficiently imbued with the policy of Augustus [6], to see that her son had far more to gain than to lose by surrounding himself with family support; and that it would not be desirable for him at the age of seventy

[1] 4.67. [2] 4.57, 3, 4. [3] Suet. Tib. 68. [4] 5. 3, 1. [5] 4.71, 7. [6] See 1. 3.

to be left with no heir but his grandson Tiberius Gemellus, a boy of ten years old[1].

Her overpowering influence, even to the close of life, is shown by the description of Tiberius and Seianus 'breaking loose, as if freed from bit and bridle[2],' and hastily despatching to the senate the charges already drawn up, but kept back by her influence, against Agrippina and Nero. The former is accused of arrogant language, the latter of profligacy, a charge which the general vicious propensities of this family render only too probable, but which we must suppose to have been seized as a handle of attack in default of other charges. It is expressly asserted that no act of treason was alleged against either, and we infer that no evidence of such could have been forthcoming[3]. The characteristic irresolution of the rescript left the senate perplexed, and even a second more peremptory mandate still reserved the sentence to be passed[4]. With precautions against rescue which attest their popularity[5], they were hurried away to their island prisons, and, about a year later, the second son, Drusus, was consigned to a dungeon in the Palatium[6]. The goal at which Seianus was straining seemed within view; yet, in spite of all the honours which he was allowed to enjoy or hope for, his triumph was incomplete, and his position insecure, for Tiberius characteristically stopped short when his mind seemed made up. More than two years passed[7] before the exile of Nero was followed by his execution or compulsory suicide[8]; Agrippina and Drusus still lived on; Gaius was in favour, and was pointed out as heir[9]. Tiberius was never wholly blinded; and from his natural temperament, when other causes of apprehension were removed, could hardly fail to suspect the minister himself. Hence the conspiracy to destroy Tiberius and Gaius is represented as a desperate stroke in self-defence. The plotter had however met his match[10], and fell with a crash to which Dio could find no parallel till the fate of Plautianus in his own time[11].

Seianus has not generally found favour even with the defenders of Tiberius, but has rather been made the scapegoat of his prince. Yet it is admitted that his influence was, at least at the outset, good[12]; and that his fall was at least as great a calamity as his ascendancy[13]. And

[1] See ch. ix. note 35.
[2] 5. 3, 2.
[3] 5. 3, 3.
[4] 5. 5, 2.
[5] Suet. Tib. 64.
[6] See the summary of events prefixed to Book V.
[7] See Dio, 58. 8, 4; Suet. Tib. 61.
[8] Suet. Tib. 54.
[9] Dio, 58. 8, 1.
[10] 'Isdem artibus victus est' 4. 1, 3.
[11] 58. 14, 1.
[12] 'Incipiente adhuc potentia bonis consiliis notescere volebat' 4. 7, 1.
[13] 'Pari exitio viguit ceciditque' 4. 1, 3. In 6. 51, 6 his death is represented as having removed the last restraint. Cp. also the language of Suet. Tib. 61.

when we ask definite questions—Did he poison Drusus? Did he bring about the retirement to Capreae? Did he compass the fall of the family of Germanicus? Did he conspire against his master's life?—we see that the positive evidence is weak. The first charge, resting, it would seem, only on the evidence of tortured slaves[1], was preferred eight years afterwards by Apicata, whose knowledge could but have been at second hand[2], and who had every motive for aiming a deadly blow at her rival Livilla, at a time when any genuine investigation was impossible. On the second question, we have the doubts of Tacitus himself, who suggests other motives for our consideration[3]. On the third, the loss of the Fifth Book makes our knowledge most imperfect; but the actual charges against Agrippina and Nero, as has been already shown[4], bear no evident marks of fabrication or even exaggeration; and the evident animosity underlying them may be as probably assigned to the suspicious nature of Tiberius himself, as to the promptings of his minister. The final conspiracy, though related as an undoubted fact by Josephus[5], and evidently believed by Tacitus[6] as well as Suetonius[7], would yet seem to have been disbelieved by those whom Dio has followed[8], and certainly never to have been formally proved to the senate which condemned[9]; and, more strangely still, to have been ignored by Tiberius himself, when seeking to justify the execution to posterity[10].

On the other hand, if the generally unscrupulous and ambitious character of Seianus be assumed; every act in the drama as described, from the concentration of the guards to the final plot, appears to follow obviously from what had preceded it; to be suggested by an adequate motive; to be the natural step to take at that particular stage. If therefore the familiar story of his career is left to stand, it would seem to be one of those cases in which a history, by its thorough coherency and intrinsic probability, appears to prove itself.

From the point at which we recover the guidance of Tacitus all

[1] 4. 8, 1; 11, 4.

[2] She had been divorced some time previously. See 4. 3, 5.

[3] 4. 57, 2.

[4] See above, p. 128, and 5. 3, 3.

[5] Jos. Ant. 18. 6, 6.

[6] He alludes to it in 6. 8, 11; 14, 1; 19, 2, etc., and to Satrius Secundus its betrayer 6. 47, 2.

[7] 'Seianum res novas molientem' Suet. Tib. 65.

[8] Dio represents him as having lost his opportunity to conspire by want of spirit (58. 8, 2).

[9] Juvenal, who hints at some dark scheme on foot (10, 75), yet makes men ask significantly 'Quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam delator? quibus indiciis quo teste probavit?'

[10] Suet. Tib. 61 'Ausus est scribere Seianum se punisse, quod comperisset furere adversus liberos Germanici filii sui.' Suet. adds, to show the evident falsehood, 'Quorum ipse alterum suspecto iam, alterum oppresso demum Seiano interfecit.'

the rest of his narrative is little more than that of a prolonged reign of terror.

Tiberius is rhetorically described as never tired of trials and condemnations and never satiated[1], even stimulated by them to further carnage[2], like a wild beast who has tasted blood. Some are condemned before his private court at Capreae[3]; others by the senate without form of trial, on a mere letter of accusation or minutes of evidence sent to them[4]. We are told of universal panic, in which even the highest stooped to the informer's trade, for self-preservation, or even as if infected by a plague; that men perished for old offences as much as for recent; for words as well as deeds; even for words spoken in private life[5]; that even the walls seemed to have ears.

Here again the description seems somewhat to outstrip the facts. We still note cases of pardon[6] and acquittal[7]; some escape by giving information[8]; others by adjournment[9]; or by being merely ignored[10]; others receive less sentences than death[11]; prudent men, like M'. Lepidus[12], or L. Piso[13], or Aelius Lamia[14], can still hold their own in honour.

We have, indeed, a weary list of victims, of whom about forty names are specified; who were either put to death or committed suicide before the last extremity. Among them are Agrippina[15] and her second son[16], and her old enemy Plancina[17]; Tigranes, ex-king of Armenia[18]; the distinguished senators Asinius Gallus[19] and L. Arruntius[20]; and others, noble and ignoble, foreigners as well as native citizens. To these an addition must be made for such names as may have been noted in the lost part of Tacitus[21]; also for the recorded execution at once of an unnamed number, detained in prison as accomplices in the conspiracy of Seianus[22]. On this occasion, the 'immensa strages' of Tacitus may probably be reduced to the 'twenty in one day' of Suetonius[23]: but when all allowance is made, probably from 80 to 100 lives in all may have perished in the six years' reign of terror; most of them by direct mandate of the prince, though in one or two cases Macro is thought to have acted in his master's name[24].

1 6. 38, 1.
2 'Irritatus suppliciis' 6. 19, 2.
3 6. 10, 2.
4 See 6. 3, 3; 39, 2; 47, 4.
5 6. 7, 4.
6 6. 5, 2.
7 6. 8, 19.
8 6. 3, 5; 7, 5.
9 6. 9, 7.
10 6. 14, 4.
11 6. 3,3; 18, 2.
12 6. 27, 4.
13 6. 10, 3.
14 6. 27, 2.
15 6. 25, 1.
16 6. 23, 4.
17 6. 26, 4.
18 6. 40, 2.
19 6. 23, 1.
20 6. 48, 2.
21 E.g. Ollius (13. 45, 1), Carnulus and Paconius (Suet. Tib. 61), Fufius Geminus (Dio, 58. 4, 5), Syriacus (Id. 58. 3, 7), Curtius Atticus (Ann. 6. 10, 2), Bruttedius Niger (Juv. 10. 82).
22 6. 19, 3.
23 Suet. Tib. 61.
24 6. 47, 4.

Distinctions must be again drawn, as before. Much noble and much innocent blood, no doubt, was shed; but much that was noble was probably not innocent, and much was neither noble nor innocent, but that of the creatures of Seianus, who had staked their chances on his success. None need pity Latinius Latiaris [1], Vescularius Flaccus [2], Julius Marinus [3], Fulcinius Trio [4], or any others of the like description; nor is anything recorded even of so prominent a man as Asinius Gallus, or of many others, which should make them deserving of special sympathy: the suicide of Cocceius Nerva [5], probably also of Arruntius [6], is their own gratuitous act. But there are circumstances of horrible cruelty in the execution of the young children of Seianus [7], and of the aged mother of Fufius Geminus [8], and in the causes assigned for the destruction of the descendants of Theophanes [9]: and even if these were all, such cases are hardly palliated by being few.

The tales of abominable profligacy [10] are more difficult to discuss or deal with. A life prolonged without medical aid to the age of seventy-eight may be pleaded as counter evidence [11]; retirement gave abundant scope for fabrication of scandal; archives of state trials may often have preserved record of mere unproved or even disproved libels, accepted in later times as facts [12]; nor do older writers, as Philo and Josephus, Seneca and the elder Pliny, show any knowledge of the orgies of Capreae. On the other hand, such testimony as we have is definite and circumstantial, and states that latterly no concealment was attempted [13]. The history of language is also made to furnish evidence; the age was certainly one of growing profligacy; and the characters of two at least of the companions of his solitude, Gaius Caesar and Aulus Vitellius [14], are beyond rehabilitation.

There are still flashes of vigour, as in the blow which struck down Seianus; and the display of energy in the East into which the taunts of the Parthian king had goaded him [15]. Again, if he was keen to fill the 'fiscus [16],' he could still be munificent in the use of it, either to restore financial confidence [17], or, as before, to relieve the sufferers by a fire [18]. He still organizes the corn-supply of Rome [19]; even interests himself in such minor matters as the authenticity of the Sibylline canon [20].

In general, however, the administration is described as sinking into

[1] 6. 4, 1. [2] 6. 10, 2.
[3] l. l. [4] 6. 38, 2.
[5] 6. 26, 1. [6] 6. 48, 2.
[7] 5. 9. [8] 6. 10, 1.
[9] 6. 18, 5.
[10] 6. 1; Suet. Tib. 43, etc.
[11] Professor Beesly somewhat overestimates this fact in making it conclusive.
[12] See 6. 38, 3; Dio, 57. 23, 2, and the remarks of Merivale, ch. xliv. p. 172.
[13] 6. 51, 6. [14] Suet. Vit. 4.
[15] 6. 31. [16] 6. 19, 1. [17] 6. 17, 4.
[18] 6. 45, 1. [19] 6. 13, 2. [20] 6. 12.

neglect and disorder; ambassadors and suitors were unable to get a hearing [1]; even the 'album iudicum' is no longer filled up [2]; the best men hang back from public service [3] or are kept for years from going to the province nominally entrusted to them [4]; others are left year after year at their posts with apparent indifference to their merits; whether they were judicious, as Poppaeus Sabinus [5], cruel and oppressive, as Pontius Pilate [6], or contumacious and dangerous, as Gaetulicus [7]. Even the senatorial provinces, as Asia and Africa, seem to feel the effects of the general irregularity [8]; and even the security of the frontier is said to be no longer fully maintained [9].

Some apparent taint of insanity seems to come in, completing and partly explaining the whole: perhaps traceable sometimes in the clear evidence of public documents; as in the attempt, in his published autobiography, to explain the condemnation of Seianus by a falsehood of childish transparency [10]; or in the famous words preserved of his letter to the senate, publishing to the world his agony of soul [11]. Again, at one time reproach seems to lacerate him [12], at another he parades it [13]; he hovers round and round Rome and never enters it [14]; shifts his place restlessly in the last stage of decrepitude [15]. It is of little moment to decide between various reports of his end, or to know exactly how the last few sands ran out of a life that to any good purpose had been extinct for years.

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As a set off against the judgment of Tacitus has been often sought in the contemporary panegyric of Tiberius by Velleius [16], a few remarks upon it appear here necessary. This writer's means of information are indeed unquestionable [17]; but his burst of courtly rhetoric, over even the slightest service of his hero, takes away credit from his record of more substantial achievements, even when described by him as an eye-witness. When, for instance, we are given to suppose that Tiberius at the age of

[1] The dilatoriness in the whole affair of Herodes Agrippa leads Josephus (Ant. 18. 6, 5) to say with emphasis that Tiberius was μελλητὴς εἰ καί τις ἄλλος βασιλέων ἢ τυράννων.

[2] Suet. Tib. 41.

[3] This can be explained by their diminished power of extortion. Merivale, c. xlvi. p. 333.

[4] 6. 27, 3.

[5] 6. 39, 3.

[6] Jos. Ant. 18, 3 and 4. The recall of Pilate is there stated to have been made, not by Tiberius, but by L. Vitellius as legatus of Syria.

[7] 6. 30, 7. Cp. Dio, 59. 22, 5.

[8] See above, ch. vii. p. 96.

[9] Suet. Tib. 41.

[10] See above, p. 129.

[11] Ann. 6. 6, 1.

[12] 4. 42, 2.

[13] 6. 24, 3; 38, 3. Cp. Dio, 58. 23, 1.

[14] 6. 1, 1; 15, 6; 39, 2.

[15] 6. 50, 2.

[16] This history was published in 783, A.D. 30, and dedicated to M. Vinicius, consul of that year.

[17] He had served many years under Tiberius, and was one of his first list of praetors. See on 1. 15, 2.

nineteen had almost saved Rome from famine as quaestor [1]; and at twenty-five had virtually subjected Armenia and terrified Parthia [2]; we are forced to ask how much similar exaggeration may lurk in the history of the German and Illyrian campaigns. Sometimes, too, this rhetoric is confronted by stubborn realities. Against the alleged all but complete subjugation of Germany [3], must be set the fact, that the single defeat and annihilation of a force of some 30,000 men rolled back the tide of conquest from Germany, not temporarily, but for ever. The account of the passionate enthusiasm, with which the legions are said to have welcomed Tiberius on his return [4], must be read in the light of our knowledge that his name ten years later had assuredly no magic, either for veteran or recruit, among the armies that had known him best. Even Julius Caesar had to face the mutiny of a legion; but popular generals have not often been met by the wholesale defection of their armies [5].

In the notice by Velleius of this principate, we have no right to expect details from a sketch of sixteen years contained in eight chapters; yet his suppressions at times are most significant. Four years had passed since Tiberius had permanently left Rome [6]; yet his retirement is not even glanced at. On all the state trials of these years, we have only a line in reproach of the crimes of Libo Drusus, Cn. Piso, and Silius; and a hint of the shame and sorrow supposed to have been felt at the conduct of Agrippina and Nero [7]. We seem forced to conclude that on these subjects the silence of Velleius is more eloquent than the epigrams of Tacitus. Are we prepared, again, to take his verdict on Seianus as well as on his master? to see in him the Laelius to this Scipio, the Agrippa or Statilius Taurus to this Augustus [8]? The impression left upon us becomes on the whole that of a fairly skilful apology, saved from palpable falsehood by ignoring what it is difficult to defend, and laying stress upon what is undeniably praiseworthy.

On other authors less need here be said. No critic will expect to find truth of value in the few scattered allusions of Valerius Maximus [9]. Philo, it must be borne in mind, has a purpose to serve, in setting off a special grievance by a contrast of general beneficence of imperial government [10]. Seneca speaks most emphatically of the 'accusandi frequens et paene

[1] Vell. 2. 94, 1.

[2] l. l. § 2.

[3] Id. 2. 97, 4; 106, 1; 108, 1.

[4] Id. 2. 104, 4.

[5] That Germanicus had but to give the word, and the legions would have saluted him as their emperor and marched on Rome, is as expressly asserted by Velleius (2. 125, 2) as by Tacitus (1. 35, 3).

[6] See 4. 57, 1.

[7] Vell. 2. 130, 4.

[8] Id. 2. 127.

[9] Valerius nowhere names Tiberius, but occasionally alludes to him, especially in the dedication. Another passage speaks of the punishment of a nameless parricide, who is evidently Seianus (9. 11, 4).

[10] Leg. ad Gaium, 2.

publica rabies' which under this prince caused more loss of civic lives than any civil war [1]. The chief definite statement of Josephus, that the long tenure of office by provincial governors was the result of a deliberate intention to make them less eager pillagers [2], reads like the mere excuse of Tiberius or his friends for the irresolution and dilatoriness of which we have such abundant other evidence; and might have seemed questionable to Josephus himself if he had thought of the ten years of Pilate.

If we cannot check Tacitus by these, we may in turn check by him the keener appetite for scandal of Suetonius, many of whose tales he must have known but disdained to notice [3], and some of whose generalisations he has given us the means of reducing to single instances [4].

Also his more careful discrimination checks the loose credulity of Dio, whose bewildered judgment seems at last to take refuge in a desperate attempt to reconcile conflicting testimony by fusion; in the statement that Tiberius 'had many virtues and many vices, and exercised each as if they had been his only qualities [5].'

The appeal from Tacitus appears thus to lie to Tacitus alone; to his candour and sense of truth, to his admissions of fact; against his insinuations and interpretations of motives, against his evident prejudices. That he was no friend to the founders of the principate has been already shown [6]; and, with all allowance for the sincerity of his disclaimer [7], special grounds of animosity against Tiberius appear discernible. He had seen in his own day 'the extremity of slavery, when even the interchange of speech and hearing was destroyed by espionage [8].' He tracks back this systematic delation to its source, and, as it were, charges this prince with its full-developed iniquity; seeing in these trials for treason far more than the bare facts which he relates, and imagining Carus and Massa, and the rest of the vile brood of his own time, already appearing within view [9]. It would be natural that the memory of the tyrant under whom the historian had lived should enter into the portrait of that predecessor in whose private memoirs he was said to find his chief mine of political wisdom [10], and whom, notwithstanding many differences, he most nearly resembled.

His own age, again, suggested not only a resemblance but a contrast; between the first encouragement of delation and its first firm repression;

[1] De Ben. 3. 26, 1. He goes on to describe it in terms quite as strong as those of Tacitus in 6. 7, 4.
[2] Ant. 18. 6, 5. See note on 1. 80, 2.
[3] For a probable instance, see above, ch. iv. p. 24.
[4] Compare e.g. Suet. Tib 61 with 4. 70, 2; 5. 9, 3, and Suet. 32 with 3. 21, 4.
[5] Dio, 58. 28, 5.
[6] See above, ch. iv. p. 26.
[7] 1. 1, 6.
[8] Agr. 2, 3.
[9] See 1. 74, 1; 2. 27, 1, and above, p. 122.
[10] 'Praeter commentarios et acta Tiberi Caesaris nihil lectitabat' Suet. Dom. 20.

between a timid or cautious foreign policy and a career of conquest; possibly even between a prince beyond all others parsimonious in building [1], and the grand architectural achievements of Trajan. Other contrasts were ready to hand within the work itself, helping him to set off the qualities of Tiberius by the idealised virtues of Germanicus [2], or even by the character of the hasty and passionate but not ungenerous Drusus [3].

Still, when all this is allowed for, much remains. The stages and periods of change noted by Tacitus can be on the whole made out, though we should consider the explanation put into the mouth of Arruntius, that the character of Tiberius 'had been thrown off its balance by the force of despotism [4],' to be nearer the truth than the theory adopted by the historian as his own, that of a true character asserting itself by slow degrees against the disguise of hypocrisy [5].

We have on the whole the character of a prince whose friends might well have written 'infelix vitae diuturnitate [6],' upon his epitaph. Had he died in the lifetime of Augustus, general opinion would have pronounced him 'imperii capax.' At the end of eight years' rule he would have left a name among the best princes of the second rank. Even at seventy his memory would have escaped the worst stains cast upon it. Yet, had he lived up throughout to the level of his best time; his want of originality and self-reliance, his pedantic adherence to the ideas of his predecessor [7], would have made it no more than a period of good administration without advance; and a rule which in duration is equalled by none till Antoninus Pius, and exceeded by none till Constantine, would probably have been barren of historical interest. To waive all comparison with the great names of Roman Imperialism, even a much weaker ruler, Claudius, has left his mark more on the history of the empire. Nor is a change of character, even late in life, in his case difficult to explain. At the best, his virtues were those of the subject or subordinate ruler rather than of the autocrat; and the principate found him timid, irresolute, and self-distrustful, when he had no superior to rely upon. Hence the necessity always, in estimating his conduct, to allow for the influence of some stronger will, such as the imperiousness of his mother, or the craft of Seianus; and hence, when all these were removed, the neglect even of

[1] 6. 45, 2.

[2] See 1. 33, 5, etc.

[3] See 2. 43, 7; 3. 37, 3, etc. The influence of such a study of contrast has been already alluded to. See ch. iv. p. 28.

[4] 'Vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus' 6. 48, 4.

[5] 6. 51, 5.

[6] In contrast to Titus, who is styled 'imperii felix brevitate' by Ausònius (Ordo Imperat.); an estimate agreeing with that of Dio (66. 18, 5).

[7] Cp. 'Consilium id D. Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum' Agr. 13, 3. As an instance of this deference in a small matter, see 1. 77, 4.

routine duties for want of a trusted adviser at his side. Hence again the sense of isolation[1] redoubling his fears, and making him see a fresh enemy at every turn, who must be struck down to make life safe to him.

He is, indeed, probably entitled to all the credit that has been claimed for him, as throughout a just and liberal ruler of the provinces; the evidence for which is by no means confined to the early period of his principate. The temple founded in Asia in 776, A. D. 23[2], the similar request from Hispania Baetica in 778, A. D. 25[3], appear genuine expressions of gratitude for punishment of official oppression[4]; and it is probably only because the latter application was refused, that more were not forthcoming[5]. Medal[6] and statue[7] alike attest the feeling of Asia for his liberality after its ruinous earthquake; inscriptions in the provinces[8] and even in Rome[9] give him epithets by no means constantly applied to princes in such documents.

But, after all, the heart of the empire was still the senate of Rome in its relation to the prince: and if those who should have been the most valued instruments of his administration are seen shrinking terror-stricken from the public service, and absorbed in the effort to save themselves; it is impossible that the general effect could have been other than disastrous.

If our other evidence were more questionable than it is, the decline of literature would alone confirm it. Not but that even the Augustan age is nearly stripped of literary genius, as the great spirits born and trained under the Republic pass away; and the few survivors at the succession of Tiberius attest by their position the change of times. The great historian of Rome had, as it seems, abruptly closed his work, and retired to his native Padua; the only great living poet was pining in exile on the Euxine. But from even the survival of such names it is indeed a descent, to a generation in which Velleius and Valerius Maximus, the fables of Phaedrus, and the rhetorical writings of M. Seneca, make up all the literature before us[10]; and in which there is little evidence of greater

[1] Of his old friends and his original council of twenty, but two or three were left; but he had destroyed most of them himself. Suet. Tib. 55.

[2] 4. 15, 4.

[3] 4. 37, 1.

[4] This is asserted in the first case, and probable in the second. See notes.

[5] For the record of two other such dedications to him, both in senatorial provinces, see note on 4. 38, 4.

[6] 'Civitatibus Asiae restitutis' Eckhel, vi. p. 192; Cohen, i. p. 189.

[7] See notes on 2. 47, 1.

[8] E. g. 'Princeps et conservator' (Baetica). See Orelli, 616, 617, and C. I. L. ii. 2038 (where its genuineness is vindicated against Henzen).

[9] 'Optimi ac iustissimi principis' C. I. L. vi. 1, 93; 'principi optimo' Henzen 5393.

[10] The Geography of Strabo should be considered an Augustan work, though it received additions during the early years of Tiberius. A technical treatise, such as Celsus de Medicina, need not here be taken account of.

works lost. Thus it was not only the disaffected Roman nobility that felt a leaden rule upon them : far higher elements of national life are stagnating under peril and suspicion ; and the result is a barrenness of intellectual activity, compared to which even the time of Nero or Domitian is an age of fertility.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS AND OF THAT OF THE CLAUDIAN CAESARS, WITH NOTES.

Owing to constant intermarriages between members of the imperial family, the relationships between many of the persons whose names occur in these tables are extremely intricate, even without considering the further complication introduced by adoptions. Thus the children of Germanicus are on their mother's side direct descendants of Augustus, and on their father's side direct descendants of Octavia, as well as descendants of the Claudian house. The emperor Nero, besides partaking of all these relationships through his mother, was also directly descended from Octavia on his father's side. All the descendants of Drusus, brother of Tiberius, trace a similar descent through Antonia; the children of Drusus, son of Tiberius, become members of that family through Livilla; and the children of Claudius by Messalina are again through her father and mother doubly descendants of Octavia. Tiberius and the two Drusi, his brother and son, are thus the only members of the Claudian stock who stand in no blood-relationship to Augustus; and Stem B might have been almost wholly included under A.

It is hoped that the arrangement here adopted will indicate intelligibly all the relationships of consanguinity. Of the adoptions, the most important to bear in mind are those of Octavius by the will of Julius Caesar, of Tiberius by Augustus, of Germanicus by Tiberius, and of Nero by Claudius.

It is impossible here to speak of the multitude of representations existing in art of most of the principal persons here mentioned; specimens of which most students must have had more or less opportunity of inspecting for themselves. For the benefit of those to whom books are more accessible than museums I may here mention the

beautiful plates from statues, busts, gems, and coins, in the accompanying volume to the 'Iconographie Romaine' of Visconti and Mongez; and the numerous engravings from coins in Cohen's 'Médailles Impériales' (2nd ed. Paris 1879, vol. i. pp. 52–318). A few portraits from gems are given by Mr. C. W. King in the edition of Horace by him and Professor Munro (London, 1869).

# Stem A.

*Direct and collateral descendants of Augustus.*

**Ancharia.** ...... = ...... (1) **C. Octavius.** d. 696, B.C. 58. (*note* 1.) ...... = ...... **Atia maior,** daughter of M. Atius Balbus, and of Julia, sister of the dictator Caesar. d. 711, B.C. 43.

(2) **Octavia maior.**

(3) **Octavia minor.** b. cir. 690, B.C. 64. d. cir. 743, B.C. 11. (*note* 2.) See next page.

**Scribonia.** (*note* 3.) ...... = ...... (4) **C. Octavius.** [**Caesar Augustus.**] b. Sep. 23, 691, B.C. 63. d. Aug. 19, 767, A.D. 14. (*note* 3.) ...... = ...... **Livia Drusilla.** See B. 1.

**M. Vipsanius Agrippa.** b. 691, B.C. 63. d. 742, B.C. 12. (*note* 4.) ...... = ........... (5) **Julia.** b. 715, B.C. 39. d. 767, A.D. 14. See also 26. (*note* 5.) ...... = ...... **Ti. Claudius Nero.** (B. 2.)

(6) **C. Caesar.** b. 734, B.C. 20. d. Feb. 21, 757, A.D. 4. (*note* 6.) ...... = ... **Livia.** (B. 6.)

(7) **L. Caesar.** b. 737, B.C. 17. d. Sept. 19, 755, A.D. 2. = **Aemilia Lepida.** (betrothed.)

(9) **Agrippina.** b. cir. 740, B.C 14. m. cir. 758, A.D. 5. d. Oct. 18, 786, A.D. 33. (*note* 8.) ...... = ...... **Germanicus Caesar.** (B. 5.)

(10) **Agrippa Postumus.** b. 742, B.C. 12. d. 767, A.D. 14. (*note* 9.)

**L. Aemilius Paullus.** ...... = ..................... (8) **Julia.** d. 781, A.D. 28. (*note* 7.)

**Drusilla.** (B. 15.) = (11) **M. Aemilius Lepidus.**

**M. Junius Silanus.** cos. 772, A.D. 19. = (12) **Aemilia Lepida.** (*note* 10.)

**Julia.** (B. 8.) = (13) **Nero Caesar.** b. 759, A.D. 6. d. 784, A.D. 31. (*note* 11.)

(14) **Drusus Caesar.** b. cir. 760, A.D. 7. d. 787, A.D. 33. (*note* 12.) = **Aemilia Lepida.**

(15) **Caius Caesar.** (**Caligula.**) b. Aug. 31, 765, A.D. 12. d. Jan. 24, 794, A.D. 41. (*note* 13.) = **Caesonia.** d. 794, A.D. 41.

(16) **Agrippina.** b. Nov. 16, 768, A.D. 15. d. 812, A.D. 59. (*note* 14.)

(17) **Drusilla.** b. 770, A.D. 17. d. 791, A.D. 38. (*note* 15.)

(18) **Julia or Livilla.** b 771, A.D. 18. d. 794, A.D. 41. (*note* 16.)

(19) **M. Silanus.** b. 767, A.D. 14. d. 807, A.D. 54.

(20) **L. Silanus.** d. 802, A.D. 49.

(21) **D. Silanus.** d. 817, A.D. 64.

(22) **Junia Calvina.**

(23) **Junia Lepida.**

(24) **Julia Drusilla.** d. 794, A.D. 41.

(25) **L. Silanus.** d. 818, A.D. 65.

## STEM A (*continued*).

**C. Marcellus.** d. 713, B.C. 41. ╤ **Octavia** minor. see above (3). ......... ╤ ...... **M. Antonius**, Triumvir. d. 724, B.C. 30.

(26) **M. Marcellus.** b. 711, B.C. 43. d. 731, B.C. 23. (*note* 17.) = **Julia.** see above (5).

**M. Vipsanius Agrippa.** see above (5). ╤ (28) **Marcella** minor. (*note* 19.) ............... ╤ ... **Iulus Antonius.**

(34) **Vipsania** (?). ╤ **Q. Haterius.**

(35) **L. Antonius.**

**M. Valerius Barbatus Appianus.** ╤ (27) **Marcella** maior. (*note* 18.) ╤ **Sex Appuleius.**

(39) **Haterius Agrippa.**

(31) **M. Valerius Messala Barbatus.** (see 38.)

(32) **Claudia Pulchra.**

(33) **Appuleia Varilla.**

**L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.** cos. 783, B.C. 16. d. 778, A.D. 25. ╤ (29) **Antonia** maior. b. 715, B.C. 39. (*note* 20.)

(30) **Antonia** ... minor. b. 718, B.C. 36. d. 790, A.D. 37. (*note* 21.) = ... **Nero Claudius Drusus.** (B. 3). See B.

(36) **Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.** cos. 785, A.D. 32. (*note* 22.) ╤ **Agrippina.** see above (16). ...... = ...... **Crispus Passienus.** ...... = ...... (37) **Domitia.**

(38) **Domitia Lepida.** ╤ **M. Valerius Messala Barbatus.** see above (31).

**Octavia.** (B. 14). = (40) **L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.** [**Nero Claudius Caesar.**] b. Dec. 15, 790, A.D. 37. d. June 9, 821, A.D. 68. (*note* 23.) ╤ **Poppaea Sabina.** d. 818, A.D. 65. (*note* 24.) = **Statilia Messalina.**

(42) **Claudia Augusta.** b. & d. 816, A.D. 63.

(41) **Valeria Messalina.** b. cir. 777, A.D. 24. d. 801, A.D. 48. (*note* 25.) = **Ti. Claudius Caesar.** (B. 7). See B.

## STEM B.

### *Family of the Claudian Caesars.*

**(1) Ti. Claudius Nero,** descended from a son of App. Claudius Caecus. d. 721 B.C. 33. (*note* 26.) ╤ **Livia Drusilla.** b. Jan. 30, 696 or 697, B.C. 58, or 57. d. 782, A.D. 29.

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**Vipsania Agrippina.** d. 773, A.D. 20. (*note* 27.) ╤ **(2) Ti. Claudius Nero.** [Ti. Caesar Augustus.] b. Nov. 16, 712, B.C. 42. d. March 16, 790, A.D. 37. (*note* 28.) = **Julia.** (A. 5.)

**Antonia minor.** (A. 30.) ╤ **(3) Nero Claudius Drusus,** afterwards **Germanicus.** b. 716, B.C. 38. d. 745, B.C. 9. (*note* 29.)

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**(4) Drusus Caesar.** b. cir. 741, B.C. 13. d. 776, A.D. 23. (*note* 30.) ╤ **Livia.** see (6).

**(5) Germanicus Caesar.** b. May 24, 739, B.C. 15. d. 772, A.D. 19. (*note* 31.) = **Agrippina.** (A. 9.) — See A.

**(6) Livia** or **Livilla.** d. 784, A.D. 31. (*note* 32.)

**Plautia Urgulanilla.** ╤ **Aelia Paetina.** ╤ **Valeria Messalina.** (A 41.) ╤ **(7) Ti. Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus.** [Ti. Claudius Caesar.] b. Aug. 1, 744, B.C. 10. d. Oct. 12, 807, A.D. 54. (*note* 33.) = **Agrippina** (A. 16).

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Children of (4) Drusus Caesar and Livia:

**Nero Caesar.** (A. 13.) = **(8) Julia.** d. 796, A.D. 43. (*note* 34.) ╤ **C. Rubellius Blandus.**

**(9) Ti. Caesar** (Gemellus). b. 772, A.D. 19. d. 790, A.D. 37. (*note* 35.)

**(10) Germanicus Caesar.** b. 772, A.D. 19. d. 776, A.D. 23.

Children of (7) Ti. Claudius:

**(11) Drusus.** b. in or before 773, A.D. 20. d. in childhood. (*note* 36.)

**(12) Claudia.** d. an infant.

**(13) Claudia Antonia.** d. 819, A.D. 66. (*note* 37.)

**(14) Octavia.** d. 815, A.D. 62. (*note* 38.)

**(15) Ti. Claudius Britannicus.** b. Feb. 13, 794 or 795, A.D. 41 or 42. d. 808, A.D. 55. (*note* 39.)

Son of (8) Julia and C. Rubellius Blandus:

**(16) Rubellius Plautus.**

# NOTES.

## Stem A.

1. A (1). The family history of the Octavii, with further account of the father and mother of Augustus, is given by Suetonius (Aug. 1–4). The distinctions of his father are enumerated in an inscription (Orell. 592), which states that he was twice trib. mil., also quaestor, plebeian aedile, iudex quaestionum, praetor, and proconsul of Macedonia, where he became entitled to the name of imperator. The date of his praetorship was 693, B.C. 61; and he was prevented from becoming a candidate for the consulship in 696, B.C. 58, by his death at the very beginning of that, or at the end of the previous year.

2. A (3). The frequency of betrothal, and even nominal marriage, during mere childhood, among Romans at this time (see Friedlaender, Sitteng. i. p. 504, foll.), makes it possible to reconcile some such a date as that given for Octavia's birth with her betrothal or marriage to C. Marcellus in 700, B.C. 54; in which year it was also contemplated to give her in marriage to Cn. Pompeius (Suet. Jul. 27). Marcellus, who was a leading opponent of Julius Caesar, but subsequently reconciled to him, had just died when Octavia, with contempt for all usual decorum (see Dio, 48. 31, 3), was hastily married to M. Antonius in 713, B.C. 41, by one of the articles of the compact at Brundusium. On the honours paid to her at her death, see Dio, 54. 35, 4.

3. A (4). Octavius assumed the name of C. Julius Caesar Octavianus in consequence of his adoption by the dictator's will: hence Cicero styles him 'C. Caesar' in official language (Phil. 5, c. 16–19), and sometimes in private letters 'Octavianus' (ad Att. 16. 18, 1; 11, 6, etc.). On the subsequent history of his names and titles, see vi. p. 63, etc. He had been first betrothed to a daughter of P. Servilius Isauricus; afterwards, on his first reconciliation with Antonius, to a step-daughter of the latter, Clodia or Claudia, daughter of Fulvia by P. Clodius. His marriage with Scribonia was contracted in 714, B.C. 40, to conciliate Sex. Pompeius, whose father-in-law, L. Scribonius Libo, was her brother. She was much older than Octavianus, had been twice previously married, and had children by P. Cornelius Scipio; one of whom, Cornelia, wife of Aemilius Paullus, has been immortalised by Propertius (El. 4, 11). He divorced Scribonia the next year, 715, B.C. 39, when her daughter

Julia was just born ; and early in 716, B.C. 38, took place the marriage with Livia, which, though contracted under scandalous circumstances, resulted at least in a lasting attachment. Scribonia is styled in inscriptions 'Scribonia Caesaris' (Orell. 612, Henzen 5362). She lived to share voluntarily the exile of her daughter in 752, B.C. 2 (Vell. 2. 100, 5).

4. Agrippa inscribes himself on the Pantheon, 'M. Agrippa L. F.,' omitting, as he usually did, his ignoble gentile name. He obtained three consulships, of which two were consecutive (see 1. 3, 1), and the honour, said to be unprecedented, of the 'corona classica' (Vell. 2. 81, 2). He was also the first ever admitted to share the tribunitian power of the princeps (see 3. 56, 3). He was first married, probably in 718, B.C. 36, to Pomponia, daughter of T. Pomponius Atticus the friend of Cicero, by whom he had Vispania Agrippina, married to Ti. Claudius Nero (see B, note 2). Pomponia, if still alive, must have been divorced when he married Marcella in 726, B.C. 28 (Dio, 53. 1, 2), who in her turn was given up in 733, B.C. 21, to enable him to marry Julia (Dio, 54. 6, 5).

5. A (5). Julia was married at the age of fourteen to Marcellus, in 729, B.C. 25, and four years later to Agrippa, who was of the same age as her father. On other projected marriages for her, see note on 4. 40, 8 ; on her subsequent marriage in 743, B.C. 11, to Tiberius Nero, her exile in 752, B.C. 2, and her death in 767, A.D. 14, see 1. 53 ; Suet. Aug. 65, 66 ; Tib. 50.

6. A (6). On Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar, see 1. 3, etc. Their honours and titles are gathered from Mon. Anc. (ii. 46, etc.), and from several inscriptions (Orell. 633–644). Gaius was pontifex, augur, consul (754, A.D. 1), princeps iuventutis, and imperator, apparently for the capture of Artagira (Henzen, p. 60). Lucius was augur, cos. design. and princeps iuventutis. The betrothal of Lepida to him is mentioned in 3. 23, 1. A long inscription is preserved recording the honours paid to the memory of both princes by the magistrates and citizens of the 'colonia Iulia Pisana' (Pisae in Etruria), of which they were patrons (Orell. 642, 643). The dates of their deaths are from Insc. Orell. 644.

7. A (8). On the younger Julia, her exile and her death, see 3. 24, 5 ; 4. 71, 6 ; Suet. Aug. 64, 65. Her husband was son of the censor Paullus and Cornelia, and thus grandson of Scribonia (see note 3). Her son, M. Lepidus, a man of most profligate character, was put to death by Gaius, who had previously given him Drusilla in marriage, and meditated designating him as his successor. See note on 14. 2, 4 ; Dio, 59. 22, 6.

8. A (9). The date of Agrippina's death is given in 6. 25, 5. The dates

of her birth and marriage, and those of the birth of her children, are given as determined by Mommsen (Hermes, xiii. 245–265).

9. A (10). Agrippa Postumus was adopted by Augustus at the same time with Tiberius in 757, A.D. 4; and is styled 'Agrippa Caesar' in an inscription (Henzen 5378), and on a medal struck at Corinth, which gives also his effigy (Cohen, i. p. 187). He was removed to Surrentum (Suet. Aug. 65) about 760, A.D. 7, and thence to Planasia. On his death, see 1. 6.

10. A (12). It is generally supposed that the Silanus to whom Aemilia Lepida was married was the consul of 772, A.D. 19, on whom see note on 2. 59, 1. Pliny records (N. H. 7. 13, 11, 51) that their eldest son, M. Silanus (on whom see note on 13. 1, 1), was born in the last year of Augustus, who had thus lived to see his great-great-grandson. For L. Silanus (20), see notes on 12. 3, 2; for D. Silanus (21), see on 12. 58, 1; for Junia Calvina (22), see on 12. 4, 1; for Junia Lipida (23), see on 16. 8, 2. L. Silanus (on whom see 15. 52, 3; 16. 7, 2), who, like his uncle (21), bore the name of Torquatus (on which see 3. 69, 9), appears to have been the last of this family, and, except Nero, the last surviving male descendant of Augustus.

11. A (13). Nero Caesar was born probably in the middle of 759, A.D. 6, (see Henzen, p. 60), and was betrothed in childhood to a daughter of Creticus Silanus (2. 43, 3), and married to Julia in 773, A.D. 20, on his entry into public life (3. 29, 4). Tacitus describes his character (4. 15; 59), the plots against him (4. 60; 67), and the formal charges brought against him (5. 3). On these he was pronounced a public enemy (Suet. Cal. 7), banished to Pontia, and subsequently put to death or compelled to suicide (Suet. Tib. 54), shortly before the fall of Seianus. His titles were those of flamen Augustalis, sodalis Augustalis, sodalis Titius, frater arvalis, fetialis, quaestor. Insc. Orell. 2366.

12. A (14). Drusus Caesar was born probably in the latter part of 760, A.D. 7 (see Henzen, p. 60). His entry into public life is mentioned in 4. 4, 1; his character in 4. 60, 5. He was also denounced as a public enemy (Suet. Cal. 7), and imprisoned in the Palatium, where he died (6. 23, 4). His marriage with Aemilia Lepida was mentioned in the lost part of Book v. (see on 6. 40, 4). His titles are given as follows, praefectus urbi (see 4. 36, 1), sodalis (or flamen) Augustalis (Insc. Orell. 667), and pontifex: Henzen 5386; C. I. L. iii. 1, 380.

13. A (15). Gaius Caesar, generally known by his nickname 'Caligula' (see 1. 41, 3), on the condemnation of his mother and brothers, passed under the tutelage of Antonia, and afterwards lived with Tiberius at Capreae: see 6. 20, 1; Suet. Cal. 10. He is styled at this time 'C. Caesar

'Germanicus,' with the titles of pontifex and quaestor (Henzen, Insc. 5396), to which offices he was elected in 784 and 786, A.D. 31 and 33 (Dio, 58. 8, 1; 23, 1). As princeps he retains the name of Germanicus, after that of Augustus (Insc. Orell. 702). After his first marriage with Junia Claudilla, daughter of M. Silanus (6. 20, 1; Suet. Cal. 12), he had as wives Livia Orestilla and Lollia Paulina, before Caesonia (Suet. Cal. 25). The assassination of Gaius was followed immediately by that of Caesonia and her child (Suet. Cal. 59).

14. A (16). Agrippina was born at 'Oppidum Ubiorum' (12. 27, 1), and her birthday is preserved in an Arval Table. The year is fixed by Mommsen (see note 8) from other dates. On her marriage to Cn. Domitius (36) in 781, A.D. 28, see 4. 75, 1. On her banishment by Gaius in 792, A.D. 39, and recall by Claudius in 794, A.D. 41, see Dio, 59. 22, 8; 60. 4, 1; for her second husband Crispus Passienus, see on 6. 20, 2; on her marriage to her uncle Claudius, in 802, A.D. 49, and subsequent history, see 12. 5, etc. In earlier inscriptions she is styled 'Agrippina,' or 'Iulia Agrippina, Germanici Caesaris filia' Orell. 671, 673); but after 803, A.D. 50 (see 12. 26, 2), she is styled on coins and inscriptions 'Agrippina Augusta,' or 'Iulia Augusta Agrippina.' Henzen, Insc. 5387.

15. A (17). The dates of birth of Agrippina and Julia seem to show the statement of Suet. (Cal. 7), that the three sisters were born in three successive years, to be only approximately true. Drusilla must have been born before the triumph (2. 41, 2), and probably in Germany. Her marriage to L. Cassius took place in 786, A.D. 33 (6. 15, 4). She was afterwards married to M. Lepidus (Dio, 59. 11, 1. See A, note 12). In inscriptions during her life she is styled 'Iulia Drusilla Germanici f.' (Insc. Orell. 671), but afterwards 'Diva Drusilla' (Orell. 674; Henzen 5389), in consequence of the divine honours decreed by order of Gaius at her death in 791, A.D. 38. Suet. Cal. 24; Dio, 59. 11.

16. A (18). Julia is so called by Tacitus, by Dio, and on a coin (Eckhel, vi. p. 231); but this name is borne by all the three sisters (see notes 14, 15); and Suetonius distinguishes her from them as Livilla (Cal. 7). Each name is supported by inscriptions, as 'Iuliae Germanici Caesar. filiae, and 'Livilla Germanici f.' (Insc. Orell. 676, 677). Tacitus gives the date of her birth and the place (Lesbos) 2. 54, 1; and the date of her marriage to L. Vinicius (786, A.D. 33), 6. 15, 1. She shared the banishment and recall of Agrippina (note 13), but was soon after again banished and put to death at the instigation of Messalina, Dio, 60. 8, 5. Suetonius (Cal. 7) mentions the death in childhood of three other children of Germanicus and Agrippina, born apparently in the years 761–764, A.D. 8–11; and inscriptions are found recording the place of their cremation.

One of them appears to have been called Tiberius, another Gaius (Insc. Orell. 668, 669, 670). It is also stated by M. Seneca (Controv. 4) that Quintilius Varus (see on 4. 66, 1) was a son-in-law of Germanicus; but it is not known how this was the case. On the probable birth of another child, see note on 1. 44, 2.

17. A (26). A marriage had been projected in 715, B.C. 39, between Marcellus and the daughter of Sex. Pompeius. His marriage with Julia daughter of Augustus took place in 729, B.C. 25 (Dio, 53. 27, 5), in which year Plutarch states (Ant. 87) that Augustus also adopted him; but this statement appears to require confirmation. He had been admitted to the senate with praetorian rank; but his first and only actual magistracy was the curule aedileship, held in his twentieth year, which was also the year of his death. See 1. 3, 1; Propert. 3. 18, 13–20; Verg. Aen. 6. 861–884.

18. A (27). It is known that there were two 'Marcellae' (Suet. Aug. 63; Insc. Henzen 5373, 5374) and that one of them, generally taken to be Marcella minor, was married to Agrippa (see note 5) and to Iulus Antonius (see note on 4. 44, 5). That the other was married to M. Valerius Barbatus Appianus and to Sex. Appuleius, is a supposition to explain the relationships mentioned in 4. 52, 1; 2. 50, 1; where see notes. Nothing appears to be known of the date of birth or death of either sister.

19. A (28). Suetonius states (Aug. 63) that Agrippa had children by Marcella. That one of these was a daughter, probably another Vipsania, and was married to Q. Haterius, is an inference from the name of Haterius Agrippa, and from the mention made (2. 51, 2) of his relationship to Germanicus.

20. A (29). Tacitus twice (4. 44, 3; 12. 64, 4) speaks of the wife of Domitius as 'Antonia minor;' but Suetonius (Cal. 1; Ner. 5) appears to be right in assigning this marriage to Antonia maior, and in making Antonia minor the wife of Drusus. The marriage with Domitius (on whom see 4. 44, 3; Suet. Ner. 4) is said to have been projected as early as 717, B.C. 37 (Dio, 48. 54, 4); at which time it would appear from dates furnished by Plutarch (Ant. 33, 930; 35, 931) that the elder Antonia was but an infant, and the younger yet unborn.

21. A (30). Antonia received the title of Augusta on the accession of her grandson Gaius to the principate (Dio, 59. 3, 6; Orell. Insc. 649, 650, 678, etc.); but soon after died, or was put to death. We hear of a temple erected to her, probably by Claudius (Pl. N. H. 35. 10, 36, 94); and a basilica at Rome appears to have borne the name of both sisters, 'Basilica Antoniarum duarum' (Henzen 7263).

22. A (36). On Cn. Domitius, first husband of the younger Agrippina, see 4. 75, 1. On Domitia, 13. 19, 4; 21, 5; on Domitia Lepida, 11. 37, 4; 12. 64, 4; on her second husband, App. Junius Silanus, 4. 68, 1. The family history of the Domitii Ahenobarbi is given more fully in Suet. Ner. 1–5.

23. A (40). For the original name of Nero, see on 12. 3, 2. After his adoption in 803, A.D. 50 (12. 25, 1), he becomes 'Ti. Claudius Nero Caesar' (Henzen 5405), or 'Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus;' and bears titles of membership in the four priestly colleges, and those of cos. design. and princeps iuventutis (Orell. 650, 726); and had also 'proconsulare imperium extra urbem' (12. 41, 2). As princeps he is usually styled 'Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus' (Orell. 728), and often assumes the 'praenomen imperatoris,' disused since the time of Augustus (Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 746), besides the 'nomen imperatoris,' received eleven times or more (Orell. 732, cp. Henzen 5189). On his marriage to Octavia, see 12. 58, 1; on that to Poppaea, 14. 60, 1; on that to Statilia Messalina, Suet. Ner. 35, and notes on 15. 68, 5.

24. On the title of Augusta given to Poppaea, see 15. 23, 1; on her death and funeral, 16. 6; on her deification, 16. 21, 2.

25. A (41). Messalina is thought to have been only twenty-three or twenty-four at her death (see Merivale, ch. L. p. 551, note). The title of 'Augusta,' though not permitted (Dio, 60. 12, 5), is given to her on some provincial coins. The relationship of her father to Claudius, mentioned by Suetonius (Cl. 26), is explained above (note 18).

## STEM B.

26. B (1). On the family history of the Claudii Nerones, and of the Livii Drusi, see Suet. Tib. 1–4, where it is shown that the father of Livia was also descended from another son of App. Claudius Caecus, and was adopted by a Livius Drusus, probably the famous tribune of 663, B.C. 91 (see note on 5. 1, 1). Two inscriptions (Momms. I. R. N. 5486, 5487, see Henzen 5365) appear to give the name of her father, 'Livius Drusus Claudianus' (see Vell. 2. 75, 3); and that of her mother as Alfidia. Ti. Nero was quaestor, pontifex, praetor (Suet. Tib. 4), and gave up his wife to Octavianus in 716, B.C. 38, before the birth of Drusus. He died when his eldest son was nine years old (Id. 6). Livia became by adoption in 767, A.D. 14, 'Iulia Augusta, Divi Aug. f.' (Insc. Orell. 615, etc.) Though not deified at her death (see 5. 2, 1), she became so after the accession of Claudius (Dio, 60. 5, 2), and shared a temple with Augustus in the Palatium (Insc. Orell. 2446). Even in

her husband's lifetime she was entitled 'Livia Augusti dea' in an inscription in Sicily (Orell. 614), and at other times received abroad other titles not formally allowed (see notes on 1. 14, 1); and her birthday was kept after her death (see 6. 5, 1).

27. On the parentage of Vipsania (who is called simply 'Agrippina' in Suet. Tib. 7; Insc. Orell. 658), see note 4. She was betrothed to Tiberius Nero in infancy ('vix annicula' Nep. Att. 19), but the date of their marriage is not known. On the distress of Tiberius at being forced to divorce her and to marry Julia, see viii. p. 113; on her subsequent marriage to C. Asinius Gallus Saloninus, see 1. 12, 6; and on her death, 3. 19, 4. She had several children by her second marriage, for whom see on 3. 75, 1; 4. 1, 1; 34, 1; 6. 23, 3.

28. B (2). Tiberius down to the time of his adoption bears the name 'Ti. Claudius Ti. F. Nero,' his titles being those of his two consulates, with those of pontifex and imperator, and, after 748, B.C. 6, the years of tribunitian power, see Insc. Henzen 5375. After his adoption he becomes 'Tiberius Caesar, Augusti f., Divi nepos' (Insc. Orell. 683), but usually drops the gentile name Julius. During his principate, the name Augustus, though not allowed by him in ordinary use (Suet. Tib. 26; Dio, 57. 2), always appears on coins and inscriptions. The 'praenomen imperatoris' was not adopted, though found sometimes in provincial inscriptions (see C. I. L. viii. 2, Index, p. 1038). The years of his tribunitian power continue to be reckoned, inclusive of those which he shared with Augustus; and the number of times on which he was saluted imperator (see on 2. 18, 2) are added. Hence his mortuary inscription (Orell. 691) runs thus: 'Ossa Ti. Caesaris Divi Aug. F. Aug. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xxxiix. Imp. viii. Cos. v.'

29. B (3). Neither Drusus nor his second son were ever adopted into the family of the Caesars. In life, Drusus was entitled augur, consul (745, B.C. 9), and imperator: after his death the surname 'Germanicus' was conferred on him and his family. Suet. Cl. 1; cp. Henzen 5375. His eldest son was thus entitled to bear the name, before his own achievements in Germany, and on his adoption into the family of the Caesars in 757, A.D. 4, his brother assumed it (Suet. Cl. 2) as representative of his father's house.

30. B (4). Drusus Caesar bears the titles of augur, pontifex, quaestor, sodalis Augustalis (see 1. 54, 2), flamen Augustalis (see on 2. 83, 2), Cos. ii (768, 774, A.D. 15, 21), trib. pot. ii (see on 3. 56, 1), xv vir sacris faciundis, Orelli 211, 652. For the grounds on which the date of his birth is assigned, see note on 3. 56, 7; for the honours awarded at his death, see notes on 4. 9, 2.

31. B (5). Germanicus is known only by his adoptive name, as 'Germanicus Caesar;' once apparently (see Henzen, p. 60) as 'Germanicus Iulius Caesar.' There is no record of his praenomen, or of any original cognomen. The date of his birth is given as established by Mommsen (see above, note 8). In life, he bears the titles quaestor (760, A.D. 7, Suet. Cal. 1), augur, flamen Augustalis (see on 2. 83, 2), Cos. ii (765, 771, A.D. 12, 18), Imp. ii (see on 1. 58, 8): see Orelli 655, 660, etc. On the further honours decreed at his death, see 2. 83, and notes.

32. B (6). The name is always given as 'Livia' by Tacitus and in inscriptions (e.g. Orell. 653, 1724, 2846, etc.), but by Suet. (Cl. 1), and Dio (57. 22, 2, etc.) as 'Livilla.' Her first marriage to C. Caesar is mentioned in 4. 40, 5; her complicity in the murder of Drusus in 4. 3, 3, etc.; her death, in Dio, 58. 11, 7. On the question whether she was ever betrothed to Seianus, see note on 4. 40, 11.

33. B (7). The original names of Claudius are given in Suet. Cl. 2, and in several inscriptions. His titles, prior to his principate, are those of augur, sodalis Augustalis (1. 54, 2), sodalis Titius, consul (suff. 790, A.D. 37, Suet. Cl. 7): he had also previously received 'ornamenta consularia' (Suet. Cl. 5): see Henzen 5399, etc. As princeps, he is the first who assumed the name of 'Caesar' as an imperial cognomen, without ever having been adopted into the family; but, unlike his predecessors, he always retains his gentile name, and is generally known by it; his full name being 'Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus.' It may be noted that he accepted the 'nomen imperatoris' no less than twenty-seven times (Insc. on the Aqua Claudia, Porta Maggiore, Rome, Orelli 54). He was betrothed in youth to Aemilia Lepida (A. 12), and to Medullina (Orell. 716), besides contracting the four marriages here given; on all of which, and on his children by the first three, see Suet. Cl. 26, 27.

34. B (8). On the first marriage of Julia, see 3. 29, 4; on the second, 6. 27, 1; on her son Rubellius Plautus, 14. 22, 2, etc.; on her death, at the instigation of Messalina, 13. 32, 5; 43, 3; Dio, 60. 18, 4: on her alleged betrothal to Seianus, see note on 4. 40, 11; 6. 27, 1.

35. B (9, 10). On the date of birth and names of the twin sons of Drusus, see note on 2. 84, 1. Young Tiberius was named in his grandfather's will joint-heir with Gaius (Suet. Tib. 76), who adopted him and caused him to be entitled princeps iuventutis (Suet. Cal. 15), but soon afterwards put him to death (Id. 23).

36. B (11). On the projected marriage between the daughter of Seianus and young Drusus, see note on 3. 29, 5; on his death, Suet. Cl.

27. His sister Claudia was exposed when a few months old, on suspicion of illegitimacy (Suet. l. l.).

37. B (13). Claudia Antonia (Insc. Orell. 679, 680), the 'Antonia' of Suetonius, was married to Cn. Pompeius Magnus and Faustus Sulla (Cl. 27). On her refusal to marry Nero (Id. Ner. 35), she was put to death by him on an improbable charge of complicity in Piso's conspiracy, see 15. 53, 4.

38. B (14). The date of birth of Octavia is not known, but representations in art (see Visconti, Pl. 29) would show her to have been older than her brother. She had been betrothed to L. Silanus (A. 20) before her marriage to Nero (12. 13, 2). On her divorce and death, see 14. 60–64.

39. B (15). On the discrepancy of a year in the dates assigned to the birth of Britannicus, see notes on 12. 25, 3; 13. 15, 1. In 13. 17, 3, he is called 'the last blood of the Claudii,' as the last male representative of that noble house, to which Nero belonged only by adoption.

# CORNELII TACITI

## ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

## LIBER I.

# SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

**Ch. 1–4.** Introductory.

1. Periods of Roman History, and reasons for selecting this one. 2. Growth of the power of Augustus. 3. His plans for the succession. 4. His decline of life. Opinions of men respecting the future.

**A. U. C. 767, A. D. 14. Sex. Pompeius, Sex. Appuleius, coss.**

**Ch. 5–15.** Death of Augustus and succession of Tiberius.

5. Last illness and death of Augustus (August, 19), Tiberius assumes the position of successor. 6. Agrippa Postumus put to death. 7. Servility of the senate and people; caution of Tiberius. 8. The will of Augustus; debate in the senate on his funeral. 9, 10. Favourable and unfavourable judgments of his character and policy. Temple and divine honours decreed to him. 11, 12, 13. Apparent reluctance of Tiberius to accept the principate; offence taken by him at observations of Asinius Gallus, L. Arruntius, Q. Haterius, and Mamercus Scaurus. 14. Honours to Livia Augusta and to Germanicus. 15. Election of praetors; transference of comitia to senate; institution of 'ludi Augustales.'

**Ch. 16–30.** Mutiny of the Pannonian legions.

16–19. Outbreak of the mutiny; conduct and demands of the soldiers; Blaesus, son of the legatus, sent as their delegate to Rome. 20–23. Further progress of the mutiny, and complete break-down of all discipline. 24–27. Despatch of a force from Rome under Drusus and Seianus; continued contumacy of the legions and danger of Cn. Lentulus. 28. Revulsion of feeling produced by an eclipse of the moon (Sept. 27). 29, 30. Restoration of order; delegates sent to Rome; punishment of the ringleaders, and departure of Drusus.

**Ch. 31–52.** Mutiny and subsequent campaign of the German legions.

31, 32. Outbreak of mutiny in Lower Germany. 33–35. Action of Germanicus; his address to the soldiers and peril at their hands. 36–38. Concessions made for the time; withdrawal of the legions to their winter camps. 39, 40. Fresh outbreak at Ara Ubiorum on arrival of an embassy from Rome; Agrippina and her son sent away to the Treviri. 41–43. Change of feeling, taken advantage of by Germanicus in his speech. 44. Military trial of offenders and restoration of order. 45–49. Similar measures taken in the other camp at Vetera; state of feeling at Rome; resolution of Tiberius to stay there. 50–52. Expedition against the Marsi; feeling of Tiberius respecting the events.

**Ch. 53.** Death of Julia, daughter of Augustus; Sempronius Gracchus put to death.

**Ch. 54.** Institution of sodales Augustales; turbulence at the games.

**A. U. C. 768, A. D. 15. Drusus Caesar, C. Norbanus, coss.**

**Ch. 55–56.** Arminius and Segestes the heads of parties among the Germans; expedition in the spring against the Chatti.

**Ch. 57–59.** Segestes rescued from his enemies; the wife of Arminius taken; the Cherusci roused to war by Arminius.

**Ch. 60–63.** Expedition, chiefly conducted by ships, to the Amisia, and thence against the Cherusci; burial of the remains of the army of Varus.

**Ch. 64–69.** Difficult and dangerous retreat of Caecina by land; the destruction of the bridge over the Rhine prevented by Agrippina.

**Ch. 70, 71.** Peril of another force marching by the sea shore; efforts to repair the losses of the army.

**Ch. 72–81.** Events at Rome during the year.

72–74. Triumphalia decreed. Title of 'pater patriae' refused by Tiberius; revival of law of maiestas; charges against two knights and Granius Marcellus; conduct of Tiberius. 75. His supervision of the law courts, and liberality to some senators. 76. Flood of the Tiber. Achaia and Macedonia transferred from the senate to Caesar; Drusus presides at a gladiatorial exhibition. 77. Repetition of disturbance at the theatre, and measures taken. 78. Temple to Augustus in Spain. Edict of Tiberius on the centesima and on the dismissal of soldiers. 70. Debate on proposals to obviate the floods of the Tiber. 80. Macedonia and Achaia combined with the government of Moesia; habit of Tiberius to continue the same persons in office; and reasons for it. 81. His mode of conducting the election of consuls.

# CORNELII TACITI

## ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

## LIBER I.

1 **1.** URBEM Romam a principio reges habuere; libertatem et
2 consulatum L. Brutus instituit. dictaturae ad tempus sume-
bantur; neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium, neque
tribunorum militum consulare ius diu valuit. non Cinnae, non
3 Sullae longa dominatio: et Pompei Crassique potentia cito in
Caesarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere,
qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis sub impe-

2. On the supposed praenomen of the author and title of the work, see Introd. i. pp. 2, 5.

4. **urbem Romam,** etc. The thought implied in these sentences is that the periods of Roman history coincide with permanent changes in the form of government, in which only temporary changes intervene between the expulsion of the kings and the principate of Augustus; and that the works of previous writers have left no earlier period open to himself than that which he chooses. On the hexameter line formed by these words, see Introd. v. § 79.

**habuere,** 'governed,' as used of provinces, 4. 5, 2; 12. 54, 3.

**libertas,** used generally of republican institutions, as c. 33, 4, etc.; so also by Livy, as 2. 1. 7; 3. 38, 2, etc.

5. **ad tempus,** 'for the occasion' (*πρὸς καιρόν*); so 'dux tumultuarius et ad tempus lectus' Liv. 28, 42, 5; cp. 'in tempus' c. 37, 1, etc.

6. **ultra biennium.** Tacitus may only mean that it did not last out a third year, or probably follows the received account given by Livy and others, according to which the 'potestas' ('iusta potestas') of the decemvirs lasted but two years, 303, 304, B.C. 451, 450; their farther rule being mere usurpation. Military tribunes with consular power were substituted for consuls during most of the years from 310 to 387, B.C. 444–367 (Liv. 4. 7, to 6. 42); but are not a fixed institution, as consuls or dictators frequently intervene. The 'despotism' ('dominatio') of Cinna lasted during his four successive consulships, 667–670, B.C. 87–84; that of Sulla during his dictatorship, 672–675, B.C. 82–79.

8. **potentia,** 'political ascendancy.' The term distinguishes the coalition of influence, often called 'the first triumvirate,' formed in 694, B.C. 60, at which time Pollio's history of the civil war began (Hor. Od. 2. 1, 1), from the union of the leaders of three armies ('arma'), which brought about the second, or true 'triumvirate.'

9. **cessere.** This verb is used with such accusatives as 'in imperium,' 'in praedam,' by Livy; by Tacitus also with accusative of a person, as 6. 4. 3, 1, etc., or of a personification, as 2. 23, 3.

10. **imperium.** This word, like the others, has also its definite meaning, 'took the whole state under military command, with the title of prince.' On this power and title, and the limitation with which 'cuncta' is to be understood, see Introd. vi. p. 65, foll.

rium accepit. sed veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa 4
claris scriptoribus memorata sunt; temporibusque Augusti di-
cendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione
deterrerentur. Tiberii Gaique et Claudii ac Neronis res floren- 5
tibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderant, recentibus
odiis compositae sunt. inde consilium mihi pauca de Augusto 6
et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera, sine ira
et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

**2**. Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesis nulla iam publica arma, 1
Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus, exutoque Lepido, interfecto
Antonio ne Iulianis quidem partibus nisi Caesar dux reliquus,
posito triumviri nomine consulem se ferens et ad tuendam

1. **veteris populi**, etc. The expression is varied in 4. 32, 1, to 'veteres populi Romani res.' In H. 1. 1, 1 'dum res populi Romani memorabantur' is used to imply an antithesis, perhaps not wholly absent in the other places, between national history and mere 'res principum.'

2. **claris scriptoribus**. On this dative, see Introd. v. § 18; and on the gerundive dative with 'defuere,' Id. § 22 b. This use of 'dicere,' though mainly poetical, is found in Sall. (Jug. 95, 2) and Liv. (7. 29, 1, etc.).

3. **decora ingenia**, e. g. Pollio, Livy, Q. Labienus, Cremutius Cordus, and others. Some writers of later history, as M. Seneca and Aufidius Bassus, included the time of Augustus in their work. See Introd. iii. p. 11, 12.

4. **deterrerentur**. On the use of the subj. of facts with 'donec,' see Introd. v. § 53. The reason here assigned may have been that which induced Livy to conclude his history in 745, B.C. 9.

**que . . . et . . . ac**. Such variation of conjunctions is often adopted for elegance (see Introd. v. § 89), but here, as Nipp. suggests, is intended to combine in pairs the two Julian and two Claudian Caesars, as in H. 2. 76, 4.

5. **falsae**, 'falsified,' as 'falsae tabulae' (Suet. Aug. 19), etc.

6. **compositae**. 'Componere res' is a condensed expression, like 'componere Iliaca tempora' Vell. 1. 3, 2, etc. On the chief historical works which Tacitus may have used, see Introd. iii. pp. 10–14.

7. **cetera**, i. e. to the death of Nero, after which the 'Histories,' already published, begin.

8. **quorum causas**, i. e. 'iniuria' or 'beneficium.' The whole passage in H. 1. 1 should be compared with this. On the apparent belief of Tacitus in his own impartiality, see Introd. iv. p. 22, foll.

9. **caesis**, used, like 'interfecto' below, with some rhetorical license, of self-inflicted deaths.

**publica arma**, 'army of the Republic.' It is implied that the forces of the triumvirs, as well as those of Pompeius, were mere 'privata arma,' and that Brutus and Cassius represented the State. On the other hand, in Mon. Anc. i. 10, they are represented as exiles by judicial sentence, and as outlaws in arms against their country.

10. **Pompeius**, etc. He was 'crushed' ('oppressus,' used thus of decisive defeat, 3. 41, 3, etc.) by Agrippa off Naulochus, near Pelorum, Sep. 3, 718, B.C. 36. His death took place in Asia in the following year. Lepidus was at the same time 'stripped of power' ('exuto'); his army of twenty legions being induced to desert him, and no office left to him but that of 'Pontifex maximus,' which he was allowed to retain in seclusion at Circeii till his death in 742, B.C. 14.

11. **Iulianis**, 'Caesarian.' This term, applied to the troops of Julius Caesar (Suet. Jul. 75), as is also 'Caesariani' (Bell. Afr. 13, 1), is here applied after his death to the party of the triumvirs; as that of the senate or 'optimates' is still, after the death of its leader, styled 'Pompeianae partes' (c. 10, 1). Sex. Pompeius is regarded here as external to both these parties.

12. **posito triumviri nomine**, etc. On this whole passage, see Introd. vi. pp. 64, 65. It has been shown by Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. p. 772), that Tacitus must be here speaking of the tribu-

plebem tribunicio iure contentum, ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia senatus magistratuum legum in se trahere, nullo adversante, cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam
2 vetera et periculosa mallent. neque provinciae illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatus populique imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum, invalido legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur.

1 **3.** Ceterum Augustus subsidia dominationi Claudium Mar-

nitian power at an earlier date than that of 731, B.C. 23. See Introd. l. l. p. 65, note 10.

**se ferens**, 'displaying himself,' as 12. 37, 6, etc. His consulships and, from 731, B.C. 23, his tribunitian power, appear in his list of titles; while the 'proconsulare imperium' and 'principate' do not. See Introd. vi. pp. 66, 68, 70, note 2.

**ad tuendam plebem.** This, the original conception of the office of tribune, may well have been put forward by Augustus to conceal the very special and extensive character of the powers assumed by him under that title. See 3. 56; Introd. vi. p. 70, foll; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 842, foll. It is also possible that the original conception of his 'ius tribunitium' had included no more than this.

1. **donis.** A gift is specified, out of the spoils of war, of 1000 H. S. each to 125,000 veterans settled in colonies, in 725, B.C. 29 (Mon. Anc. iii. 17); cp. also Dio, 51. 17, 7; and, on his more usual bounties to soldiers, Suet. Aug. 49.

2. **annona.** This refers not to the regular corn dole, which he limited rather than extended (Dio, 55, 10, 1), but to his careful organization of the supply from Egypt and elsewhere, and to special distributions, gratuitous or at a price below cost, in times of scarcity (Suet. Aug. 41). He records twelve such 'frumentationes,' given at his own cost in one year (731, B.C. 23), as well as several 'congiaria' in money at various times. Mon. Anc. iii. 7–21.

**insurgere paulatim.** On the gradual extension and encroachment of the powers of Augustus, see Introd. vi. pp. 72 foll. The expression 'legum et magistratuum munia in se trahens' is repeated 11. 5, 1.

4. **ferocissimi**, 'the boldest spirits.' Often used in a good sense, as is also 'ferocia' (c. 12, 6): on the use of 'per,' see Introd. v. § 62.

5. **servitio.** The dative is often thus used by Tacitus with 'promptus,' as c. 48, 3; 4. 46, 4, etc., rarely by other authors, as Liv. 25. 16, 12. See Introd. v. § 20; and, on his frequent abbreviation of comparative sentences, Id. § 64: 'opes' and 'honores' are often coupled, as 4. 34, 6; 6. 8, 8, etc.

6. **tuta**, etc. The stress is laid on the antithesis of 'tuta' and 'periculosa.' 'Preferred the present institutions with their security, to the old with their perils.'

7. **neque . . . abnuebant.** This important admission appears to understate the fact. See Introd. vii. p. 101. On the honours given by provinces to Augustus, see Suet. Aug. 59; Dio, 51. 20, 7, etc., and on those to Tiberius, 4. 15, 4; 37, 1.

8. **certamina potentium.** Those of rivals, such as Marius and Sulla, Pompeius and Caesar; whose civil wars affected even the provinces.

9. **legum**, the laws 'de pecuniis repetundis.'

10. **ambitu**, 'intrigue,' or 'solicitation;' cp. c. 7, 10; 75, 1 (where it is explained by 'potentium preces'), etc. It is thus here distinguished from bribery, for which it is often a synonymous word.

**postremo.** This emphasizes the more probable alternative, as 'sive . . . , seu . . . , ad postremum vel odio' H. 1. 39, 2.

11. **Ceterum.** On various uses of this word in Tacitus, see Gerber and Greef, Lex. It marks here merely a transition to another part of the same subject, as 2. 5, 1; 42, 1; 61, 1, etc.

**subsidia dominationi.** The dative

cellum sororis filium admodum adulescentem pontificatu et
curuli aedilitate, M. Agrippam ignobilem loco, bonum militia
et victoriae socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit, mox defuncto
Marcello generum sumpsit; Tiberium Neronem et Claudium
Drusum privignos imperatoriis nominibus auxit, integra etiam
tum domo sua. nam genitos Agrippa Gaium ac Lucium in 2
familiam Caesarum induxerat, necdum posita puerili praetexta
principes iuventutis appellari, destinari consules specie recusantis
flagrantissime cupiverat. ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium 3
Caesarem euntem ad Hispaniensis exercitus, Gaium remeantem
Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera vel novercae
Liviae dolus abstulit, Drusoque pridem extincto Nero solus e
privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors

is used with subsidium by Cic. (Att. 1. 10, 4; de Or. 1. 60, 255). On the apposition, see Introd. v. § 12 a.

**Marcellum.** On the relationships and other biographical details respecting all the persons mentioned in this chapter, see the pedigrees and notes in Introd. ix.

3. **geminatis**, 'piled one upon another,' i. e. 'consecutive. This was the case with his second and third consulships, 726, 727, B.C. 28, 27; his first consulship in 717, B.C. 37, having no peculiar significance. Under the principate, a second consulship is rare, a third very rare, and continuous consulships unknown, except in the case of the princeps himself, or persons extremely near to him.

5. **imperatoriis nominibus.** On this title, and its distinction from the 'praenomen imperatoris,' see 1. 58, 9; Introd. vi. p. 64; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 1098. The date at which it was given to the stepsons is uncertain, the inscription usually cited (Henzen 5375), being subsequent to the death of Drusus.

**integra**, 'furnished with heirs,' cp. 'plena domus' 4. 3, 1, 'vacui penates' 6. 51, 4.

7. **induxerat.** This adoption took place in 737, B.C. 17; when Gaius was in the third year of his age, and Lucius just born, Dio, 54. 18, 1.

8. **appellari . . . destinari . . . cupiverat.** The sense is equivalent to 'appellati . . . destinati . . . id quod cupiverat.' Augustus represents the facts as follows: 'Gaium et Lucium Caesares honoris mei causa senatus populusque Romanus annum quintum et decimum agentis consulis designavit, ut eum magistratum inirent post quinquennium. Et ex eo die quo deducti sunt in forum, ut interessent consiliis publicis, decrevit senatus. Equites autem Romani universi principem iuventutis utrumque eorum parmis et hastis argenteis donatum appellaverunt' Mon. Anc. ii. 46—iii. 6. The title of 'princeps iuventutis' is analogous to that of 'princeps senatus,' and appears to be new at this time, the old priority in the 'centuriae equitum equo publico' being that of 'seviri' (Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 800). On the significance of the title as designating an heir to the principate, see Introd. vi. p. 82. The 'show of refusal' appears to have been that Augustus thought it prudent to modify the offer of an immediate consulship for the youths, by interposing a 'quinquennium.' See Dio, 55. 9, 2.

9. **vita concessit.** On the variety of expressions denoting death in Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 91, and reff. there. The use both of this expression (3. 30, 1; 6. 39, 3, etc.) and of 'concedere' by itself in this sense (4. 38, 3; 13. 30, 4), are peculiar to Tacitus.

11. **Armenia.** On this ablative, see Introd. v. § 24.

**fato**, often used of natural as opposed to violent death. Cp. Introd. iv. p. 22, note 6.

13. **illuc cuncta vergere**, 'all centred in him.' 'Illuc' is used of persons, as H. 3. 38, 6.

**collega imperii**, sc. 'proconsularis,' as having 'aequum ius in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque' (Vell. 2. 121, 3). On the association of persons with the princeps in this 'imperium,' see c. 14, 4;

tribuniciae potestatis adsumitur omnisque per exercitus osten-
tatur, non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu.
4 nam senem Augustum devinxerat adeo, uti nepotem unicum,
Agrippam Postumum, in insulam Planasiam proiecerit, rudem
sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius
5 tamen flagitii conpertum. at hercule Germanicum Druso ortum
octo apud Rhenum legionibus inposuit adscirique per adop-
tionem a Tiberio iussit, quamquam esset in domo Tiberii filius
6 iuvenis, sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret. bellum ea
tempestate nullum nisi adversus Germanos supererat, abolendae
magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo exercitum quam
7 cupidine proferendi imperii aut dignum ob praemium. domi res
tranquillae, eadem magistratuum vocabula; iuniores post Ac-
tiacam victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati:
quotus quisque reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset?
1 **4.** Igitur verso civitatis statu nihil usquam prisci et integri

Introd. vi. p. 82; and Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 1094.

**consors trib. pot.**: see Introd. l. l. and Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 1101. Tacitus must here refer to the renewal of this power to Tiberius, who had already held it when he was not regarded as heir. See on 3. 56, 3; and, for the dates, see on c. 10, 7.

1. **omnis**: really only in two, but these the most important armies, those of Germany and Illyricum.

4. **Planasiam**, Pianosa, near Elba.

**proiecerit**: so most modern edd. after Ritter, for the MS. 'proieceret,' which the older edd. read as 'proiiceret.' Ritter compares other similar uses of the perf. subj. after a preceding pluperf. in 2. 81, 1; 3. 21, 2; 4. 51, 3. Thus Livy has 'tantum ... opes creverant ... ut ... ausi sint' (1. 3, 4). The event is regarded simply as past, rather than as related to other past events (Roby 1516). See also Draeger, Synt. und Stil, § 182.

5. **sane**, concessive, as c. 10, 2; 3. 5, 4, etc. The words 'robore ... ferocem' are a close reminiscence of Liv. 7. 5, 6 (see Introd. v. § 97), where, as here, 'ferox' means 'confident.' Cp. also 'adversus singulos ferox' (Liv. 1. 25, 7). Livy also precedes Tacitus in using 'compertus' with a genitive of the crime, 7. 4, 4; 22. 57, 2; 32. 1, 8.

6. **hercule** strongly contrasts the failure of Livia in this case with her success in the former (cp. c. 17, 7; 26, 3; 3. 54, 6, etc.). Germanicus had previously served under Tiberius in Germany in 764, A.D. 11; and attained the command there after his consulship in 766, A.D. 13. Suet. Cal. 8.

7. **adsciri.** This word appears only used by Tacitus (H. 4. 24, 2; 80, 1; and dub. lect. Agr. 19, 2), and by Vergil (Aen. 12. 38). Tacitus oftener employs (see Nipp.) the usual word 'adsciscere.'

8. **esset.** On the subj. with 'quamquam,' see Introd. v. § 50. Tacitus also uses, though less frequently, the regular construction with the indic. See Nipp.

10. **abolendae infamiae.** On the gerundive genitive, see Introd. v. § 37. On the defeat of Varus in 762, A.D. 9, see Vell. 2. 117–119; Dio, 56, 18–24.

13. **vocabula,** 'titles,' as 'summi fastigii vocabulum' 3. 56, 2. On the functions of the old magistrates at this time, see Introd. vi. p. 75 foll. The censorship alone was formally dropped.

15. **rem publicam,** rarely thus used in contrast to monarchy. Cp. 4. 19, 3; H. 1. 16, 1; 50, 4. 'Vidisset' would appear to be here a potential subj.

16. **prisci et integri,** more closely coupled than if 'neque' had been used. For similar uses of 'et' in negative clauses, see c. 70, 5, and Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 107. 'Moris' would naturally mean 'constitutional usage' rather than 'morality;' but the latter is suggested

moris: omnes exuta aequalitate iussa principis aspectare, nulla
in praesens formidine, dum Augustus aetate validus seque et
domum et pacem sustentavit. postquam provecta iam senectus 2
aegro et corpore fatigabatur, aderatque finis et spes novae, pauci
bona libertatis in cassum disserere, plures bellum pavescere, alii
cupere. pars multo maxima inminentis dominos variis rumoribus 3
differebant: trucem Agrippam et ignominia accensum non aetate
neque rerum experientia tantae moli parem, Tiberium Neronem
maturum annis, spectatum bello, set vetere atque insita Claudiae
familiae superbia, multaque indicia saevitiae quamquam preman-
tur, erumpere. hunc et prima ab infantia eductum in domo reg- 4
natrice; congestos iuveni consulatus, triumphos; ne iis quidem
annis, quibus Rhodi specie secessus exul egerit, aliud quam iram

by the addition of 'integri,' and may probably be the meaning of 'mos' in 3. 28, 2.

1. **exuta aequalitate.** This phrase is used in 3. 26, 3, of those who seek preeminence, as here of those who accept a position of inferiority. The application of the word to political equality (ἰσοτιμία) appears to be peculiar to Tacitus: see 3. 74, 6; H. 2. 38, 2.

2. **seque et.** This poetical combination of conjunctions is found in some ten places in Tacitus (Dr. § 123). On the following use of 'et' for 'etiam,' see Id. § 108. 'Aderat finis' is repeated, 2. 71, 1.

5. **in cassum,** 'idly,' as mere declamation.

**disserere** often takes the accusative in Tacitus (2. 27, 1; 6. 34, 5, etc.), as also in Sall. (Cat. 5, 9), without the restriction, usual in Cicero, to the accus. of pronouns, or of adjectives expressing amount, as 'pauca,' 'multa,' etc. See Nipp.

**bellum,** i.e. such a military insurrection as was in fact imminent.

7. **differebant.** This is explained as equivalent to 'varios rumores differebant de principibus' (Gerb. and Greef, Lex.); but the verb, when used with accus. pers., as in old poets and Propertius, appears to modify its ordinary sense of 'divulgare,' as found with acc. rei (3. 12, 7; 4. 25, 5, etc.) to one more akin to the force of 'distrahi fama' (3. 10, 5). Cp. the analogous uses of 'diffamare aliquem' (c. 72, 4, etc.) and 'aliquid' (14. 22, 5).

8. **experientia.** This sense of 'knowledge gained by practice,' is almost wholly Vergilian (G. 1. 4, etc.) and Tacitean (as c. 46, 2, etc.).

**moli parem:** so 'par negotiis,' 3. 30, 5; 6. 39, 3, etc. 'Moles' of weight of empire, c. 11, 2.

**Neronem.** This name, though still used here and in c. 5, 6, was dropped on his adoption. See Introd. ix. note 28; and, on his age and services, Id. viii. pp. 114, 115.

10. **superbia.** This characteristic of the Claudii is repeatedly insisted on by Livy, (e. g. 2. 56), whom Suet. has followed (Tib. 2). For the arguments by which it is maintained that the traditional policy of this family has been misconceived, see Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, vol. i. Appendix.

11. **et.** This would naturally be followed by another 'et' or 'neque,' but the construction, besides the change of subject in 'congestos,' etc., is varied by the introduction of a climax with 'ne . . . quidem.' 'Regnatrix' is ἅπ. εἰρ., used invidiously of the 'domus principis.' On the fondness of Tacitus for such verbal substantives, see Introd. v. § 69.

**prima ab infantia,** etc. On the events of the early life of Tiberius, see Introd. viii. pp. 112, etc. He had only held two consulships, at the age of 29 and 35; and his triumphal honours are maintained by himself and his partisans (see 3. 47, 5, and note there) to have been far below what he could have claimed. Tacitus, it should be observed, is not here speaking in his own person.

13. **exul:** so most edd. after Muretus, giving 'agere' the force of 'degere,' as

et simulationem et secretas lubidines meditatum. accedere matrem muliebri inpotentia: serviendum feminae duobusque insuper adulescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant, quandoque distrahant.

1 5. Haec atque talia agitantibus gravescere valetudo Augusti,
2 et quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant. quippe rumor incesserat,
paucos ante menses Augustum, electis consciis et comite uno
Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum ad visendum Agrippam;
3 multas illic utrimque lacrimas et signa caritatis spemque ex eo

in 2. 42, 2; 3. 48, 2, etc. Cp. 'ubi specie studiorum nomen exilii tegeretur' 3. 44, 5. The MS. text 'exulem' would appear to imply that he had put on the character of an exile, which seems inconsistent with the suggestion contained in the words 'specie secessus.' It might perhaps be contended that he was not in fact an exile, and that 'exulem egerit' would only mean that, without being, or himself pretending to be such, he appeared to the world to be an exile; as in the similar passage 'obnoxium et trepidum egit' (Suet. Tib. 12). On his retirement to Rhodes, see Introd. viii. p. 114.

**aliud quam**: so Halm after Nipp. The MS. text 'aliquid quam' has hardly been successfully defended. In Cic. de Inv. 1. 54, 104 'nec alicui umquam usu evenerit,' there is no further difficulty than the substitution of 'alicui' for the more natural 'cuiquam;' but here the addition of 'aliud' seems needed. An alternative suggestion is that of 'aliud quid' (Draeger), but this appears rather to mean 'something else;' a meaning which 'aliquid' (see Verg. Aen. 2, 48; 9, 186) might also bear. See Nipp.

**iram**, 'resentment' against all who slighted him; see 2. 42, 4. The 'lubidines' here only charged against him by popular rumour, are assumed later as a fact; see 4. 57, 4.

2. **inpotentia**, 'imperiousness.' This, if taken to be the general characteristic of Livia, would seem very wide of truth; but aptly expresses her uncontrolled and exacting demands upon her son. Cp. 4. 57, 4, and the contrast 'mater inpotens, uxor facilis' 5. 1, 5, where see note.

**duobus**, Germanicus and Drusus Caesar.

3. **interim**, opposed to 'mox' 14. 41, 2, as here to 'quandoque.' In post-Augustan Latin it is often nearly equivalent to nonnumquam. 'Quandoque' is used in the indefinite sense of 'at some time' 4. 28, 3; 6. 20, 3; also in Liv. and Cic. Ep.

**premant . . . distrahant.** The first, probably by monopolising the prizes of the state, the latter, by disputing the succession.

5. **Haec atque talia.** This, or 'haec ac talia,' is a common formula in Tacitus, as 2. 38, 7; 4. 60, 1; 6. 22, 1; and many other instances given by Nipp.

**agitantibus.** On this concise use of the abl. abs. see Introd. v. § 31 c.

**gravescere valetudo.** This phrase is repeated 6. 46, 9. The previous use of the verb, except in Pl. N. H. (11. 41, 96, 236), is wholly poetical.

6. **scelus**, used specifically of poisoning, as 4. 10, 2; 6. 33, 1. On the tale of poisoned figs, see Dio, 56. 30, 2.

**suspectabant.** This verb is often used in this sense by Tacitus, as 11. 16, 5, etc., and first so used by him.

**quippe**, suggesting a motive for the alleged crime. The story is alluded to by Pliny, N. H. 7. 45, 46, 150. Plutarch, who tells the story with much difference of circumstances (περὶ ἀδολεσχίας c. 11), knows nothing of the voyage to Planasia.

7. **consciis . . . comite.** The 'comes' actually attends him, the 'conscii' may only have been aware of the plan.

8. **Fabio Maximo.** His full name, Paullus Fabius Q. f. Maximus, is given in the 'Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2023 a), from which it appears that he was still alive on May 14 of this year. He is chiefly known as the friend of Ovid, who addresses epistles to him (ex P. 1. 2, etc.), had hoped for much from his intercession, and deplores his death (Id. 4. 6, 9-14). Several further particulars about him are collected by Nipp.

fore ut iuvenis penatibus avi redderetur: quod Maximum uxori
Marciae aperuisse, illam Liviae. gnarum id Caesari; neque 4
multo post extincto Maximo, dubium an quaesita morte, auditos
in funere eius Marciae gemitus semet incusantis, quod causa
exitii marito fuisset. utcumque se ea res habuit, vixdum in- 5
gressus Illyricum Tiberius properis matris literis accitur; neque
satis conpertum est, spirantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem
Nolam an exanimem reppererit. acribus namque custodiis do- 6
mum et vias saepserat Livia, laetique interdum nuntii vulga-
bantur, donec provisis quae tempus monebat simul excessisse
Augustum et rerum potiri Neronem fama eadem tulit.

**6**. Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrippae 1
caedes, quem ignarum inermumque quamvis firmatus animo
centurio aegre confecit. nihil de ea re Tiberius apud senatum 2

2. **Marciae**. She is also mentioned hy Ovid (Fast. 6. 801, etc.), and was cousin of Augustus (C. I. G. 2629); being daughter of the marriage of his mother's sister, Atia minor, to the Philippus mentioned 3. 72, 2, son of the Philippus whom Atia maior secondly married (Borghesi, v. 139): see Nipp.

**gnarum**, often used passively by Tacitus (c. 51, 4; 63, 3, etc.), and so rarely elsewhere (Apul. Mag. 12. 281, 9) that the use may be called peculiar to him. On the less rare similar use of 'ignarus,' see 2. 13, 1, etc.

3. **dubium**. On such parentheses in Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 82.

**quaesita**: so used of what is studied or unnatural, 3. 57, 1; 5. 3, 3; 6 50, 1; here of suicide. The fact is given as doubtful, but as taken for granted by Marcia.

5. **utcumque**, etc. Tacitus thus dismisses for what it is worth both the charge of poisoning and the tale which supports it. The latter is accepted without question by Dio (56. 30, 1): but that Augustus in his extreme infirmity could take such a voyage at all is improbable, as Pianosa must be some forty miles from the nearest mainland, and much further from any probable port of embarkation; and it is still more unlikely that Livia, who was in constant attendance on him, should have been ignorant of it.

**vixdum ingressus**, etc. The circumstances of the last journey of Augustus in company with him are given in Suet. Aug. 97, 98.

7. **spirantem**, etc. That Tiberius found him alive is accepted without question by Vell. (2. 123, 3), who is followed by Suet. (Aug. 98; Tib. 31). Dio (56. 31, 1) thinks the other view better attested.

**apud**, for 'in:' see Introd. v. § 57.

8. **acribus . . . custodiis**. For similar precautions, see 12. 68, 1: 'acer' is often used for 'diligent,' as 2. 43, 3; 3. 48, 2, etc.

10. **excessisse**: so used especially of one deified, as c. 33, 1, and 'excessus' c. 7, 2; 14, 4, etc.: cp. 'post obitum vel potius excessum Romuli' Cic. Rep. 2. 30, 53.

11. **rerum potiri**. The will of Augustus was not yet known, nor the successor formally chosen by the senate; but Tiberius was already practically master of the Roman world. Hence the next chapter begins to speak of the 'novus principatus.'

12. **Primum facinus**, etc. See the similar expression, 13. 1, 1.

13. **quamvis firmatus animo**, 'notwithstanding his resolve.' The expression appears to be taken from 'firmatus animi' (Sall. H. 3. 17 D, 15 K, 52 G). Tacitus also seems to follow Sallust in using the rarer form 'inermus.'

14. **centurio**. Suet. (Tib. 23) loosely confuses the tribune through whom the order passed with the centurion who executed it. Both these officers belonged no doubt to the praetorian guard.

**aegre**: his strength is noted, c. 3, 4.

disseruit: patris iussa simulabat, quibus praescripsisset tribuno
custodiae adposito, ne cunctaretur Agrippam morte adficere,
3 quandoque ipse supremum diem explevisset. multa sine dubio
saevaque Augustus de moribus adulescentis questus, ut exilium
eius senatus consulto sanciretur perfecerat: ceterum in nullius
umquam suorum necem duravit, neque mortem nepoti pro se-
4 curitate privigni inlatam credibile erat. propius vero Tiberium
ac Liviam, illum metu, hanc novercalibus odiis, suspecti et invisi
5 iuvenis caedem festinavisse. nuntianti centurioni, ut mos mili-
tiae, factum esse quod imperasset, neque imperasse sese et
6 rationem facti reddendam apud senatum respondit. quod post-
quam Sallustius Crispus particeps secretorum (is ad tribunum
miserat codicillos) comperit, metuens ne reus subderetur, iuxta
periculoso ficta seu vera promeret, monuit Liviam ne arcana

1. **praescripsisset.** The subj. is used because this is only the representation of Tiberius.

2. **custodiae adposito,** 'set over the guard,' or 'set over him for a guard;' the latter is the explanation generally given here and in H. 1. 43, 1 ('custodiae additus'): the former is most in accordance with 2. 68, 3 'priori custodiae regis adpositus;' the latter with the 'adpositi custodes' of 4. 60, 1. On the dative of purpose in Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 23.

3. **quandoque**, not used as in c. 4, 5, but = 'quandocunque,' as 4. 38, 3, etc.

4. **saeva questus.** He is said to have spoken of him and the two Juliae as 'tres vomicas ac tria carcinomata sua' Suet. Aug. 65.

5. **senatus consulto.** The kinds of sentence by which persons might be banished are compared in 3. 24, 6, and Ov. Trist. 2, 131, etc. 1. By decree of the senate. 2. By sentence of the law-court. 3. By edict of the 'princeps,' as in Ovid's own 'relegatio.' 4. By mere 'renuntiatio amicitiae principis.' This would cease with the life of the prince (3. 24, 5), the others, or at least the two first, were permanent: cp. 'cavit etiam S. C. ut eodem loci in perpetuum contineretur' Suet. Aug. 65. See Momms. Staatsr. ii. 1068, n. 1.

6. **duravit,** 'hardened himself,' as 14. 1, 6, etc.; cp. 'cuius manus in hoc supplicium durassent' Petr. 105; 'non durat ultra poenam abdicationis' Quint. 9. 2, 88; 'durare ad sanguinem' Id. Decl. 279. This sense is oftener found in the transitive form, as 3. 15, 4, and passive, as H. 4. 59, 2.

7. **erat** gives the belief at the time, as 'credebantur' c. 53, 5; 'constabat' 4. 74, 5: 'est' would give the writer's opinion.

9. **festinare.** This transitive use is mainly poetical, but adopted by Sall. and thence by Tac., as 4. 28, 2; 14. 33, 6; also the passive 6. 40, 1; 44. 4.

12. **Sallustius Crispus** is employed again on secret service, 2. 40, 3. For a general account of him, and of his character and services, see 3. 30. 'Particeps secretorum' appears to mean 'admitted to privacy' (cp. 3. 8, 4; 4. 7, 4; 13. 18, 3; H. 1. 10, 4, etc.), and thus describes his position in similar terms to those of Seneca, who styles him (de Cl. 1. 10) 'interioris admissionis amicus.' On the 'comites Augusti,' or 'cohors amicorum,' see Introd vi. p. 81; Momms. Staatsr. ii. 807; Friedlaender, Sitteng. i. 179, foll.

13. **reus subderetur.** This expression, in c. 39, 4; 15. 44. 3, and other uses of 'subdere,' as 3. 67, 3; 4. 59, 5; 6. 36, 1, etc., all signify a fraudulent substitution or false suggestion.

**iuxta periculoso,** 'as it was equally perilous.' On 'iuxta,' see Introd. v. § 61, and on the abl. abs., Id. § 31 b.

14. **seu,** omitted in the first place, as 2. 17, 8; 3. 18, 6, etc.

domus, ne consilia amicorum, ministeria militum vulgarentur, neve Tiberius vim principatus resolveret cuncta ad senatum vocando: eam condicionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet quam si uni reddatur.

**7.** At Romae ruere in servitium consules, patres, eques. 1
quanto quis inlustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes, vultuque 2
composito, ne laeti excessu principis neu tristiores primordio,
lacrimas gaudium, questus adulationem miscebant. Sex. Pom-
peius et Sex. Appuleius consules primi in verba Tiberii Caesaris 3
iuravere, apudque eos Seius Strabo et C. Turranius, ille prae-
toriarum cohortium praefectus, hic annonae; mox senatus miles-

3. **eam condicionem**, 'it is of the essence of ruling, that accounts will not come right if audited by others than the ruler.' This may mean either that the ruler must give account of his actions to no one; or that his subordinates, above all his military subordinates, to whom Tiberius here professes to have given no orders, must be responsible to him alone: it is implied either way that much must be done by or for an autocrat which will not bear investigation. On 'condicio,' cp. 'condicio vivendi' Hor. Sat. 2. 8, 65. The metaphor 'ratio constat' seems to be suggested by 'rationem reddendam:' in Pl. Min., e.g. in Epp. 1. 5, 17; 1. 9, 1; 2. 4, 4, etc., 'ratio constat' comes to mean 'it is good,' or 'it is reasonable.'

5. **consules, patres, eques.** On the use of asyndeta, see Introd. v. § 65; on the use of singular for plural, as in 'eques,' and, below, 'miles,' see Id. § 2. The collective sing. 'eques' is used of the equestrian order in 4. 74, 5, etc., also in Hor. (Epp. 2. 1, 185), Mart. and Suet.

6. **falsi,** 'hypocritical,' as 3. 3, 1; 13. 13, 4, etc. The use seems taken from Sall., who has 'ambitio multos mortales falsos fieri subegit' Cat. 10, 5.

7. **composito,** used of studied effects in word or look, as 2. 34, 6; 3. 44, 4, etc.

**ne laeti**, sc. 'essent.' See Introd. v. § 39 b, and Nipp. here.

8. **Sex. Pompeius et Sex. Appuleius.** These consuls are stated by Dio (56. 29, 5) to have been related to Caesar; which explains their continuance in office throughout the year. Pompeius, who is mentioned 3. 11, 2; 32, 2, and as a friend of Ovid (ex P. 4. 1, 4, 8), may have shared in the relationship indicated in 2. 27, 2. That of Appuleius may be gathered from 2. 50, 1.

9. **primi . . . iuravere.** This oath ('sacramentum in nomen Tiberii' c. 8, 5) taken by the whole people, and by the provinces (c. 34, 1), is a recognition of Caesar's sole 'proconsulare imperium' throughout the empire. See Introd. vi. p. 70; Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 768. It must be distinguished from the oath taken to maintain the acta (see c. 72, 2). The consuls, as the chief senatorial magistrates, appear here, after themselves swearing allegiance, to administer the oath to the two chief non-senatorial officers (on whom see Introd. vi. p. 72). All other magistrates or praefecti appear to take it only as members of the senate or equestrian order. It is therefore possible that the absence of separate mention of the 'praefectus urbis,' who was always a senator, may no more prove that office to have been in abeyance than the regular senatorial magistracies (see on 6. 11). The 'praefectus vigilum' is also unmentioned.

10. **Seius Strabo**, the father of Seianus (c. 24, 3; 4. 1, 3), afterwards praefectus of Egypt (Dio, 57. 19, 6). His praenomen was Lucius (Insc. Henzen 5394).

**C. Turranius**, probably the first person appointed to the office, which was of recent institution (Momms. p. 996). He was still holding it thirty-four years later (11. 31, 1), though Seneca makes him already ninety in the time of Gaius (Brev. Vit. 20, 2).

11. **senatus milesque et populus.** These are coupled as making up the whole population, 11. 30, 5.

4 que et populus. Nam Tiberius cuncta per consules incipiebat,
5 tamquam vetere re publica et ambiguus imperandi : ne edictum
quidem, quo patres in curiam vocabat, nisi tribuniciae potestatis
6 praescriptione posuit sub Augusto acceptae. verba edicti fuere
pauca et sensu permodesto : de honoribus parentis consulturum,
neque abscedere a corpore idque unum ex publicis muneribus
7 usurpare. sed defuncto Augusto signum praetoriis cohortibus
ut imperator dederat ; excubiae, arma, cetera aulae ; miles in
8 forum, miles in curiam comitabatur. literas ad exercitus tam-
quam adepto principatu misit, nusquam cunctabundus nisi cum
9 in senatu loqueretur. causa praecipua ex formidine, ne Ger-
manicus, in cuius manu tot legiones, immensa sociorum auxilia,
10 mirus apud populum favor, habere imperium quam exspectare
mallet. dabat et famae, ut vocatus electusque potius a re pub-
11 lica videretur quam per uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione

1. **per consules**, etc. On the administration during the vacancy of the principate, see Introd. vi. p. 83. On the position of Tiberius at this time, see Introd. viii. p. 120.

2. **ambiguus imperandi**, 'as if he had not made up his mind to rule:' cp. 'ambiguus consilii' (H. 2. 83, 2, etc). On this genitive, see Introd. v. § 33 e.γ. Dr. notes that its use with 'ambiguus' is new in Tacitus, but analogous to that with 'dubius' and 'incertus' in Livy.

4. **praescriptione**, 'under the title of.' Nipp. notes that the edict would run thus: 'Ti. Caesar trib. pot. xvi. dicit.' On the special powers of dealing with the senate conferred by this title, see Introd. vi. p. 71; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. pp. 859, 1105, 1107.

**posuit**. This verb is used for 'proponere' only here and 4. 27, 1. On other such uses of simple verbs for compound, see Introd. v. § 40.

6. **neque abscedere**. These words are added to excuse his absence from Rome. The body of the princeps might be regarded as in charge of the state, and the attendance on it might thus be taken (as in Nipp.) to be a 'publicum munus,' though these words apply better to this summoning of the senate. The edict was issued at Nola; whence the body was borne by local magistrates at each stage to Bovillae, and thence to Rome by knights on the day before the senate met (Suet. Aug. 100; Dio, 56. 31, 2). The respect paid by Tiberius was similar to that shown by Augustus himself to the remains of Drusus (3. 5, 2).

7. **signum** = 'tesseram,' as 13. 2, 5, etc. At the death of Gaius this was given by the consuls (Jos. Ant. 19. 2, 3); but the action of Tiberius may be explained by his being 'consors imperii.'

8. **excubiae**. A cohort of praetorians kept guard at the house of the princeps and attended him elsewhere (H. 1. 24, 2; 29, 2), but dressed only in the toga. (Id. 38, 5).

**cetera aulae**, 'the other accompaniments of a court.' 'Aula' is generally used by Tacitus of the 'cohors' or courtiers, as 2. 43, 5; H. 1. 13, 10.

10. **cum . . . loqueretur**. On this subjunctive, see Introd. v. § 52.

11. **praecipua**. He had also similar fear of the Pannonian legions; and others bring in here the plots, supposed to be already in progress, of Libo (2. 27) and Clemens (2. 39). Suet. Tib. 25.

13. **apud populum favor**: see 2. 41; 82; 4. 57, 5.

14. **dabat et famae**, 'it was his concession to public opinion.' The full expression 'das aliquid famae'? is found in Hor. Sat. 2. 2, 94. The accusative, here alone thus omitted with 'dare,' is not unfrequently absent from 'tribuere:' the object here is supplied from 'ut . . . videretur,' as in 2. 53, 3; 58, 1, etc.: 'fama' is used for public opinion, 4. 40, 1, etc.

15. **senili**, overstated, as Augustus was only sixty-five at the time of the adoption. The share of Livia in it is dwelt upon in

inrepsisse. postea cognitum est ad introspiciendas etiam pro-
cerum voluntates inductam dubitationem: nam verba vultus in
crimen detorquens recondebat.

**8.** Nihil primo senatus die agi passus *est* nisi de supremis
Augusti, cuius testamentum inlatum per virgines Vestae Tibe- 1
rium et Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in familiam Iuliam no- 2
menque Augustum adsumebatur; in spem secundam nepotes
pronepotesque, tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat, plerosque
invisos sibi, sed iactantia gloriaque ad posteros. legata non 3

c. 3. 3, and 4. 57, 4. Dio (57. 3, 3) strangely puts this explanation as matter of his own hearsay (ἤδη ἤκουσα ὅτι κ.τ.λ.)

2. **voluntates**, i. e. the disposition of each individual.

**inductam**, 'was put on:' like 'personam induere.' Thus 'inducere plumas' Hor. A. P. 2. The metaphor in 4. 70, 5 is different.

3. **detorquens**, 'misinterpreting.' So 'calumniando detorquendoque' Liv. 42. 42, 5.

**recondebat**, 'would store in memory;' so used of Tiberius, c. 69, 7. Cp. 'in animo revolvente iras' 4. 21, 2; also 4. 29, 5; 71, 5. Thus Domitian is said 'reponere odium' Agr. 39, 3.

4. **Nihil . . . passus.** The omission of 'est' would be harsh, but it is possible to suppose that Tacitus here goes beyond his usual rule: the insertion (adopted by Halm from Nipp.) leaves the absence of the word from the MS. unexplained.

**supremis.** This appears to mean 'obsequies' in 4. 44, 6; but more commonly 'death,' as in 3. 49, 1; 6. 50, 3; 12. 66, 2, etc.

5. **per virgines Vestae.** Wills, treaties, and other documents, and sums of money, were deposited for safety with the Vestals (Suet. Jul. 83; Plut. Ant. 942; Dio, 48. 37, 1), or in other temples (Juv. 8, 143; 14, 260, etc). This will is given, with some variations and additions, by Suet. (Aug. 101), and Dio, or Xiphil. (56. 32), whose accounts should be compared throughout with Tacitus. Suet. states that it had been deposited with the Vestals sixteen months previously. Charisius (1. 80, P; 104 Keil) quotes from it, as still extant in the 4th century, 'gausapes, lodices purpureas et colorias meas.'

6. **heredes**, in the proportion of two-thirds to Tiberius, one-third to Livia (Suet. l. l.). Dio adds that a decree was passed to exempt her from the disabilities of the law (Lex Voconia, cp. Dio, 56. 10, 2). On the relation of heirship by will to succession in the principate, see Introd. vi. p. 82.

7. **Augustum.** This is apparently the right reading of the MS. (corrected to 'Augustae,' probably from 'Augustu'); 'adsumebatur' could hardly be used with 'Augustae,' as no such name previously existed. 'Augustum' is an adj., as in 'mensis Augustus,' etc. Cp. 'nomen Sempronium' (c. 53, 8), 'Furium' (2. 52, 7), 'Africanum cognomen' (Liv. 30. 45, 6). She is always called Augusta by Tacitus henceforth. On the titles borne by her, see Introd. ix. note 26, and on subsequent 'Augustae,' Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 764. The title 'Augustus' was conferred by the senate on Tiberius with the principate itself, but not generally used by him. See Introd. ix. note 28.

7. **in spem secundam**, sc. 'scripserat.' An elegance of expression for 'heredes secundos,' 'heirs in default.' Suet. gives the proportion as one-third to Drusus, two-thirds to Germanicus and his three sons. Agrippa Postumus and Julia are disinherited.

8. **primores civitatis**, 'propinquos amicosque complures' (Suet.). This position would be an empty compliment, and is therefore set down to mere ostentation.

9. **sed**, 'yet he named them:' cp. 'sed quo,' etc., c. 3, 5.

**gloria**, often of 'love of fame,' see Nipp. on c. 43. Such expressions as 'fama,' 'memoria,' etc., 'ad posteros,' are frequent in Livy, as 2. 10, 11, etc.: see Nipp.

**legata.** Dio states that many relatives, also strangers, knights as well as senators, even foreign kings, were among the legatees. Suet. adds that in the will Augustus estimated the residue to the heirs at not more than 150 million H. S.; and stated that he had himself received in twenty years legacies amounting to 1400

ultra civilem modum, nisi quod populo et plebi quadringentiens triciens quinquiens, praetoriarum cohortium militibus singula nummum milia, *urbanis quingenos*, legionariis aut cohortibus
4 civium Romanorum trecenos nummos viritim dedit. tum consultatum de honoribus; ex quis *qui* maxime insignes visi, ut porta triumphali duceretur funus, Gallus Asinius, ut legum latarum tituli, victarum ab eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur, L.
5 Arruntius censuere. addebat Messalla Valerius renovandum

million H. S., which, besides two 'patrimonia' and other inheritances, had been spent on the public service. Directions and provision were made for prompt payment, but some delay ensued (Suet. Tib. 57; Dio, 57. 14, 1).

1. **civilem**, that of an ordinary citizen: so 'civilia' c. 12. 6; 'civile ingenium' c. 33. 5, etc.

**populo et plebi.** Suet. states these bequests thus, 'populo R. quadringenties, tribubus tricies quinquies sestertium.' This has been generally taken to mean that the former sum was to be paid into the 'aerarium' (cp. this special use of 'populus' 6. 17, 4; also 'pecunia publica' 4. 15, 3; 'publicari' 6. 19, 1); and the latter sum distributed, 100,000 H. S. to the poorer members of each tribe. We have a similar payment to the treasury, coupled with a distribution, in 13. 31, 2. But it is hardly likely that the 'plebs' were equally distributed over the rustic as well as urban tribes; and the whole thirty-five tribes, while on the one hand extending all over Italy, on the other, excluded much of the 'plebs urbana' (see Introd. vii. p. 89); while the total sum would presuppose either a very small share or few sharers. If we accept from Dio (57. 14, 2) that the share amounted to 260 H. S., and suppose the recipients to have been even fewer than the 250,000 to 320,000 who shared the various 'congiaria' of Augustus (Mon. Anc. iii. 7–21), we are forced to suppose, with Marquardt (Staatsv. ii. p. 126), that the whole sum, 'populo et plebi,' must have been distributed. Yet a loose use of 'populo,' such as in c. 72, 2; 78. 2, etc., would make 'plebi' mere surplusage. The possible solution may be that neither Tacitus nor Suetonius has quoted accurately; the real words having been such as to give the whole sum to the 'plebs urbana,' both within and without the tribes.

3. **urbanis quingenos**, inserted by Halm, after Sauppe, from the statement in Suet. and Dio.

**cohortibus civium R.** On these cohorts see Introd. vii. p. 106. They are omitted by Suet. The expression of Dio (πολιτικῷ πλήθει) would include them. Nipp. substitutes 'ac' for 'aut,' which might however have the force of 'et vicissim,' as in 2. 47, 4, etc.

5. **ex quis qui maxime insignes visi.** It has been generally felt that this passage can hardly be sound as it stands in the MS.; but Nipp.'s correction, the omission of 'visi,' is met by the difficulty of accounting for the presence of the word. The suggestion of Bezzenberger, that, 'qui' may have dropped out after 'quis,' is free from objection, and allows a demonstrative to be supplied from it as the object of 'censuere.' Even thus there is a confusion of constructions, through the attempt to combine in one sentence the proposals made and the names of the proposers. A similar desire to condense has produced the same effect elsewhere, as in 2. 64, 4 ('ipsorumque regum ingenia,' etc.), and 11. 29, 2 ('dein metu,' etc.). For a full discussion of this passage, see Joh. Müller, Beiträge, sect. 3, pp. 1–5.

6. **porta triumphali.** This gate, probably closed except at triumphs, is supposed to have stood between the 'Porta Flumentana' and 'Carmentalis.' The question is discussed by Burn (p. 46) and Dyer (D. of Geog. 'Roma,' p. 752).

7. **tituli**, 'inscriptions,' e. g. 'de adulteriis,' 'de maritandis ordinibus,' etc.

**vocabula**, 'names:' cp. c. 3, 7; used of proper names, 2. 6, 5, etc. On Gallus Asinius and L. Arruntius, see more fully c. 12; 13.

8. **addebat**. On the habit 'egrediendi relationem,' see 2. 38, 3. On this day the deliberations were more strictly limited to the question than usual: see above, § 1.

**Messalla Valerius** was the son of

per annos sacramentum in nomen Tiberii; interrogatusque a
Tiberio num se mandante eam sententiam prompsisset, sponte
dixisse respondit, neque in iis quae ad rem publicam pertinerent
consilio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offensionis: ea sola 6
species adulandi supererat. conclamant patres corpus ad rogum
umeris senatorum ferendum. remisit Caesar adroganti mode-
ratione, populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quondam nimiis studiis
funus divi Iulii turbassent, ita Augustum in foro potius quam in 7
campo Martis, sede destinata, cremari vellent. die funeris milites
velut praesidio stetere, multum inridentibus qui ipsi viderant
quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii
et libertatis inprospere repetitae, cum occisus dictator Caesar
aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur; nunc senem
principem, longa potentia, provisis etiam heredum in rem pub-

Messalla Corvinus, and brother of Cotta Messalinus (2. 32, 2, etc.). He was consul in 751, B.C. 3 (Suet. Galb. 4); as was his son in 773, A.D. 20 (3. 2, 5), and his grandson in 811, A.D. 58 (13. 34, 1). He is also known as having won 'triumphalia' in Pannonia (Vell. 2. 112), as a friend of Tibullus (2. 5, 17), and of Ovid (ex P. 1. 7; 2. 2), as a speaker (3. 34, 2), and writer (Suet. Aug. 74); but as of servile character (here, and 3. 18, 3). Some further references to him are given by Nipp.

**renovandum**, etc. This annual renewal of the 'sacramentum' had become a regular custom on the first of January by 822, A.D. 69 (H. 1. 55, 1). We also hear of such renewals on the anniversary of accession (Pl. ad Trai. 52). See Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 768.

4. **offensionis**. Dr. notices that this form is used invariably in the Annals, as 'offensa' invariably in the other works.

**ea sola species**, etc., i.e. this show of independence was the only form of flattery not stale.

6. **remisit**, 'Caesar, with haughty condescension, excused them,' i.e. from the 'duty,' as they had themselves apparently termed it ('ferendum'). His arrogance may have consisted in the use of 'remitto' or some such word, implying a right to command the service which is thus waived. 'Remittere' has the force of excusing from a duty, as 'remissa cura' (3. 55, 1), 'remisisse reipublicae novissimum casum' (H. 2. 48, 4), 'remitto . . ne . . dorsum demulceatis' (Liv. 9. 16, 16). It does not here convey a prohibition; and the body was borne by senators according to Suet. (Aug. 100); which honour had been previously paid to Sulla (App. B. C. 1. 106), and was here the natural climax to the previous bearing by 'decuriones' and by knights. See on c. 7, 6.

7. **edicto**. This also would be by virtue of his tribunitian power (see c. 7, 5). Similar edicts are mentioned 3. 6, 1; 4. 67, 1.

8. **funus divi Iulii**. The chief authorities for the famous scene at that funeral are Suet. Jul. 14; Plut. Caes. 68; Dio, 44, 36–50.

**in Campo Martis**. The pile was near the 'Mausoleum' built by Augustus in 726, B.C. 28 (Suet. Aug. 100); the lower portion of which still remains. It is elsewhere called 'tumulus Augusti,' 'Caesarum,' or 'Iuliorum.' See 3. 4, 1; 9, 2; 16. 6, 2.

10. **velut**: see Introd. v. § 67.

11. **crudi adhuc servitii**, 'when slavery had not ripened:' cp. 'cruda marito' Hor. Od. 3. 11, 12. Mr. Dallin would take it to mean 'when slavery was not yet incorporated into their system,' the metaphor being that of an undigested meal (cp. Juv. 1, 143; 'cruda studia' Petron. 4, etc.). Mr. Frost takes the metaphor to be that of an unhealed wound.

12. **occisus Caesar**. On this use of the participle, see Introd. v. § 55 b.

14. **in rem publicam**, 'resources against the commonwealth.' Cp. c. 10, 4; 3. 24, 2. The allusion here is to the will lately read.

licam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura eius
quieta foret.

1 **9.** Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana miran-
tibus, quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae
supremus, quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo in quo pater eius
2 Octavius vitam finivisset. numerus etiam consulatuum cele-
brabatur, quo Valerium Corvum et C. Marium simul aequaverat,
continuata per septem et triginta annnos tribunicia potestas,
nomen imperatoris semel atque viciens partum aliaque honorum
3 multiplicata aut nova. at apud prudentes vita eius varie ex-
4 tollebatur arguebaturve. hi pietate erga parentem et necessitu-
dine rei publicae, in qua nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia
actum, quae neque parari possent neque haberi per bonas artes.
multa Antonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Le-
5 pido concessisse. postquam hic socordia senuerit, ille per libi-
dines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriae remedium
6 fuisse quam *ut* ab uno regeretur. non regno tamen neque dic-

3. **plerisque**, 'the majority,' as opposed to the 'prudentes.' Usually in Tacitus it means no more than 'permulti:' cp. 3. 1, 2.

4. **idem dies**, August 19, the anniversary of his first election to the consulship; which was his first actual magistracy, though he already had an 'imperium' (cp. c. 10, 1); the date of which (as in Inscr. Orell. 2489), or some greater subsequent epoch, is usually observed as an anniversary. The coincidence here is sufficient for those who sought such.

5. **pater**: see Introd. ix. note 1.

6. **numerus.** His thirteen consulships equalled the sum of those of Marius, who alone had been seven times, and Valerius Corvus, best known of the only two recorded to have been six times consul.

8. **septem et triginta**, reckoning from 731, B.C. 23. On the first beginning, and subsequent reckoning of the years of this power, see Introd. vi. pp. 64, 66.

9. **nomen imperatoris**: see c. 3, 1; Introd. vi. p. 64. The first occasion appears to have been Philippi; the last, subsequent to the date of an inscription of this very year (Orelli, 604).

**alia honorum.** On the genitive, see Introd. v. § 32 b. 'Multiplicata' may refer to the repeatedly bestowed title of 'pater patriae,' and the periodically renewed 'proconsulare imperium' and consular-censorial powers; 'nova' to the new forms taken by these and other powers, to the title of 'Augustus,' etc. See Introd. vi. pp. 64–68.

11. **hi.** This has no proper construction, a verb of speaking being supplied from 'extollebatur arguebaturve.' On the omission of such verbs by Tacitus, see Introd. v. 38 a. The view in this chapter may be compared to that given by Dio in the form of a funeral oration supposed to be spoken by Tiberius (56. 35–41).

**parentem**, used like 'patris' below, of his adoptive father.

13. **haberi**: cp. c. 1, 1; 'civil war, which can neither be levied nor conducted by honourable methods.' 'Bonae artes' is used similarly, c. 28, 5.

14. **dum**, generally explained here as ='provided that;' though it might also be taken in a temporal sense.

15. **concessisse.** The meaning is that the crimes of the triumvirate were those of his colleagues, tolerated by himself only to secure his great object: cp. 'Caesar percussoribus patris contentus fuit' Florus, 4. 6. Suetonius (Aug. 27) states that, though more reluctant to begin a proscription, he carried it out more vindictively than his colleagues.

17. **non regno**, etc.: see Introd. vi. p. 65.

tatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam; mari Oceano aut amnibus longinquis saeptum imperium; legiones, provincias, classes, cuncta inter se conexa; ius apud cives, modestiam apud socios; urbem ipsam magnifico ornatu; pauca admodum vi tractata quo ceteris quies esset.

**10.** Dicebatur contra: pietatem erga parentem et tempora 1
rei publicae obtentui sumpta: ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum ab adulescente privato exercitum, corruptas consulis legiones, simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium; mox ubi decreto patrum fasces et ius praetoris invaserit, caesis Hirtio et Pansa, sive hostis illos, seu Pansam venenum vulneri adfusum, sui milites Hirtium et machinator doli Caesar abstulerat, utriusque copias occupavisse; extortum

1. **mari Oceano**. On these adjectival substantives, see Introd. v. § 3.

2. **longinquis**. The Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates. On this description of the frontier, see Introd. vii. p. 93. Stress here is laid on 'longinquis,' to show the distance of any danger.

**legiones**, etc.: see on 4. 5; and Introd. vii. p. 29.

3. **modestiam**, 'moderation,' as 3. 12, 10, etc. On the change in the condition of the provinces, see c. 2, 2, and Introd. vii. p. 101.

4. **magnifico ornatu**, abl. of quality. Some of the buildings of Augustus are noted in Mon. Anc. iv. and vi.; also in Strab. 5. 3, 8, p. 235. He is said (Suet. Aug. 28) to have boasted that he had found Rome a city of brick, and left it one of marble. For an account of his chief works, see Dyer, Hist. of the City of Rome, sect. iii.

**pauca**. This refers to the suppression of such conspiracies as are mentioned in the next chapter.

6. **Dicebatur contra**. Lips. remarks that the leaning of Tacitus to this view is shown by the greater fullness of statement.

7. **obtentui**, 'for a pretext.' On this dative, see Introd. v. § 23.

**ceterum** = 'revera autem.' This sense is peculiar to Tacitus, and (except H. 4. 3, 5) found only in the Annals; as c. 14, 3; 44, 6; 14. 58, 3; 15. 52, 3. A somewhat similar sense is, however, traceable in Livy.

8. **veteranos**. Those settled by the dictator at Calatia and Casilinum, induced, about October 710, B.C. 44, by a bribe of 500 denarii 'each,' to join Octavianus (Cic. Att. 16. 8, 1). Others joined afterwards (Vell. 2. 61, 1).

**privato**. Cp. Mon. Anc. i. 1 'annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi.' Appian (B. C. 3. 40) rates it at an ill-organized force of about 10,000.

9. **consulis**, i. e. 'Antonii.' The legiones 'Martia' and 'Quarta,' summoned by him from Macedonia, deserted to Octavian at the end of November. Cic. Phil. 3. 3, 6; App. B. C. 2. 45.

**Pompeianarum**: see on 'Iulianae partes' c. 2, 1. Dräger (§ 223) notes this arrangement of the four words as a play of rhetoric very unusual in Tacitus or Cicero, but more frequent in Livy.

10. **ius praetoris**. The imperium and rank of propraetor, decreed by proposal of Cicero, Jan. 1, 711, B.C. 43; see Cic. Phil. 5. 16, 45. He received the fasces on the 17th, which was thus his first 'dies imperii.' See on c. 9, 1.

11. **invaserit**. This, like 'acceperit' below, belongs naturally to the 'oratio obliqua.' On the interposition of indicative clauses, as 'abstulerat' and 'fecere,' see Introd. v. § 49, and Nipp. here.

**caesis**. Hirtius was killed April 27; Pansa died of his wounds at nearly the same time. This insinuation against Caesar is alluded to in a letter of uncertain date (pseudo-Brutus ad Cic. 1, 6), and given more fully in Suet. Aug. 11.

invito senatu consulatum, armaque quae in Antonium acceperit
contra rem publicam versa; proscriptionem civium, divisiones
2 agrorum ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatas. sane Cassii et
Brutorum exitus paternis inimicitiis datos, quamquam fas sit
privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere: sed Pompeium ima-
gine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos; post Anto-
nium, Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere et nuptiis sororis inlectum,
3 subdolae adfinitatis poenas morte exsolvisse. pacem sine dubio
post haec, verum cruentam: Lollianas Varianasque clades, inter-
4 fectos Romae Varrones, Egnatios, Iulos. nec domesticis absti-

1. **senatu**; best taken as a form of the dative, as in 3. 47, 1: cp. 'luxu' 3. 30, 4; 'decursu' 3. 33, 3, etc. It rested with the senate, or rather with the senator who held comitia as 'interrex,' to allow him to stand for the consulship without being duly qualified. See Introd. vi. p. 80.

2. **divisiones agrorum**. The assignments of lands to the soldiers in 713, B.C. 41, alluded to by Vergil (Ecl. 1 and 9), etc.

3. **sane**, concessive, as 3. 5, 4; 6. 14, 4; 48, 4, etc.: but the parenthetical clause 'quamquam . . . remittere' qualifies even this concession, and 'paternis inimicitiis' is invidiously substituted for the 'pietate erga parentem' of c. 9, 4: 'remittere,' 'to sacrifice,' as 'memoriam simultatium patriae remitteret' Liv. 9. 38, 12. The plea of Augustus himself is that he did not use force against the assassins till they had been legally exiled (by the 'lex Pedia,' Vell. 2. 69, 5), Mon. Anc. i. 10.

5. **sed . . . sed.** On such rhetorical repetitions, see c. 38, 3, etc., and Introd. v. § 73. The former palliation is here contrasted with the absence of any such in these cases.

**imagine pacis**: so 'imagine cognitionis' 3. 17, 6. The allusion is to the stipulations towards Sex. Pompeius agreed upon at the treaty of Misenum in 715, B.C. 39 (Dio, 48. 36, 4), which were not fulfilled.

6. **specie amicitiae.** This refers to the general treatment of Lepidus as triumvir, rather than to the immediate occasion of his being robbed of his army (see c. 2, 1).

**post.** Nipp. shows that this must be taken only with 'poenas . . . exsolvisse,' the treaties referred to being prior to the overthrow of Pompeius and Lepidus. That of Brundusium was made in 714, B.C. 40; that of Tarentum in 717, B.C. 37. Nipp. also explains the inversion here of their chronological order, as meant to lay stress on the marriage with Octavia ('subdola affinitas'), which was one of the provisions of the earlier treaty.

8. **sine dubio**, concessive, as in c. 6, 3, etc.

9. **Lollianas.** The defeat of Lollius by some German tribes in 738, B.C. 16 (Dio, 54. 20, 5), though 'maioris infamiae quam detrimenti' (Suet. Aug. 23), involved the loss of an eagle, and caused Augustus to go as far as Gaul (Vell. 2. 97, 1): on the 'clades Variana,' see c. 3, 6, etc.

10. **Varrones**, etc. These, like 'Lollianas' and 'Varianas,' are rhetorical plurals; 'executions at Rome of a Varro, an Egnatius, an Iulus.' L. Licinius Muraena (Hor. Od. 2. 10), afterwards by adoption Terentius Varro Muraena, suffered death with Fannius Caepio for conspiracy against the life of Augustus in 731 or 732, B.C. 23 or 22 (Dio, 54. 3; Vell. 2. 91). He was brother to Proculeius and Terentia (Dio, l. l.). Egnatius Rufus, a popular aedile and praetor in two successive years, failing afterwards to reach the consulship, formed a plot with others against the life of Augustus, and was put to death in prison in 735, B.C. 19. Velleius loads him with abuse (2. 91, 3). Iulus Antonius, son of the triumvir by Fulvia, was advanced by Augustus to the highest rank, and married to Marcella, daughter of Octavia; see Introd. ix. note 18. The MS. here and 3. 18, 1; 4. 44, 5, reads his name as 'Iulius,' but 'Iulus' is restored from Hor. Od. 4. 2, 2, and Dio, 51. 15, 7; see Nipp. He was forced to suicide in 752, B.C. 2, for adultery with Julia (Vell. 2. 100, 4); which was held to amount to treason (see 3. 24, 3).

nebatur: abducta Neroni uxor et consulti per ludibrium ponti-
fices an concepto necdum edito partu rite nuberet; Q. † Tedii et
Vedii Pollionis luxus; postremo Livia gravis in rem publicam
mater, gravis domui Caesarum noverca. nihil deorum honoribus 5
relictum, cum se templis et effigie numinum per flamines et
sacerdotes coli vellet. ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei 6
publicae cura successorem adscitum, sed quoniam adrogantiam
saevitiamque eius introspexerit, comparatione deterrima sibi
gloriam quaesivisse. etenim Augustus paucis ante annis, cum 7
Tiberio tribuniciam potestatem a patribus rursum postularet,
quamquam honora oratione, quaedam de habitu cultuque et

1. **abducta**, etc. Some such verb as 'memorabatur' has to be supplied from the negative clause. On the marriage of Livia, see 5. 1, 3. The answer of the pontiffs to this 'mockery of consultation' is given by Dio, 48. 44, 2.

2. **Q. † Tedii.** The MS. has 'nuberetque tedii et uedii.' The choice is between a name otherwise unknown, and a variety of conjectures, as 'Q. Pedii' (Wolf, from Suet. Jul. 83, etc.), 'C. Matii' (Freinsh., from 12. 60, 6), neither of whom are expressly noted for luxury; or 'Q. Alledii' (Roth, from Juv. 5, 118). Nipp. reads 'quae edito' (sc. 'partu rite nuberet'), on the supposition that a general question in such terms was laid before the pontiffs, not a particular case.

3. **Vedii Pollionis**, a knight of low birth and vast wealth (cp. Dio, 54. 23, 1), noted for throwing live slaves to his lampreys, even in presence of Augustus (Pl. N. H. 9. 23, 39, 77; Sen. de Ira, 3. 40); who showed his indignation at the time, and on inheriting his villa at Pausilipum destroyed it for its associations (Ov. Fast. 6, 639, etc.). It is treated as a reflection on him, that such a man was ever his friend.

**gravis.** She is 'gravis mater,' as having forced her son into the succession; 'noverca,' as having, in popular belief, caused the deaths of his competitors, Gaius and Lucius; see c. 3, 3, etc. 'In rem publicam' may be taken as in c. 8, 7, or as in c. 76, 5. Cp. Cic. Balb. 9, 24 'est in populum Romanum grave.'

5. **templis et effigie numinum.** These appear to be better taken as abl. instrum. than resolved, as Nipp. proposes, into two constructions by taking the former as abl. of place (as 3. 61, 1, etc.), the latter as abl. modi. 'Effigies numinum' = 'quales numinum esse solent,' 'statues with divine attributes,' as the thunderbolt, etc.

6. **vellet**, used invidiously of mere permission. According to Suet. Aug. 52, and Dio, 51. 20, 7, temples to Augustus in his lifetime were allowed by him only in the provinces, and only in association with the worship of Roma (see on c. 78, 1). It is indeed plain from inscriptions, that at least a local or private worship and local 'flamines' of Augustus existed during his lifetime in various Italian towns: see Orelli and Henzen, Insc. 642, 643, 3874, 5814, 5994, 7079. But the 'flaminium Augusti,' dating from the time of the apotheosis (see below), as one of the greater priesthoods at Rome, is rightly distinguished by Nipp. from these.

**ne Tiberium**, etc. Even Suetonius rejects this imputation (Tib. 21); nor does Tacitus elsewhere think it necessary to refer to any other cause than the influence of Livia (4. 57, 5).

8. **deterrima**, i. e. 'cum deterrimo homine,' an inexact expression due to desire of brevity. Nipp.

9. **paucis ante annis**, i. e. at the date of the last renewal. His second tenure of this power, dating probably from July 1, 757, A.D. 4 (see Introd. viii. p. 114), is supposed by Dio (55. 13. 2) to have been for ten years, and a renewal is dated in 766, A.D. 13 (56. 28, 1); but probably Suetonius is right in stating the term as five years (Tib. 16), whereby the renewal would fall in 762, A.D. 9. As it had evidently not expired at the death of Augustus (see c. 7, 5), the last renewal was probably for life.

11. **honora**: cp. 3. 5, 1; 4. 68, 4; one of the poetical words of Tacitus (In-

8 institutis eius iecerat, quae velut excusando exprobraret. cete-
rum sepultura more perfecta templum et caelestes religiones
decernuntur.

1 **11.** Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. et ille varia edisserebat
2 de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia. solam divi Augusti
mentem tantae molis capacem: se in partem curarum ab illo
vocatum experiendo didicisse quam arduum, quam subiectum
3 fortunae regendi cuncta onus. proinde in civitate tot inlustribus
viris subnixa non ad unum omnia deferrent: plures facilius
4 munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus exsecuturos. plus in
oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat; Tiberioque etiam in
rebus quas non occuleret, seu natura sive adsuetudine, suspensa
semper et obscura verba: tunc vero nitenti, ut sensus suos

trod. v. §. 70). The negative 'inhonorus' had been already used in prose by Pl. mai.

**habitu**, 'deportment.' He is described as walking 'cervice rigida et obstipa, adducto fere vultu, plerumque tacitus' Suet. Tib. 68.

**cultu**, 'style of dress' (joined with 'habitu' 2. 59, 3); so in 2. 75. 3; 6. 32, 4, and Livy.

1. **institutis**, 'manners:' cp. 'instituta Parthorum' 6. 32, 4.

**iecerat**, 'had dropped expressions;' so 4. 68, 4; 6. 4, 3, etc. Also Sall., Liv., etc.

**velut**: cp. c. 8, 7, etc. The 'taunt under colour of excuse' is said to have been 'naturae vitia esse, non animi' Suet. Tib. 68.

2. **sepultura more perfecta.** The ceremonies are fully described by Suet. and Dio; the latter gives at length what purports to be the 'laudatio' spoken by Tiberius, but which is probably a mere composition.

**templum.** This was built by Augusta and Tiberius (Dio, 56. 46, 3) at the side of the Palatine, near the Forum. See Dyer, in D. of Geog. 'Roma,' p. 805; Burn, pp. 160, 278.

**caelestes religiones.** The date of this apotheosis is fixed as 15 Kal. Octob. (Sept. 17) by the kalendar of Amiternum, Orell. Inscr. 2, p. 398. The same decree probably created Germanicus and Augusta 'flamen' and 'flaminica Augustalis:' see notes on c. 14, 3; 2. 83, 2. On the creation of the college of 'sodales Augustales,' see c. 54, 1.

4. **Versae inde,** etc. On the conduct of Tiberius during this scene, see Introd. viii. p. 120. Velleius, probably an eyewitness, describes it from his own point of view (2. 124).

**varia edisserebat**, the true restoration of the MS. 'variae disserebat;' similar errors in division of words being noted in 'editiorae nisus' (c. 70, 6), 'adiacentiae rupturum' (c. 79, 3), etc.: 'edissere' is used in H. 3. 52, 2. The alternative 'varie disserebat' (edd. vett. and Halm) is supported by 3. 59, 1.

5. **modestia**, 'diffidence.' This quality in him is contrasted in 3. 56, 4, with the 'magnitudo' of Augustus, as here with that of the empire; and is elsewhere spoken of by himself as his 'pudor' (c. 12, 3), or 'moderatio' (2. 36, 2). Dio (57. 2, 4) reports him as also pleading in excuse his age, and defective eyesight.

7. **quam arduum.** On the omission of 'esset,' see Introd. v. § 39 b.

9. **non** is used instead of 'ne' to emphasize 'ad unum,' the context implying the antithesis 'sed ad plures.' Nipp. illustrates, both from Cic. and Liv., this use, which is more common in poets and silver age prose; e. g. 'non Teucros agat' Verg. Aen. 12, 78.

11. **fidei**, 'honesty:' cp. 'fida oratio' c. 52, 3.

12. **occuleret.** On the subjunct., see Introd. v. § 52.

**suspensa**, 'hesitating,' as 11. 34, 2; H. 3. 37, 2. Tiberius is described as 'velut eluctantium verborum' (4. 31, 4); 'validus sensibus aut consulto ambiguus' (13. 3, 5); and these traits are rhetorically exaggerated by Dio (57. 1).

penitus abderet, in incertum et ambiguum magis implicabantur.
at patres, quibus unus metus si intellegere viderentur, in questus, 5
lacrimas, vota, effundi; ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua
ipsius manus tendere, cum proferri libellum recitarique iussit.
opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in 6
armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et
necessitates ac largitiones. quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat 7
Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos im-
perii, incertum metu an per invidiam.

**12.** Inter quae senatu ad infimas obtestationes procumbente, 1
dixit forte Tiberius se ut non toti rei publicae parem, ita quae-
cumque pars sibi mandaretur, eius tutelam suscepturum. tum 2

1. **in incertum.** On this use of 'in' to express result, see Introd. v. § 60 b.

2. **unus metus si intellegere viderentur,** 'whose only ground of fear lay in betraying their insight.' Dräger notes 'metus si' as not elsewhere found, but compares the use of 'si' with 'miror,' 'mirum,' etc. Here, as in 'formido . . . si' (11. 28, 1), it is meant that they feared the consequence of detection, rather than detection itself; as is shown in the fuller expression 'si intellegere crederetur, vim metuens' (2. 42, 5). The same kind of dissimulation is described 14. 6, 1; H. 4. 86, 1.

4. **libellum.** This was one of three documents deposited by Augustus with his will: see Suet. Aug. 101. Another contained instructions for his funeral; the third, the 'Index rerum gestarum' to be inscribed on his tomb, was the original of the 'Marmor Ancyranum.' The document here described is more comprehensive than the balance sheet ('rationes imperii,' or 'rationarium'), which he had periodically published: see Suet. Cal. 16. Tiberius orders the recital, to show the magnitude of the whole, and to suggest partition of functions.

5. **opes,** used generally of resources, and thus including both the forces and revenue: so 'opes viresque' H. 1. 61, 1; 4. 86, 2.

6. **quot classes,** etc. Nipp. notes the change from two clauses without connecting particles to a third coupled by 'et,' as well as from the asyndeta included under the first clause to the connection by 'aut' and 'ac' of the subordinate members of the two other clauses. Many instances of such variations are given in his note, and in Dräger § 140; see Introd. v. §. 90. On the fleets, see Introd. vii. p. 108; and, on the dependent kingdoms ('regna'), Id. p. 102.

**tributa aut vectigalia,** 'direct and indirect taxes:' see on 13. 50.

7. **necessitates:** cp. 2. 27, 2. Used here like 'publicae necessitates' in Liv. 23. 48, 10, of regular charges on the revenue, as distinct from the voluntary 'largitiones,' such as the 'frumentationes,' 'congiaria,' etc., mentioned in Mon. Anc. iii. 7, etc. 'Ac' couples closely the two kinds of expenditure, in contrast to the kinds of income.

8. **addideratque,** etc.: in Dio (Xiphil.), 56. 33, 3, this is represented as contained in a fourth document, which is also stated to have recommended some division of the functions of government.

9. **metu an per invidiam.** On the variation of construction, see Introd. v. § 62. Tacitus, living in the midst of the conquests of Trajan, treats this prudence as contemptible: see Introd. viii. p. 119.

10. **Inter quae.** Nipp. shows by many instances (c. 15, 3, etc.) the fondness of Tacitus for this expression, as also for 'post quae' (c. 13, 1, etc.), 'adversus quae' (3. 59, 1, etc.), 'ob quae' (2. 30, 4).

11. **dixit forte,** 'dropped the expression,' as if unguardedly. Dio (57. 2, 4) states that he definitely offered to take one of three departments, either Rome and Italy, or the armies, or the provinces.

**ut . . . ita,** 'although . . . yet.' In this usage (cp. c. 42, 5; 3. 43, 4; 4. 33, 3; 37, 5; 71, 1, etc.) Tacitus follows Livy (3. 55, 15, etc.)

Asinius Gallus 'interrogo' inquit, 'Caesar, quam partem rei
3 publicae mandari tibi velis.' perculsus inprovisa interrogatione
paulum reticuit: dein collecto animo respondit nequaquam de-
corum pudori suo legere aliquid aut evitare ex eo, cui in uni-
4 versum excusari mallet. rursum Gallus (etenim vultu offensionem
coniectaverat) non idcirco interrogatum ait, ut divideret quae
separari nequirent, sed ut sua confessione argueretur, unum esse
5 rei publicae corpus atque unius animo regendum. addidit laudem
de Augusto Tiberiumque ipsum victoriarum suarum quaeque in
6 toga per tot annos egregie fecisset admonuit. nec ideo iram
eius lenivit, pridem invisus, tamquam ducta in matrimonium
Vipsania M. Agrippae filia, quae quondam Tiberii uxor fuerat,
plus quam civilia agitaret Pollionisque Asinii patris ferociam
retineret.

1 **13**. Post quae L. Arruntius haud multum discrepans a Galli
oratione perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio nulla vetus in
Arruntium ira: sed divitem, promptum, artibus egregiis et pari

1. **Asinius Gallus**, in full C. Asinius C. f. Gallus Saloninus. He was consul 746, B.C. 8, proconsul of Asia two years later; and is known as an orator and man of letters (see Nipp.) He is frequently mentioned in these books, as c. 8, 4; 13, 2; 76, 2; 2. 32, 4; 33, 3; 35, 1; 4. 20, 2; 30, 2; 71, 3; 6. 23, 1. His parentage and marriage are given in this chapter. On his sons see note on 6. 23, 3.

3. **collecto animo**, 'recovering self-possession.' Dio (57. 2, 6) gives his answer as *καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε ἐστι τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ νέμειν τι καὶ αἱρεῖσθαι*; in the reply of Gallus, his account agrees exactly with Tacitus.

5. **excusari**. With the doubtful exception 'excusatus honoribus' (Pl. Pan. 57), this verb is nowhere found with a dative of the thing; but the construction is analogous to that of 'captae prohibere . . . Poenos aquilae' Sil. 9. 27.

7. **sed ut**: so Halm and most others after Lipsius for the MS. 'et,' which Orelli retains, and which may be taken as = 'etiam;' but the change of subject from 'divideret' to 'argueretur' appears to render the repetition of 'ut' necessary.

8. **addidit laudem de Augusto**. The expression is explained by Nipp., who shows that 'laus' is equivalent to 'oratio laudatoria.' The object of his speech is to show the advantage of single rule by reference to Augustus, and the capacity of Tiberius by reference to his services.

10. **ideo**, used as in c. 72, 3; 4. 26, 2, etc., with a force nearly equivalent to that of 'ita.' Dio (57. 2, 7) connects the subsequent fate of Gallus with this speech. Tacitus (c. 13, 2) gives an additional reason for the jealousy of Tiberius.

11. **tamquam**. On the use of this word, see Introd. v. § 67.

**ducta**, etc. On Vipsania, see Introd. ix. note 27; and, on her divorce from Tiberius, Id. viii. p. 113.

13. **civilia**: see c. 8, 3, etc.

**ferociam**, 'spirit.' Cp. 'ferocissimi' c. 2, 1. Dio (57. 2, 5) speaks of the *παῤῥησία* of Pollio. Velleius (2. 86, 4) gives his refusal to follow Caesar to Actium, 'discrimini vestro me subtraham, et ero praeda victoris.' Other instances of his freedom of speech are given in Suet. Aug. 43.

15. **L. Arruntius**, also very frequently mentioned in these books (c. 8, 4; 76, 3; 79, 1; 3. 11, 2; 31. 5; 6. 5, 1; 7, 1; 27, 3; 47, 3; 48), was consul in 759, A.D. 6. His father, consul in 732, B.C. 22, is probably the same who held an important command in Caesar's fleet at Actium (Vell. 2. 85, 2). Seneca speaks of one or the other of these as 'vir rarae frugalitatis' Ep. 114, 17.

17. **artibus**, 'accomplishments:' cp.

fama publice, suspectabat. quippe Augustus supremis sermo- 2
nibus cum tractaret, quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi
abnuerent aut inpares vellent vel îdem possent cuperentque,
M'. Lepidum dixerat capacem sed aspernantem, Gallum Asinium
avidum et minorem, L. Arruntium non indignum et, si casus
daretur, ausurum. de prioribus consentitur, pro Arruntio quidam 3
Cn. Pisonem tradidere; omnesque praeter Lepidum variis mox
criminibus struente Tiberio circumventi sunt. etiam Q. Haterius 4
et Mamercus Scaurus suspicacem animum perstrinxere, Haterius
cum dixisset 'quousque patieris, Caesar, non adesse caput rei

'inlustres domi artes' 4. 6, 2; also 3. 70, 1; 12. 6, 2; 14. 55, 6. In 6. 7, 1 he speaks of the 'sanctissimae artes' of Arruntius; in 11. 6, 4, a speaker mentions his 'incorrupta vita et facundia,' classing him even with Pollio and Messala. Seneca, however, if he refers to this Arruntius (see above), considers the style of his History of the Punic wars an exaggeration of the mannerisms of Sallust.

**pari fama publice**, 'with corresponding public reputation.' 'Publice' is best taken, with Ruperti, as = 'iudicio omnium.'

2. **principem**, adjective, as 3. 75, 1; 4. 38, 1; 60, 4, etc. On the frequent use by Tacitus of such adjectival substantives, see c. 9, 6.

**suffecturi** is best taken absolutely, as in G. 13, 1: Dial. 37, 1, etc.; so as to leave 'adipisci' dependent only on the verbs: though 'sufficere' takes an infinitive in Verg. Aen 5, 22.

3. **vel** certainly stands sometimes in Tacitus for 'aut,' as 13. 41, 3; 14. 35, 5, etc.; but here Nipp. appears rightly to show that, as in 14. 3, 1 ('in hortos aut Tusculanum vel Antiatem in agrum'), he is not so much contrasting three classes with each other, as two of them with a third; those who, with or without capacity, would desire the position, with those who would not.

4. **M'. Lepidum.** This praenomen is given in full, 3. 22, 2. Elsewhere the MS. always reads M., thus confusing this Lepidus with another, whose praenomen 'Marcus' is written full in 3. 32, 2 (where see notes). On Manius Lepidus see further 3. 35, 1; 50, 1; 4. 20, 3; 56, 3; 6. 27, 4. He was consul in 764, A.D. 11.

5. **et** is a variation for the preceding 'sed,' and often stands for an adversative particle, where the words sufficiently convey the opposition, as 'turbidos et nihil ausos' c. 38, 4. Cp. 12. 52, 3; 14. 65, 2; and 'neque' (= 'sed non') 6. 37, 3.

**casus**, 'opportunity;' so 11. 9, 1; 12. 28, 1; 50, 1; 13. 36, 2: chiefly from Sall., e. g. Jug. 25, 9, etc.

7. **Cn. Pisonem**: see c. 74, 6; 2. 43, 3, etc.

**omnes.** This should apply to all the other three; but the absurdity of supposing that Tiberius contrived the fall of Piso makes Nipp. contend that the remark about him is parenthetical, and that only two out of the three originally mentioned are referred to. In any case Tacitus oversteps his own facts, for Tiberius is admitted to have been probably not cognisant of the charge against Arruntius (6. 47, 4); so that 'omnes' and 'mox' are justified only by the fate of Gallus some sixteen years later, on which see note on 6. 23, 1.

8. **Q. Haterius**, a consular (2. 33, 1), probably cos. suff. in 745, B.C. 9 (Borghesi); a man of servile disposition (3. 57, 3), and a fluent but careless speaker (4. 61, 2). On his probable marriage with a daughter of Agrippa, see Introd. ix. note 19.

9. **Mamercus Scaurus**, of similar character (3. 66, 3), was cos. suff. possibly in 774, A.D. 21 (Borghesi). On his accomplishments and fate see 6. 29, 4; where his death, twenty years after this date, is ascribed to the influence of Macro.

10. **quousque**, etc. The whole sentence might give offence from its tone of impatience, like the 'aut agat, aut desistat' of some other speaker (Suet. Tib. 24); and 'caput reipublicae' is an expression more suited to the senate (cp. H. 1. 84, 6), than, at this early date, to the 'princeps.' The words of Scaurus would

publicae?' Scaurus quia dixerat, spem esse ex eo non inritas
fore senatus preces, quod relationi consulum iure tribuniciae
5 potestatis non intercessisset. in Haterium statim invectus est;
6 Scaurum, cui inplacabilius irascebatur, silentio tramisit. fessusque
clamore omnium, expostulatione singulorum flexit paulatim, non
ut fateretur suscipi a se imperium, sed ut negare et rogari
7 desineret. constat Haterium, cum deprecandi causa Palatium
introisset ambulantisque Tiberii genua advolveretur, prope a
militibus interfectum, quia Tiberius casu an manibus eius inpe-
ditus prociderat. neque tamen periculo talis viri mitigatus est,
donec Haterius Augustam oraret eiusque curatissimis precibus
protegeretur.

1
2 **14.** Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. alii parentem,
alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris
3 adscriberetur 'Iuliae filius' censebant. ille moderandos femi-

be more offensive, as insinuating that Tiberius was not in earnest.

2. **relationi consulum.** The terms of such a 'relatio' can be gathered from H. 1. 47, 2, and more fully from the 'Lex de Imp. Vespasiani.' On the present occasion its form must have been modified by the powers already possessed by Tiberius. See Introd. vi. pp. 68, 82; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 762, foll., 869

4. **tramisit.** This verb is used in this age in the sense of 'praetermittere,' with 'silentio' or similar words, and with accus. of the thing (as H. 1. 13, 5; 4. 9, 3) or the person (as Suet. Vesp. 15).

5. **flexit,** sc. 'se,' as 4. 37, 2, etc. Suet. (Tib. 24) says that he complained 'miseram et onerosam iniungi sibi servitutem,' and consented only with the reservation 'dum veniam ad id tempus, quo vobis aequum possit videri, dare vos aliquam senectuti meae requiem.' From the silence of Tacitus it has been doubted whether any formal decree was passed; but we can hardly suppose that Tiberius thus left his position unsecured, and he could not have formally become 'princeps' or 'Augustus' without such decree.

7. **constat Haterium.** Suet. (Tib. 27) tells this story without the name of the person, only to illustrate the aversion of Tiberius to such prostrations.

8. **genua advolveretur.** This constr. taken from Sall. (see Introd. v. § 97, 1) is used by Tacitus, 6. 49, 3; 15. 71, 1; H. 4. 81, 2. On other such accusatives after compound verbs, see Introd. v. § 12 c. The more usual dat. with 'advolvi' is also found, c. 23, 2; 32, 4.

9. **an,** without 'dubium' or 'incertum' preceding, found especially often in the Annals, as c. 65, 3; 2. 42, 5, etc., though not absent in Cic., Sall., or Liv. See references in Nipp.

11. **oraret.** On the subj. of facts with 'donec,' see on c. 1, 4.

**curatissimis,** 'her most solicitous entreaty.' 'Curatus' has the force of 'accuratus' in 2. 27, 1; 14. 21, 2; 16. 22, 6; and Pl. min.

13. **parentem . . . matrem.** Probably Walther is right in thinking the question between these titles merely one of sound. Both 'pater' and 'parens' 'patriae' appear to have been used of Cicero (Juv. 8, 243) and Julius Caesar (Suet. Jul. 76; 85). On the titles borne by the wife or mother of the princeps, see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 794. Coins of African and Spanish colonies are extant giving to Augusta titles formally disallowed, as 'mater patriae' and even 'genetrix orbis:' see Eckhel, vi. 154–156; Cohen, i. p. 169, 3.

14. **appellandam . . . ut.** On this variation of construction, see Introd. v. § 91, 7.

15. **Iuliae filius.** The title 'Divi Aug. f.' is regularly borne by Tiberius on inscriptions. For him to have also borne his mother's name is noted by Orelli as wholly without Roman precedent, though an old Etruscan custom.

narum honores dictitans eademque se temperantia usurum in
iis quae sibi tribuerentur, ceterum anxius invidia et muliebre
fastigium in deminutionem sui accipiens ne lictorem quidem
ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia huiusce modi
prohibuit. at Germanico Caesari proconsulare imperium petivit, 4
missique legati qui deferrent, simul maestitiam eius ob excessum
Augusti solarentur. quo minus idem pro Druso postularetur, ea 5
causa quod designatus consul Drusus praesensque erat. candi- 6
datos praeturae duodecim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto
traditum; et hortante senatu ut augeret, iure iurando obstrinxit
se non excessurum.

**15.** Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt: 1
nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam

2. **ceterum**: cp. c. 10, 1.

3. **fastigium**, used of 'rank,' by Livy and later authors. When the highest rank is spoken of, as here, an adjective is usually added; but cp. 'initia fastigii' 3. 29, 2; and 'stare in fastigio eloquentiae' Quint. 12. 1, 20.

**in.** This hardly expresses here result, as in c. 11, 4, etc.; but rather how an act or event is interpreted, as in 6. 13, 4; 12. 43, 2; 16. 18, 2: cp. 'in omen acceptum' Liv. 21. 63, 14.

**ne lictorem quidem.** It appears from Dio (56. 46, 2) that she had a lictor when in performance of her duties as priestess of Augustus. Two were assigned to Agrippina, as 'flaminica Claudialis' (13. 2, 6).

4. **aram adoptionis.** Altars are often erected as monuments, without implying any act of worship. Thus we have 'ara ob Agrippinae puerperium' (Suet. Cal. 8); and altars to personifications, as 'ultionis' (3. 18, 3); 'clementiae,' 'amicitiae' (4. 74, 3).

5. **proconsulare imperium.** Some renewal or extension must be understood of that which he had received in 764, A.D. 11, and must have been still holding, as an 'imperium maius' in Gaul and Germany. That he was not fully 'collega imperii' with Tiberius is implied in 2. 43, 2. See Introd. vi. p. 83; Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 1094, etc.

7. **solarentur.** On the frequent poetical use in Tacitus of simple for compound verbs, see Introd. v. § 40.

8. **quod designatus consul**, etc. The explanation appears to be, that such an 'imperium,' valid only 'extra urbem' (12. 41, 2), would not be suitable to one who was to hold an urban magistracy. Nipp. and Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 1095, 2) think that the allusion to his presence points to the delicacy of his having himself to give the first vote. This, however, appears not to hold in a 'relatio Caesaris' (3. 17, 8); and, in any other 'relatio,' might be obviated (3. 22, 6). Drusus, no doubt, had this imperium when sent to Illyricum (2. 44, 1).

9. **nominavit.** On the 'nominatio candidatorum,' see Introd. vi. p. 80. The number twelve was occasionally exceeded both by Augustus (Dio, 56. 25, 4) and by Tiberius (2. 32, 1; Dio, 58. 20, 5); but is retained as the normal number. See 2. 36, 1; Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 880.

10. **obstrinxit.** This verb is used absolutely, as in 4. 31, 5; 'se' being here taken with 'excessurum.' In 13. 11, 2, Tacitus has 'clementiam suam obstringens,' in the sense of 'solemnly promising.'

12. **Tum primum**, i.e. in the election of these praetors. The first consular elections are spoken of in c. 81. It is implied in the context, and in Vell. 2. 126, 2, that the change obtained henceforth in all elections. On this important change, see Introd. vi. p. 75; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 877, etc.

13. **ad eam diem.** Augustus is stated, after the restoration of the comitia (Suet. Aug. 40), to have superseded them in cases of exceptional turbulence (Dio, 54. 10, 2; 55. 34, 2). The general prevalence of ordinary canvassing is seen from the description of Horace, Epp. 1. 6, 49, etc.

**potissima.** This may probably refer to the choice of consuls, which however

2 tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. neque populus ademptum ius questus est nisi inani rumore, et senatus largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus libens tenuit, moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos commendaret, sine repulsa et ambitu
3 designandos. inter quae tribuni plebei petivere, ut proprio sumptu ederent ludos, qui de nomine Augusti fastis additi
4 Augustales vocarentur. sed decreta pecunia ex aerario, utque per circum triumphali veste uterentur: curru vehi haud per-
5 missum. mox celebratio annua ad praetorem translata, cui inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictio evenisset.

1 **16.** Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas legiones

does not appear to have passed from popular control till the later years of Augustus. See Dio, l. l.

2. **inani rumore**, 'in idle murmurs.' 'Rumor' used of popular talk as 3. 29, 5, etc. On the temper of the people, cp. Juv. 10, 73. See also Introd. vii. p. 91.

**precibus exsolutus**. Senators were themselves the candidates for all offices above the quaestorship.

4. **quatuor . . . commendaret**. On the 'commendatio,' as distinct from the 'nominatio' of candidates by the prince, see Introd. vi. p. 79; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 881, foll. The proportion of four applies to the election of praetors only, but Nipp.'s insertion of 'praeturae' appears unnecessary. Velleius states (2. 124, 4) that on this occasion the two first 'candidati Caesaris' were 'nobilissimi ac sacerdotales viri,' the two others Velleius himself and his brother; and that Tiberius was in fact giving effect to a previous designation by Augustus.

5. **tribuni plebei**. Dio (56. 46, 4) connects the selection of the tribunes for this duty with the sanctity of their office (ὡς καὶ ἱεροπρεπεῖς ὄντες). A more natural explanation may be found in the tribunitian power of the person commemorated.

6. **de nomine**, 'named after:' cp. 6. 34, 4. The phrase is Vergilian (cp. Aen. 1, 277, etc.).

**fastis additi**. The 'Ludi Augustales,' or 'Augustalia,' were held either on Oct. 9 (Kal. Ant.), or Oct. 12 (Kal. Maff.): see Orelli, Inscr. ii. p. 400. That they are a new institution at this time is affirmed here and c. 54, 1. The statement of Dio (54. 34, 2), that they were regularly held from 743, B.C. 11, is explained with probability by Nipp. as a confusion of these games with those held on the birthday of Augustus, Sept. 23 (Kal. Maff., Orelli, ii. p. 398); such confusion being clearly apparent in Dio (Xiphil.) 56. 29, 1.

7. **vocarentur** carries on the 'oratio obliqua.'

**decreta pecunia . . . utque**. A similar double construction is used with this verb in 4. 16, 6; 14. 12, 1, etc.; also with 'perspecto' 3. 63, 2; 'noscenda' 4. 33, 2; 'circumspecta' 14. 33, 2.

8. **curru**. The praetor celebrating the 'Ludi Magni' had the chariot as well as the triumphal robe (Plin. N. H. 34. 5, 11, 20; Juv. 10, 36; 11, 192); but the former belonged to such only as had ordinarily the 'sella curulis,' its symbol and survival (Mommsen, Staatsr. i. p. 377, 379); and would therefore naturally be out of place for tribunes.

9. **annua**. This or 'annuum' are marginal corrections of the MS. 'annū.' In either case the word appears superfluous; and it is suggested with probability by Nipp. that the text preserves part of a marginal note which had explained 'mox' by 'post annum.'

10. **evenisset**, sc. 'sorte:' 'obvenire' is thus used 3. 33, 1; 4. 56, 3; Agr. 6, 4; and both verbs thus by Livy, etc.

11. **Hic . . . status erat**. An important date in connection with this mutiny is furnished by the eclipse (see c. 28, 1) which marks its close. Though the precise locality of the 'castra aestiva' is unknown, some inference as to the rapidity of communication within the empire may still be drawn from the fact that, between August 19 and September 26, time was

seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod mutatus princeps
licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello spem praemiorum osten-
debat. castris aestivis tres simul legiones habebantur, prae- 2
sidente Iunio Blaeso, qui fine Augusti et initiis Tiberii auditis
ob iustitium aut gaudium intermiserat solita munia. eo principio 3
lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi cuiusque sermonibus praebere
aures, denique luxum et otium cupere, disciplinam et laborem
aspernari. erat in castris Percennius quidam, dux olim thea- 4
tralium operarum, dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere
coetus histrionali studio doctus. is inperitos animos et quaenam 5
post Augustum militiae condicio ambigentes inpellere paulatim

found, (1) for the news of the death of Augustus to reach Pannonia, (2) for the mutiny to develop itself, and for news of it to reach Rome, (3) for the march of Drusus and a considerable force from Rome to the spot. For many other such evidences, see Friedländer, ii. p. 18, etc. Dio. (57. 3, 1) may be right in saying that Tiberius had already suspicions of this and the German army, when he hesitated to accept the principate; but the mutiny can hardly have been already known to have broken out, as Suet. (Tib. 25) states.

**Pannonicas.** Pannonia was among the most important Caesarian provinces, its 'legatus' being always of consular rank (see Introd. vii. p. 16). It extended along the Danube from Vienna to Belgrade; in other directions its limits are at this time not clearly marked, most of Illyricum being placed under its 'legatus,' and that name sometimes interchanged with it (e.g. c. 46, 1); though the maritime part of Illyricum, the 'Delmatia' of 4. 5, 5, was at this time separately governed by P. Dolabella (Vell. 2. 125, 5). See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 138, 144.

1. **nullis novis causis**: this is best taken as abl. abs.

3. **tres simul legiones.** These are specified in c. 23, 6; 30, 4. On their full titles, see Introd. vii. p. 104. The winter quarters of each legion were usually separate (see 2. 57, 2, etc.), or at most two were quartered together (c. 39, 2; 45, 1). Domitian enforced more strictly the separation of the legions ('geminari legionum castra prohibuit' Suet. Dom. 7).

4. **Iunio Blaeso.** Inscriptions, cited by Nipp., show that Blaesus had been proconsul of Sicily after his praetorship, and consul suffectus in 763, A.D. 10. Afterwards we hear of him as having for his nephew Seianus, through whose influence he became 'extra sortem' proconsul of Africa, and gained the 'triumphalia' and the title of 'imperator' (3. 35, 2; 72, 6; 74, 6); and at whose fall he perished (see 5. 7, 2).

5. **aut gaudium.** Nipp. brackets these words as an insertion; but it is certainly in the manner of Tacitus to add such an alternative clause, answering to 'initiis Tiberii:' though the 'iustitium' is sufficient reason by itself for suspension of military activity, and is referred to as such in the case of the German army (c. 50, 1).

8. **dux . . . theatralium operarum** There seems to be no reason why any persons employed in theatres as scene-shifters, stage-carpenters, etc., should not be called 'theatrales operae;' but from the mention here of a body organized under a 'dux,' and from the special acquirement of Percennius ('miscere coetus . . . doctus'), it is generally inferred that the 'operae' here spoken of were the professional 'claqueurs,' of whose existence there is abundant evidence (see Friedländer, ii. p. 430; Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 520), and whose 'fuglemen' are styled 'duces' (Suet. Ner. 20), or 'signiferi' (Id. 26), or 'capita factionum' (Id. Tib. 37). Such service in applauding is itself spoken of as 'theatralis opera' in Plin. Epp. 7. 24, 7, and is here called 'histrionale studium;' an expression apparently equivalent to the 'histrionalis favor' of Dial. 29, 3. which certainly means 'favor erga histriones.'

nocturnis conloquiis aut flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis meli-
oribus deterrimum quemque congregare.
1 **17**. Postremo promptis iam et aliis seditionis ministris velut con-
tionabundus interrogabat, cur paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tri-
2 bunis in modum servorum oboedirent. quando ausuros exposcere
remedia, nisi novum et nutantem adhuc principem precibus vel
3 armis adirent? satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum, quod tricena
aut quadragena stipendia senes et plerique truncato ex vulne-
4 ribus corpore tolerent. ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiae,
sed apud vexillum tendentes alio vocabulo eosdem labores per-
5 ferre. ac si quis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas
in terras, ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta

1. **dilapsis.** The full expression 'in tentoria dilabi' is found in H. 3. 10, 7.

3. **iam et.** Dräger notes that Tacitus, apparently for euphony, always uses this expression for 'iam etiam.' It seems therefore less desirable to follow Nipp., who separates 'promptis' from 'ministris' by placing a comma at 'iam.' These 'abettors' are distinguished from the 'duces' of the mutiny, of whom more were afterwards added to Percennius: see c. 22, 1.

**velut contionabundus.** Except here, the word seems found only in Livy, who uses it several times, and whose expression 'prope contionabundus' (3. 47, 3; 21. 53, 6) conveys the same idea as 'velut' here; that of colloquial speech so public and emphatic as almost to amount to a set harangue. It is thus in contrast to the more secret 'nocturna colloquia' of c. 16, 5.

4. **paucis.** The legion had sixty centurions, and six tribunes. See Introd. vii. p. 105.

5. **ausuros.** The regular use of the accus. with infin. where the first person ('audebimus') would be used in 'oratio recta:' Madv. § 405.

6. **nutantem,** 'tottering,' not yet firmly seated.

7. **tricena aut quadragena.** On the regular term of military service, and its prolongation by Augustus through the institution of 'vexillarii,' see Introd. vii. p. 106. It is noted by Mommsen, 'De prov. Delmatiae re militari' (C. I. L. iii. p. 282), that such long periods of service as are here mentioned are borne out by inscriptions; one of which (2014) records a soldier of thirty-three 'stipendia,' another (2818) would apparently, if complete, record one of thirty-eight, another (2710) a centurion of forty. For other such evidence, see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 525.

9. **dimissis.** This word, like 'dimitterentur' in c. 78, 2, and 'exauctorari' in c. 36, 4, is used of the fictitious discharge by which men were removed from the ranks of the legion to the condition of 'vexillarii.' If the latter are to be supposed to have been always exempt from camp duties, the 'eosdem labores' of this passage is an exaggeration. See on c. 36, 4.

10. **tendentes,** 'living in tents,' as 13. 36, 5, etc. This is nearer to the MS. 'tentes' than the alternative restoration 'retentos,' though the latter is the more usual word with 'sub vexillo,' as c. 36, 4, etc.

11. **vita superaverit,** 'outlived:' so in Caes. B. G. 6. 19, 2.

**adhuc** = 'insuper,' as 4. 55, 7; 14. 52, 2; Agr. 33, 1, etc. This use is found once in Plautus, and often in post-Augustan writers.

**diversas,** 'distant,' as 2. 60, 2; 4. 46, 3, etc.; after Vergil (Aen. 3, 4, etc.) and Ovid (Trist. 4. 2, 69).

12. **per nomen agrorum,** etc. On this use of the accus. with 'per' for a simple abl., see Introd. v. § 62; and on the genitives 'uligines paludum' and 'inculta montium,' Id. § 32. This passage affords evidence that the pecuniary gratuities given by Augustus to soldiers on discharge (see Mon. Anc. iii. 28, 37; Dio, 54. 25, 5; 55. 23, 1; and other

montium accipiant. enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infruc- 6
tuosam: denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari:
hinc vestem arma tentoria, hinc saevitiam centurionum et vaca-
tiones munerum redimi. at hercule verbera et vulnera, duram 7
hiemem, exercitas aestates, bellum atrox aut sterilem pacem
sempiterna. nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub legibus 8
militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus decumus
stipendii annus finem adferret, ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur,
set isdem in castris praemium pecunia solveretur. an praetorias 9

references in Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 453) had been discontinued, and an assignment of land substituted.

1. **enimvero**, used, like ἀλλὰ μήν, to anticipate an objection, such as, that soldiers might save out of their pay.

2. **denis in diem assibus**: see below, on 'singulos denarios.'

3. **hinc vestem**, etc. The enactment stated (Plut. C. Gracch. 5, 837) to have been procured by Gracchus, providing the soldier with clothing at the public cost, must have become obsolete; while the later enactments providing for their arms and equipment (see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 94) had not yet come into force. From the absence of any allusion to food, it appears that they received rations of corn besides their pay, a privilege not granted to the praetorians till the time of Nero (see 15. 72, 1; Suet. Ner. 10).

**saevitiam centurionum et vacationes munerum**: both expressions denote the same practice. If centurions knew that a soldier had money to spare, they laid additional tasks on him to make him purchase furlough or exemption. A full description of this system, and of the demoralisation resulting from it, is given in H. 1. 86.

4. **redimi.** This verb can be used, in different senses, as well with 'saevitiam' as with 'vacationes;' having often the meaning of 'buying off' what is unpleasant, as well as of 'buying' what is desirable. It would not however be used with equal propriety of the stoppages for necessaries, such as clothes, etc.; so that for these the sense of the simple verb 'emi' appears to be supplied from its compound, as 'petivere' from the following 'repetivere' in 15. 11, 2.

**hercule.** This points the contrast between scanty pay and abundant hardships.

5. **exercitas**, 'spent in toil:' cp. 'aestatem inquietam exercitamque' Pl. Epp. 7. 2, 2. So Tacitus has 'exercita militia' c. 35, 2.

6. **certis . . . legibus**, 'fixed conditions,' as opposed to the illusory rules by which their discharge was now delayed.

7. **singulos denarios.** Pliny, in his account (N. H. 33. 3, 13, 45) of the lowering of the copper standard in the Hannibalic war, whereby the 'as' became only $\frac{1}{18}$ of the 'denarius,' adds 'in militari tamen stipendio semper denarius pro decem assibus datus;' which may be explained to mean that the soldiers received the same fraction of the 'denarius' as before. At that time their pay is reckoned by Polybius (6. 39, 12) at two obols or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the 'denarius' $= 5\frac{1}{3}$ of the reduced 'asses.' It would appear that subsequently, when the pay was nominally doubled by Julius Caesar (Suet. Jul. 26), it was really raised, not to $10\frac{2}{3}$, but only to 10 'asses,' and that the account given by Pliny is so far untrue. But they now demand, not merely this extra fraction, but the full 'denarius,' alleging that the praetorians, whose pay was, by regulation, only the double of theirs (Dio, 53. 11, 5), received actually two full 'denarii,' = 32 'asses.' For further information, see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. pp. 92–94. It has been thought that we have here the exaggeration of the speaker, and that the pay of the praetorians cannot really have been so much greater. It is certainly observable that this grievance is throughout less prominent than that of the delayed discharge (see c. 19, 4, etc.), and that the concessions offered even in the extreme crisis (c. 36, 4) contain no allusion to it.

**sextus decimus**: the limit of the earlier regulation of Augustus (Dio, 54. 25, 6).

9. **isdem in castris**, i.e. at the time

cohortes, quae binos denarios acceperint, quae post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddantur, plus periculorum suscipere? non obtrectari a se urbanas excubias: sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e contuberniis hostem aspici.

1 **18.** Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis, hi verberum
notas, illi canitiem, plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus
2 exprobrantes. postremo eo furoris venere, ut tres legiones mis-
3 cere in unam agitaverint. depulsi aemulatione, quia suae quisque
legioni eum honorem quaerebant, alio vertunt atque una tres
4 aquilas et signa cohortium locant; simul congerunt caespites,
5 exstruunt tribunal, quo magis conspicua sedes foret. prope-
rantibus Blaesus advenit, increpabatque ac retinebat singulos,
clamitans 'mea potius caede imbuite manus: leviore flagitio

and place of their discharge. This is opposed to 'ultra . . . tenerentur,' as 'pecunia' is to the assignations of land above mentioned.

1. **acceperint**, the marginal correction of the MS. text 'accepit.' The tense refers back to the time (727, B. C. 27) when double pay was assigned to the praetorians (Dio, 53. 11, 5).

**post sedecim annos.** Instances of longer service among praetorians are found, but may probably have been voluntary. An inscription (Henzen 6846) mentions one of thirty years' service.

3. **obtrectari.** This verb has an accus. of the thing in Liv. 45. 37, 6. Here it is ironical. 'We do not speak disrespectfully of a sentinel's watch in Rome; but our quarters are among savage races, with the enemy in sight.' On the dative 'sibi,' see Introd. v. § 18.

5. **Adstrepebat**, 'were chiming in.' The word is post-Augustan, and rare except in Tacitus, who often uses it; repeating this expression, 11. 17, 5; 12. 34, 4; H. 2. 90, 2.

7. **exprobrantes**, 'showing indignantly.' See the similar description in c. 35, 1.

**eo furoris.** Nipp. points out that the object of confusing the legions might be to make their comparative guilt indistinguishable. The atrocity of the act would consist in its being a violation not merely of 'esprit de corps,' but of the 'cultus' of the emperor and the eagles, of which each legion was a separate centre: see c. 39, 7; 4. 2, 4, etc.

9. **eum honorem.** The distinction, though not expressly mentioned, must be supposed to be that of giving its name to the combined body.

10. **signa cohortium.** Vegetius (2, 13) states that in his time the legionary cohorts had their distinctive ensigns ('dracones'); but Nipp. maintains that at this date the cohort can only be shown to be distinguished by the 'vexilla' of its three maniples (see c. 34, 4). On the other hand, Marquardt (Staatsv. ii. p. 425), referring to a passage in Caesar (B. G. 2. 25, 1), 'quartae cohortis . . . signifero interfecto, signo amisso,' thinks that special ensigns of cohorts must have existed, and are here meant.

11. **exstruunt tribunal.** Such a platform is called 'suggestus' in c. 44, 4, and, besides giving dignity to the place where the eagles and standards were collected, would serve as a 'rostrum' for the speakers.

**properantibus.** Such a case of the participle is found with 'advenit' H. 4. 62, 3; Liv. 9, 5, 11, and is probably here a dative like 'pectori adcreverat' c. 19, 1 (Introd. v. § 21), but might also be taken as abl. abs. (Id. § 31 c).

13. **leviore flagitio.** Nipp. notes here the condensation of expression by which a modal ablative contains the predicate of a sentence, and is equivalent to 'levius flagitium erit, si,' etc.: other such instances are 'minore discrimine sumi principem quam quaeri' (H. 1. 56, 5), and 'maiore animo tolerari adversa quam relinqui' (H. 2. 46, 4). Somewhat similar is 'minore detrimento . . . vinci' Sall. Jug. 54, 5.

legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore desciscitis. aut inco- 6
lumis fidem legionum retinebo, aut iugulatus paenitentiam ad-
celerabo.'

**19.** Aggerabatur nihilo minus caespes iamque pectori usque 1
adcreverat, cum tandem pervicacia victi inceptum omisere.
Blaesus multa dicendi arte non per seditionem et turbas desi- 2
deria militum ad Caesarem ferenda ait, neque veteres ab im-
peratoribus priscis neque ipsos a divo Augusto tam nova peti-
visse; et parum in tempore incipientes principis curas onerari.
si tamen tenderent in pace temptare quae ne civilium quidem 3
bellorum victores expostulaverint, cur contra morem obsequii,
contra fas disciplinae vim meditentur? decernerent legatos seque
coram mandata darent. adclamavere ut filius Blaesi tribunus 4
legatione ea fungeretur peteretque militibus missionem ab se-
decim annis: cetera mandaturos, ubi prima provenissent. pro- 5
fecto iuvene modicum otium: sed superbire miles, quod filius
legati orator publicae causae satis ostenderet necessitate expressa
quae per modestiam non obtinuissent.

**20.** Interea manipuli ante coeptam seditionem Nauportum 1

4. **Aggerabatur.** This correction of Walther is supported by c. 61, 3, etc., and by the fact that the MS. text 'aggerebatur' should have been written 'adgerebatur,' in consistency with such places as 2. 57, 3, etc., and with the orthography of the MS. in similar words, as here 'adcelerabo' and 'adcreverat.'

**pectori . . . adcreverat.** A similar dative is used with 'advolutus' (c. 23, 2), with 'adrepere' (c. 74, 2; 3. 50, 5), etc.: cp. 'adpulsas litori' (H. 4. 84, 4, from Verg. Aen. 7, 39); also Introd. v. § 21.

6. **multa dicendi arte.** This should be taken as an abl. of quality: see Introd. v. § 29.

**desideria,** used especially under the empire of requests or petitions, as of soldiers (c. 26, 4; Suet. Aug. 17), and of provinces (Plin. Pan. 79).

9. **parum in tempore . . . onerari,** 'it was a most inopportune aggravation.' For this use of 'in tempore' (= ἐν καιρῷ) cp. 3. 41, 3; and for that of 'onerari,' H. 2. 52, 3.

11. **cur . . . meditentur.** Ernesti's correction 'meditarentur' has been rejected by all modern editors. In cases where either the subjunct. pres. or imperf. might be used, they are sometimes interchanged (cp. H. 4. 81, 4, and other instances here given by Nipp.): besides which, special reasons, as Mr. Frost has noted, can be seen here for the use of the present; as 'si . . . tenderent' puts a supposition, while 'cur . . . meditentur' implies a fact.

13. **filius Blaesi,** probably the same who served afterwards under his father in Africa (3. 74, 2), and one of the two whose deaths are mentioned in 6. 40, 3.

14. **ab sedecim,** 'after sixteen years.' The same expression is used c. 26, 2: cp. 'a summa spe' 6. 50, 8; 'ab hac contione' Liv. 24. 22, 6, etc.

15. **provenissent.** The use of this word in the sense of 'to prosper' (as 4. 12, 3, etc.) is frequent in Tacitus, and almost peculiar to him.

16. **filius . . . orator . . . ostenderet.** On this concise construction, see Introd. v. § 55 b, 2.

17. **expressa,** 'extorted:' so c. 39, 3; 78, 3; and often in Livy.

18. **obtinuissent,** potential subjunctive: see Introd. v. § 51.

19. **Nauportum.** This town was close

missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus, postquam turbatum in
castris accepere, vexilla convellunt direptisque proximis vicis
ipsoque Nauporto, quod municipii instar erat, retinentis cen-
turiones inrisu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus insectantur,
praecipua in Aufidienum Rufum praefectum castrorum ira, quem
dereptum vehiculo sarcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine,
per ludibrium rogitantes an tam immensa onera, tam longa itinera
2 libenter ferret. quippe Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio,
mox castris praefectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat,
vetus operis ac laboris et eo inmitior, quia toleraverat.
1 **21**. Horum adventu redintegratur seditio, et vagi circumiecta
2 populabantur. Blaesus paucos, maxime praeda onustos, ad ter-
rorem ceterorum adfici verberibus, claudi carcere iubet; nam
etiam tum legato a centurionibus et optimo quoque manipularium
3 parebatur. illi obniti trahentibus, prensare circumstantium genua,
ciere modo nomina singulorum, modo centuriam quisque cuius

to the frontier of Italy (Vell. 2. 110, 4), and is identified with Ober-Laybach in Carniola. It is described below as of the size and character of a municipal town (cp. 'in modum municipii exstructus locus' H. 1. 67, 4; Id. 4. 22, 1), but its importance was probably diminished by the subsequent foundation of a colony near it at Emona (Laybach): see Pl. N. H. 3. 24, 28, 147.

1. **ob itinera.** The employment of detachments ('vexilla') of the legions in road-making is attested by numerous inscriptions, e. g. Henzen 6621, and many others cited by Marquardt (Staatsv. ii. p. 450).

5. **praefectum castrorum.** These officers are frequently mentioned from the time of Augustus, and seem usually to have been promoted from the rank of centurion (cp. 13. 9, 3, with 39, 2), as a reward of long service (Veget. 2, 10). Even in a camp containing several legions, one praefect only is usually found (e.g. c. 23, 4; 32, 6); though Velleius (2. 119, 4) mentions two with the army of Varus. His connection with the legions is thus accidental, and he has not the recognised power of a commanding officer (see c. 38, 2); but from the institution of Domitian, by which each legion has always a separate camp (Suet. Dom. 7), the 'praefectus castrorum legionis' acquires in time the title of 'praefectus legionis,' and ultimately takes the place of the 'legatus legionis.' See Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 444.

6. **vehiculo.** From a comparison of 'corpori derepta' (13. 57, 7), this would appear to be a dative. Otherwise the verb more often takes an ablative. Both constructions are poetical.

10. **vetus operis.** This emendation of Lipsius for the MS. 'intus' is generally adopted; such a genitive with 'vetus' being in accordance with the usage of Tacitus (as in 6. 12, 2; 44, 1, etc.), and suited to 'quia toleraverat.' The alternative emendation 'intentus' has in its favour the fact of similar accidental omissions of a syllable in the MS. (as 'reditus' for 'rediturus' 2. 63, 5); and though no genitive with this word is found, such a construction would be analogous to 'ferox scelerum' (4. 12, 3), or other genitives of relation.

13. **carcere.** Such a place of custody formed part of all 'castra stativa:' cp. 'militari custodia' 3. 22, 5; 'longo castrorum in carcere mansit' Juv. 6, 560.

14. **etiam tum.** This period is distinguished from the complete break-down of discipline described in c. 23.

16. **centuriam ... cuius manipularis erat,** 'the century in whose ranks he served.' 'Manipularis' is related no less to 'centuria' than to 'manipulus,' being merely a term for the rank and file of a

manipularis erat, cohortem, legionem, eadem omnibus inminere
clamitantes. simul probra in legatum cumulant, caelum ac deos 4
obtestantur, nihil reliqui faciunt quominus invidiam misericor-
diam metum et iras permoverent. adcurritur ab universis, et 5
carcere effracto solvunt vincula desertoresque ac rerum capitalium
damnatos sibi iam miscent.

**22.** Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces. et Vibulenus 1
quidam gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blaesi adlevatus circum-
stantium umeris, apud turbatos et quid pararet intentos 'vos
quidem' inquit 'his innocentibus et miserrimis lucem et spiritum
reddidistis: sed quis fratri meo vitam, quis fratrem mihi reddit?
quem missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu de communibus
commodis nocte proxima iugulavit per gladiatores suos, quos in
exitium militum habet atque armat. responde, Blaese, ubi 2
cadaver abieceris: ne hostes quidem sepultura invident. cum 3
osculis, cum lacrimis dolorem meum implevero, me quoque
trucidari iube, dum interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati
legionum consulebamus, hi sepeliant.'

legion as distinct from its officers: cp. 'manipularis, dein centurio' (c. 20, 2).

2. **probra in legatum cumulant.** This construction 'cumulare aliquid in aliquem' is almost confined to Tacitus: cp. 13. 2, 5; 14. 53, 2. Curtius has 'cumulare . . . res in unum diem.'

3. **nihil reliqui faciunt,** 'leave nothing undone.' The phrase is used in this sense in Caes. B. G. 2. 26, 5; Sall. Cat. 11, 7; and Atticus (ap. Nep. 21, 5); as also 'nihil reliquum fieri' Sall. Jug. 76, 4; the expression being in all places negative. On the genitive, see Introd. v. § 32 f.

**quominus.** This word has here the force of 'quin,' as in several other passages of Tacitus (5. 5, 2; 13. 14, 3; 14. 39, 2, etc.), but, according to Dräger, in no other author.

4. **permoverent,** 'stir to their depths.' In the use of this word with an accus. of the feeling excited (as 3. 23, 1; 16. 32, 2) Tacitus is preceded only by Quintilian (12. 10, 36). The imperfect is adapted to the really past force of the historic present: see Introd. v. § 48.

6. **iam.** This would most naturally be taken (as by Mr. Frost) in the sense of ἤδη = 'from this point,' as 'cetera iam fabulosa' (G. 46, 5); but it may be doubted whether the word is thus made sufficiently forcible. Walther would take it to mean δή ('even associate with themselves'), and considers that in H. 1. 15, 8, 'etiam' has similarly the force of καὶ δή.

7. **plures seditioni duces.** These are distinguished from the 'ministri' previously abetting Percennius (c. 17, 1). On the dative, see Introd. v. § 19.

9. **quid pararet intentos,** 'watching what he would do.' No other instance is noted of such a construction, which is due to the desire of brevity; 'intentos' being used for 'intente observantes.'

13. **gladiatores.** Provincial governors usually kept a troop of gladiators, to court popularity by shows (see Friedl. ii. p. 327); till the practice was forbidden by Nero: see 13. 31, 4.

14. **ubi . . . abieceris;** equivalent to 'ubi abiectum reliqueris:' cp. 'abiecti in via cadaveris' Suet. Ner. 48; 'eo loco . . . abiecit' Id. Galb. 20.

15. **sepultura invident.** The complete form of this construction would have also a dative of the person. It is noticed by Quint. (9. 3, 1) among the conceits of his day, 'paene iam, quidquid loquimur, figura est, ut hac re invidere, non, ut omnes veteres et Cicero praecipue, huic rei.' It is especially common in the Epistles of Pliny (as 2. 10, 2, etc.), but is found earlier, as 'non invi-

1 **23**. Incendebat haec fletu et pectus atque os manibus ver-
2 berans. mox disiectis quorum per umeros sustinebatur, praeceps
et singulorum pedibus advolutus tantum consternationis invi-
diaeque concivit, ut pars militum gladiatores qui e servitio Blaesi
erant, pars ceteram eiusdem familiam vincirent, alii ad quae-
3 rendum corpus effunderentur. ac ni propere neque corpus ullum
reperiri, et servos adhibitis cruciatibus abnuere caedem, neque
illi fuisse umquam fratrem pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio
4 legati aberant. tribunos tamen ac praefectum castrorum extru-
sere, sarcinae fugientium direptae, et centurio Lucilius interficitur,
cui militaribus facetiis vocabulum 'cedo alteram' indiderant, quia
fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam
5 poscebat. ceteros latebrae texere, uno retento Clemente Iulio,
qui perferendis militum mandatis habebatur idoneus ob promp-
6 tum ingenium. quin ipsae inter se legiones octava et quinta
decuma ferrum parabant, dum centurionem cognomento Sirpicum

derunt laude sua mulieribus' (Liv. 2. 40, 11), and 'invidet igne rogi miseris' (Luc. 7, 798). Walther explains it as a Latin equivalent of the Greek genitive with *φθονεῖν*, which is also directly imitated in Latin, as 'neque ille sepositi ciceris, nec longae invidit avenae' (Hor. Sat. 2. 6, 84).

1. **Incendebat haec**, 'he was giving these words more power to kindle:' cp. 'sermones audita mors . . . incendit' (2. 82, 4), and 'haec accendebat' (c. 69, 7). The expression is derived from such Vergilian metaphors as 'pudor incendit vires' (Aen. 5, 455), and 'incendentem luctus' (9, 500).

3. **pedibus advolutus.** This construction here, and in c. 32, 4, is analogous to that of 'pectori adcreverat' c. 19, 1. Elsewhere Tacitus uses the accusative with this verb, as c. 13, 7, etc.

8. **pernotuisset.** Besides Tacitus (cp. 12. 67, 1; 13. 25, 2; 14. 8, 2) Quintilian alone appears to use this word. A similar anecdote to this, though without the additional touch, that no such brother had existed, occurs in early Roman history (Liv. 3. 13; 24). Bacon (De Augm. vi. 4, sub fin.), confounding Vibulenus with Percennius, illustrates from this story some striking remarks on the force of 'Actio Theatralis.'

9. **aberant.** On this indicative, as on 'ferrum parabant . . . ni' below, see Introd. v. § 50 b. The latter passage gives the usual order of the clauses, the priority of the dependent clause being noted by Dräger as a rarity, here, and H. 4. 18, 1.

11. **vocabulum.** This word is often used for a proper name, as c. 8, 4, etc. That it here means a nickname is indicated by 'militaribus facetiis,' as in c. 41, 3, by 'militari vocabulo.' Another such military 'soubriquet' ('manu ad ferrum') is called 'signum' by Vopiscus (Aurel. 6, 2).

12. **vite.** The vine-rod is the 'insigne' of the centurion (cp. 'vitem posce' Juv. 14, 193), and was specially reserved for the punishment of the citizen soldier. Thus Scipio at Numantia, according to Livy (Epit. 57), 'quem militem extra ordinem deprehendit, si Romanus esset, vitibus, si extraneus, fustibus cecidit.' Hence Pliny (N. H. 14. 1, 3, 19) says of it 'etiam in delictis poenam ipsam honorat.'

14. **perferendis . . . mandatis . . . idoneus.** The use of 'idoneus' with a gerundive dative (cp. Quint. 2. 10, 6) is one of many such usages in post-Augustan Latin. Dr. instances those of 'callidus,' 'opportunus,' 'inhabilis,' and 'aptus.' 'Perferre' has often in Tacitus the sense of 'delivering a message,' as c. 26, 1; 57, 3; 3. 10, 2; 14. 7, 1.

16. **dum.** This conjunction is constantly thus used by Tacitus where not only a

illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tuentur, ni miles nonanus preces et adversum aspernantis minas interiecisset.

**24.** Haec audita quamquam abstrusum et tristissima quaeque 1 maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere ut Drusum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque praetoriis cohortibus mitteret, nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturum. et cohortes 2 delecto milite supra solitum firmatae. additur magna pars 3 praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant; simul praetorii praefectus Aelius Seianus, collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud Tiberium auctoritate, rector iuveni et ceteris periculorum praemiorumque osten-

temporal but a causal connection is indicated: cp. c. 50, 1; 54, 3; 2. 8, 3; 88, 4; 3. 19, 3; 6. 7, 6, etc. See Dräger, Synt. and Stil, § 168, and a complete collection of instances in Gerber and Greef, Lex. s. v.

**cognomento Sirpicum.** 'Cognomentum' usually denotes a real name (cp. 2. 9, 2; 60, 3, etc.), and Nipp. appears rightly to contend that such is here intended, though no such name as 'Sirpicus' is otherwise known: a nickname would probably have been explained, as 'cedo alteram' above, or 'Caligula,' c. 41, 3.

1. **morti deposcit,** 'demands for death,' i. e. 'with a view to his death.' On this dative of work contemplated, see Introd. v. § 22 c; also note on c. 51, 4, and Madv. § 249.

3. **abstrusum,** 'reserved.' This word appears to be only here used of persons. Similar uses of 'tectus,' 'occultus,' etc. are frequent in Tacitus, but less peculiar to him.

5. **primoribus civitatis.** This term is used in 3. 65, 2, in contradistinction to the mass even of consulars, and probably implies family nobility as well as personal rank. One of those sent on this occasion is mentioned by name (c. 27, 1), Cn. Lentulus.

6. **nullis satis certis mandatis.** Nipp. notes that Tacitus often tolerates three 'homoeoteleuta,' as in c. 5, 5 ('properis matris literis'), and in one place five, 'ignis, patulis magis urbis locis' (15. 40, 2).

**ex re consulturum,** 'to decide according to circumstances:' so 'ex memoria' (2. 63, 1); 'ex delicto' (3. 27, 2); and the common expressions 'ex sententia,' etc.

7. **delecto,** i. e. chosen from the other cohorts.

8. **praetoriani equitis.** On this force, see Introd. vii. p. 107; also Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. 462.

**Germanorum.** A body of Batavian horsemen had been attached to the person of Augustus (Dio, 55. 24, 7). These and any other Germans of the bodyguard had been dismissed after the defeat of Varus (Suet. Aug. 49), but had evidently been already restored. A similar force is mentioned under Gaius (Suet. Cal. 43), and Nero (13. 18, 4; 15. 58, 2), but their dismissal by Galba (Suet. Galb. 12) was probably final, as Tacitus speaks of them in the past. Marquardt (Staatsv. ii. 471) refers to several inscriptions showing that they were not slaves, yet not strictly considered soldiers, not being organized in 'centuriae' or 'turmae,' but as a 'collegium' divided into 'decuriae.'

9. **Seianus.** Here first mentioned. His early history is given in 4. 1. His father has been mentioned (c. 7, 3).

10. **collega.** Maecenas is represented (Dio, 52. 24, 1) as advising Augustus, as a measure of safety, to share the 'praefectura praetorii' between two; and this was generally the rule, though with many exceptions, such as the sole command later of Seianus, of Macro, of Burrus (12. 42, 2), Arrius Varus (H. 4. 2, 1), etc. All other 'praefecturae' were administered by a single praefect: see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 831.

11. **rector iuveni.** On the dative, see Introd. v. § 19.

**ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator,** 'to hold before the rest their perils and rewards.' 'Ceteri' must apparently refer only to the troops sent from Rome, as the legions do not

4 tator. Druso propinquanti quasi per officium obviae fuere le-
giones, non laetae, ut adsolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed
inluvie deformi et vultu, quamquam maestitiam imitarentur, con-
tumaciae propiores.

1 **25.** Postquam vallum introiit, portas stationibus firmant, globos
armatorum certis castrorum locis opperiri iubent: ceteri tribunal
2 ingenti agmine circumveniunt. stabat Drusus silentium manu
poscens. illi quotiens oculos ad multitudinem rettulerant, vocibus
truculentis strepere, rursum viso Caesare trepidare; murmur in-
certum, atrox clamor et repente quies; diversis animorum motibus
3 pavebant terrebantque. tandem interrupto tumultu literas patris
recitat, in quis perscriptum erat, praecipuam ipsi fortissimarum
legionum curam, quibuscum plurima bella toleravisset; ubi
primum a luctu requiesset animus, acturum apud patres de pos-
tulatis eorum; misisse interim filium, ut sine cunctatione con-
cederet quae statim tribui possent; cetera senatui servanda, quem
neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi par esset.

appear in view till the next sentence. The praetorians, whose privileges were the eyesore of the legions (c. 17, 9), were not likely to make common cause with them, but might flinch from confronting them. Hence their own commanding officer, whose influence with the princeps was a guarantee that he could make good his words, is specially charged to warn them how much they had to lose or gain by their behaviour.

1. **per officium,** 'by way of respect:' cp. 6. 50, 4; 12. 56, 4, etc., and, for the use of 'per,' Introd. v. § 62.

2. **neque insignibus fulgentes,** 'nor glittering with decorations,' i.e. with the 'dona militaria' (cp. c. 44, 7; 3. 21, 3, etc.), which formed the full dress of the Roman soldier. The eagles and standards might also be more or less adorned, to show joy (15. 29, 4) or mourning (3. 2, 2).

5. **portas stationibus firmant,** etc. These precautions appear intended to bar the entrance of the force with Drusus, the main body of which appears to have remained outside (see c. 30, 1), though some escort entered with him (cp. 'ut quis praetorianorum,' etc., c. 27, 1). From the fact that the winter camp of one or more of the legions was chosen by Lentulus as a refuge, and had been previously occupied by Drusus and his retinue (cp. 'repetentem' c. 27, 2), it is inferred that it was near, and may have formed the night quarters of the praetorians, who appear to be now watching the issue close outside the gates of the summer camp (cp. 'adcursu multitudinis' c. 27, 3).

7. **stabat.** Nipp. notices that the verb is here, as often, placed first to give liveliness to the description: cp. 'stabant' (c. 44, 4), 'incedebat' (c. 40, 4), etc.; and the present, as 'sternuntur,' etc. c. 70, 4.

9. **murmur incertum,** etc., 'there were confused utterances, fierce cries, and sudden lulls; they were terrified or terrible as their emotions changed.' 'Pavere' and 'terrere' stand thus in contrast in c. 29, 3, and answer here to the 'quies' and 'clamor' above. In the passage of Silius (10, 396), which Tacitus seems to have in mind, 'clamor saepe repens et saepe silentia fixis in tellurem oculis,' the cries and silence are both marks of fear.

13. **plurima bella.** This refers to the earlier war from 742 to 745, B.C. 12–9, and to the great rebellion of 759–762, A.D. 6–9. See Introd. viii. pp. 114, 115.

16. **quem neque,** etc., 'which should not be treated as having no right to concede or to resist.' The opposition between 'severitas' and 'largitio' in c. 36, 3, seems to show that this is its meaning here in opposition to 'gratia.' Nipp. takes it as alluding to the power to punish,

**26.** Responsum est a contione, mandata Clementi centurioni 1
quae perferret. is orditur de missione a sedecim annis, de 2
praemiis finitae militiae, ut denarius diurnum stipendium foret,
ne veterani sub vexillo haberentur. ad ea Drusus cum arbitrium
senatus et patris obtenderet, clamore turbatur. cur venisset 3
neque augendis militum stipendiis neque adlevandis laboribus,
denique nulla bene faciendi licentia? at hercule verbera et necem
cunctis permitti. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria le- 4
gionum frustrari solitum: easdem artes Drusum rettulisse. num- 5
quamne ad se nisi filios familiarum venturos? novum id plane
quod imperator sola militis commoda ad senatum reiciat. eundem 6
ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut proelia indi-
cantur: an praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro esse?

which appears to be its meaning in c. 46, 2, etc. Here, however, the only question thus reserved by Drusus is whether certain concessions should be made or not (c. 26, 5). The suggestion below (c. 26, 6), that if the senate be consulted on military rewards it should also be consulted on punishments, is thrown out by the soldiers themselves, to show that they saw through the pretext.

4. **arbitrium . . . obtenderet**, 'was pleading the authority;' i. e. that they must decide on such requests. 'Obtendere' is often thus used by Tacitus, as also by Quint. and Pl. min., in speaking of a plea or pretext, e g. 3. 17, 2; 35, 2, etc.: cp. the substantive 'obtentui' (c. 10, 1, etc.).

6. **augendis**. On this gerundive dative, see Introd. v. § 22 b.

8. **cunctis**, a rhetorical exaggeration. Even the centurion had his vine-rod (see c. 23, 4); but capital punishment could be inflicted on a soldier, in Caesarian provinces, by no lower officer than the 'legatus Augusti;' in senatorial provinces, not even by the proconsul. See Dio, 53. 13, 6.

9. **rettulisse**, 'had repeated:' cp. 4. 4, 3; also 'veterem Valeriae gentis . . . laudem rettulisset' (Cic. Flacc. 1, 1); 'cum aditus consul idem illud responsum rettulit' (Liv. 37. 6, 7); 'nota refert meretricis acumina' (Hor. Epp. 1. 17, 55).

**numquamne ad se nisi.** Nearly all editors have followed Lipsius in thus transposing the MS. text 'numquamne nisi ad se:' so also 'adversum ferri' (c. 65, 7) has been treated as an error of transposition. This general agreement makes it needless to examine Walther's explanation of the words as they stand in the MS., as an exaggeration put into the mouth of the speaker, making the grievance peculiar to themselves.

10. **filios familiarum**, i e. persons not 'sui iuris.' The incompetence to redress a military grievance has no real connection with the disabilities of a 'filius-familias;' which may be illustrated by the account of Tiberius after his adoption (Suet. Tib. 15), 'neque donavit neque manumisit, ne hereditatem quidem aut legata percepit aliter, quam ut peculio referret accepta.' The word is thus contemptuous rather than relevant, and merely means, 'Are our rulers never themselves to visit us?'

**novum id plane.** The main stress is laid upon 'commoda;' but 'militis' is also emphatic in relation to 'imperator.' That the senate could in no way interfere with military matters not specially referred to it, is plain from 6. 3, 1; and such reference to it here, as in c. 6, 5, appears to be an evasive devolution of responsibility. On the practice of Tiberius, see note on c. 52, 2.

13. **sub dominis**; this is used invidiously, 'under despotism.' Augustus and Tiberius alike repudiate the title of 'dominus' as an insult. See 2. 87, 2; Suet. Aug. 53; Tib. 27.

**sine arbitro**, 'wholly uncontrolled.' The word is used of mere intervention, as 'Armenii sine arbitro relicti sunt' 15. 17, 5; 'mortem sine arbitro permittens' 16. 11, 6.

1 **27.** Postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis praetorianorum mili-
tum amicorumve Caesaris occurreret, manus intentantes, causam
discordiae et initium armorum, maxime infensi Cn. Lentulo,
quod is ante alios aetate et gloria belli firmare Drusum crede-
2 batur et illa militiae flagitia primus aspernari. nec multo post
digredientem cum Caesare ac provisu periculi hiberna castra
repetentem circumsistunt, rogitantes quo pergeret, ad impera-
torem an ad patres, ut illic quoque commodis legionum adver-
3 saretur; simul ingruunt, saxa iaciunt. iamque lapidis ictu
cruentus et exitii certus adcursu multitudinis quae cum Druso
advenerat protectus est.

1 **28.** Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit:

2. **manus intentantes,** 'using threatening gestures:' cp. 3. 36, 1, etc.; and 'intenderat manus' 4. 3, 2.

**causam discordiae.** On this apposition, see Introd. v. § 12 a, and many other instances given by Nipp. here.

3. **Cn. Lentulo.** The allusion to his age and military reputation appears to show that the person intended is Cn. Cornelius L. f. Lentulus, who was cos. in 736, B. C. 18, and had gained triumphal distinctions for his victory over the Getae or Daci. See the notice of him at his death in 778, A. D. 25 (4. 44, 1). He is also evidently the person mentioned in 2. 32, 2; 3. 68, 3; 4. 29, 1.

4. **ante alios:** cp. 'nobilitate opibusque ante alios' H. 4. 55, 1; 'muri labore et opere ante alios' H. 5. 12, 1. The construction resembles others (see Introd. v. § 31 b) in which the Latins, without possessing a participle of the verb 'sum,' follow Greek constructions in which such a participle is usually employed.

6. **digredientem cum Caesare.** This reading, which has been generally adopted from a marginal correction of the MS., is still difficult to explain, and has been most fully discussed by Joh. Müller (Beiträge, sect. 3), Pfitzner (p. 114), and Wölfflin (Philol. 26, 103). It is impossible to accept the interpretation of 'cum Caesare' as equivalent to 'a Caesare,' which cannot be justified by such phrases as 'disceptare cum aliquo,' or by general Latin usage. Nor does Tacitus seem to mean that Drusus was also himself intending to retreat to the winter camp; for so important a fact would hardly have been mentioned thus incidentally. But it may be supposed that Drusus, with such small retinue as he had about him, was escorting Lentulus to the gate, outside which the main body of his own troops were waiting, and close to which the scene probably occurred. Thus 'cum Caesare' would mean 'prosequente Caesare,' as 'cum custodibus' (Sall. Cat. 46, 5), 'cum Cassio' (Id. Jug. 33, 1). But the text of the MS. has 'eum,' whence Nipp. supposes that the preposition has dropped out, and reads 'digredientem eum a Caesare.' The objection to this is that this pronoun, being superfluous, would usually be omitted by Tacitus; cp. 'abeuntem' (2. 34, 2); 'sacrificantem' (4. 52, 3), etc.: see Introd. v. § 8.

**provisu.** This word, used only in the abl., is peculiar to Tacitus, and used generally with the meaning of 'forethought.' Here, as in H. 3. 22, 3 'ne oculi quidem provisu iuvabant,' it has the force of 'foreseeing.' Cp. 'providebat' 4. 41, 3, etc.; 'ubi . . . provideri nequeat' Liv. 44. 35, 12. The more usual verb in this sense is 'praevideo.'

7. **repetentem.** See note on c. 25, 1.

10. **multitudinis,** 'the main body.' The words 'quae cum Druso advenerat' do not express their position at this moment, but merely serve to distinguish this force from the Pannonian troops. Probably, though outside (see c. 30, 1), they were close at hand, and might thus be able to see the danger of Lentulus, and to rescue him by a demonstration, if we suppose the assault to have been made when he was close to the gate, and thus evidently seen to be quitting the camp.

12. **Noctem minacem.** On such per-

nam luna claro repente caelo visa languescere. id miles rationis 2
ignarus omen praesentium accepit, suis laboribus defectionem
sideris adsimulans, prospereque cessura qua pergerent, si fulgor
et claritudo deae redderetur. igitur aeris sono, tubarum cornu- 3
umque concentu strepere; prout splendidior obscuriorve, laetari

sonifications in Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 75.

1. **claro repente.** Most editors follow Lipsius in this emendation of the MS. 'clamore pena' (see Bait. and Ritt. Halm, perhaps by a misprint, gives it as 'plena'). The position of 'repente,' though hardly natural, would be such as often results in Tacitus from an apparent desire to improve the sound of the sentence; and the eclipse, though itself gradual, may have suddenly attracted notice. Orelli follows Weissenborn in reading 'claro plena,' supposing a reminiscence of Cic. de Rep. 1. 15, 23 'quod serena nocte . . . plena luna defecisset.'

**languescere.** This word is nowhere else used of an eclipse. but Pliny (N. H. 27. 13, 109, 133) uses it of paling colour, 'color in luteum languescens.' This eclipse is fixed by astronomical calculation to Sept. 26, 3 to 7 a. m., and thus determines the chronology of these events. See note on c. 16, 1.

**rationis ignarus.** Mr. Dallin has noted the proof here given of the ignorance at this time of the legionary soldier (not the lowest class of Roman society), respecting the scientific explanation of eclipses, a truth well known to educated Romans as early as Lucretius (5, 751, etc.) and Cicero (de Divin. 2. 6, 17), and, if the story of C. Sulpicius Gallus (Liv. 44. 37) be true, even as early as B.C. 168 (see also Cic. de Rep., l. l.). A similar contrast is shown by the ignorance of the Athenian army, and even of Nicias (Thuc. 7. 50, 4), of the scientific theory which had been laid down, though in the face of much prejudice, by Anaxagoras (Plut. Nicias, c. 23), and which, from the account of Herodotus (1. 74, 3), was known even to Thales. We may notice that even Vergil (G. 2, 475) speaks in language adapted to popular superstition ('Defectus solis varios lunaeque labores'); and that this idea of a conflict with enchantment, in which the moon was to be aided by the din of metal, though deplored as a superstition by Pliny (see below), was not only rife in the time of Juvenal (Sat. 6. 442), but even, as Lipsius notes, was a belief among Christians in the time of Maximus Taurinensis (A. D. 450).

2. **suis.** Most editors have followed Freinsheim in this reading. The MS. has 'asuis,' the margin 'ac suis.' The latter is accepted by Walther, who considers that 'ac' joins 'adsimulans' to 'ignarus;' but we can hardly suppose that Tacitus would have put such a clause after 'accepit.' Pfitzner (p. 61) conjectures that 'asuis' may represent 'assiduis' (cp. 'tentes' c. 17. 4); which is supported by 'aeternum laborem' below; but we appear here to require the pronoun to show to what 'labores' those of the moon are compared.

3. **prospereque cessura qua pergerent.** Halm here follows Nipp. in reading 'qua' for 'quae,' but appears rightly to think the further alteration of 'cessura' to 'cessurum' needless. The sentence is equivalent to 'resque prospere cessuras, ea via qua pergerent,' 'that the course on which they were advancing (that of mutiny) would succeed.' The MS. 'quae,' which is retained by Orelli, might be taken as a quasi-cognate accusative, analogous to 'pergere iter,' etc., but has no direct parallel. In any interpretation, the sense of such a participle as 'putans' has to be supplied from 'adsimulans.'

4. **claritudo**: see note on c. 43, 3.

**aeris sono . . . strepere.** An explanation of this practice may be gathered from Pliny (N. H. 2. 12, 9, 54) 'misera hominum mente in defectibus scelera aut mortem aliquam siderum pavente . . . at in luna veneficia arguente mortalitate et ob id crepitu dissono auxiliante.' For other allusions to it, see Liv. 26. 5, and the passages referred to in the note above.

5. **prout splendidior obscuriorve.** If the sky was still clear of cloud (as would seem from the next sentence), and the mere progress of the eclipse is meant, Tacitus would appear to be describing not the real phenomena, but the fancies of the soldiers. It is however possible that he may mean to describe

aut maerere; et postquam ortae nubes offecere visui creditumque conditam tenebris, ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem perculsae semel mentes, sibi aeternum laborem portendi, sua facinora
4 aversari deos lamentantur. utendum inclinatione ea Caesar et quae casus obtulerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus circumiri
5 tentoria iubet; accitur centurio Clemens et si alii bonis artibus grati in vulgus. hi vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis portarum se
6 inserunt, spem offerunt, metum intendunt. 'quousque filium imperatoris obsidebimus? quis certaminum finis? Percennione et Vibuleno sacramentum dicturi sumus? Percennius et Vibulenus stipendia militibus, agros emeritis largientur? denique pro
7 Neronibus et Drusis imperium populi Romani capessent? quin potius, ut novissimi in culpam, ita primi ad paenitentiam sumus? tarda sunt quae in commune expostulantur: privatam gratiam
8 statim mereare, statim recipias.' commotis per haec mentibus et inter se suspectis, tironem a veterano, legionem a legione
9 dissociant. tum redire paulatim amor obsequii: omittunt portas, signa unum in locum principio seditionis congregata suas in sedes referunt.

something of this kind; that their spirits rose after the time of greatest obscuration was past, but that soon after this the moon became permanently hidden by clouds; and that even this common phenomenon, coupled with the eclipse, worked upon their minds.

7. **vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis portarum.** The two former of these are frequently mentioned together, as c. 32, 6; 11. 18, 3; 13. 35, 3. 'Stationes,' or 'pickets' detached on guard, would be on duty both by day and night, 'vigiliae' by night only, and the latter may be distinguished from the former, by being either (as Ritter thinks) the night-patrol charged with the duty of going round the camp, or (as Nipp. thinks) the sentinels, as distinct from the pickets. 'Custodiae portarum' are only one class of the 'stationes:' cp. 'portas stationibus firmant' (c. 26, 1).

8. **intendunt.** This verb has often in Tacitus the sense of 'augere,' but such meaning, though suitable enough, is probably not to be thought of here. The similar expression 'intento mortis metu' (c. 39, 4), and 'intenta pericula' (3. 48, 4), as well as 'offerunt' in the corresponding clause, suggest that it is here equivalent to 'intentant,' and a metaphor from threatening gestures.

9. **obsidebimus.** That Drusus was in some sense a prisoner in the camp, would appear from their conduct on his entry ('portas stationibus firmant,' etc., c. 25, 1), and from the exclusion (as has been suggested above: see c. 25, 1; 27, 3) of the main body of his escort. The statement of Dio (57. 4, 4), *καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς νυκτὸς περιεφρούρησαν, μὴ διαφύγῃ*, seems exaggerated.

12. **Neronibus et Drusis.** The plural, as in 11. 35, 2, denotes the ruling family; which represented both the 'Claudii Nerones,' and also the 'Livii Drusi.'

13. **in culpam . . . ad paenitentiam:** cp. 'in audaciam . . . ad formidinem' (4. 51, 3), and other such change of prepositions for the sake of variety (Introd. v. § 87). That those addressed, as well as the speakers, are among the less guilty, is skilfully assumed to quiet their fears (Nipp.).

15. **mereare . . . recipias,** potential subjunctives. See Introd. v. § 51.

16. **tironem.** This word, here and in c. 42, 7, seems extended to include all who had not completed their term of service. Elsewhere, as in 2. 78, 3, it has its ordinary meaning.

**29.** Drusus orto die et vocata contione, quamquam rudis 1
dicendi, nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat praesentia;
negat se terrore et minis vinci: flexos ad modestiam si videat,
si supplices audiat, scripturum patri ut placatus legionum preces
exciperet. orantibus rursum idem Blaesus et L. Apronius, eques 2
Romanus e cohorte Drusi, Iustusque Catonius, primi ordinis
centurio, ad Tiberium mittuntur. certatum inde sententiis, cum 3
alii opperiendos legatos atque interim comitate permulcendum
militem censerent, alii fortioribus remediis agendum: nihil in
vulgo modicum; terrere, ni paveant; ubi pertimuerint, inpune
contemni: dum superstitio urgeat, adiciendos ex duce metus
sublatis seditionis auctoribus. promptum ad asperiora ingenium 4
Druso erat: vocatos Vibulenum et Percennium interfici iubet.
tradunt plerique intra tabernaculum ducis obrutos, alii corpora
extra vallum abiecta ostentui.

1. **orto die.** Only one day and night had passed since he entered the camp (c. 25, 1). On the whole time covered by these events, see on c. 16, 1.

2. **nobilitate.** This word has here something of a moral sense like that of *γενναιότης*, 'generosity.' It appears also to have a similar though less definite sense in H. 1. 30, 1 'nihil adrogabo mihi nobilitatis aut modestiae.'

3. **terrore et minis.** Here, as in 'nihil . . . prisci et integri' (c. 4, 1), and other uses of 'et' in negative clauses, the words are more closely coupled than if 'nec' had been used.

5. **exciperet.** This imperfect appears to be rightly explained by Walther as used to denote a more uncertain consequence. 'Excipiat' would have implied a tone of authority.

**orantibus,** 'on their petition,' i.e. that he would so write. On this abl. abs., see Introd. v. § 31 c.

**idem Blaesus:** see c. 19, 4.

**L. Apronius.** The original text of the MS. has 'Aponius,' which Nipp. retains, thinking the description here given of the person more suitable to a less known name (cp. H. 1. 79, 8, etc.) than to that of a consular family such as the Apronii (see c. 56, 1, etc.). Those who identify him with the Apronius Caesianus of 3. 21, 6 would suppose him to be now a young man, and an 'eques equo publico.'

6. **cohorte,** 'the retinue,' as 6. 9, 2. The idea of such a 'cohors amicorum' attending the princeps or members of his family in travel, appears to be derived from the 'cohors praetoria' or staff of a provincial governor under the republic (Cic. Verr. 2. 1, 14, 36, etc.). See Friedlaender, i. p. 122, etc.

**Iustus Catonius.** This is probably the same person who was afterwards 'praefectus praetorio,' and was put to death by Messalina in 796, A.D. 43 (Dio, 60. 18, 3). On 'primi ordinis centurio,' see Introd. vii. p. 105.

8. **opperiendos legatos,** i.e. that no punishment should be inflicted till they returned.

11. **ex duce metus.** The phrase 'metus ex aliquo,' even without a verb, is frequent in Tacitus (e.g. 2. 38, 6; 72, 2; 3. 65, 1, etc.), and appears grounded on such expressions in Livy as 'ira ex clade' (2. 51, 6), and 'luctus,' 'dolor,' etc., 'ex re aliqua.'

12. **promptum ad asperiora.** On the temperament of Drusus, see c. 76, 5; 4. 3, 2. Dio (57. 13, 1) calls him *ἀσελγέστατος καὶ ὠμότατος*, exaggerating the worst side of the passionate but generous nature ascribed to him by Tacitus, and appealing to the slight evidence that the sharpest swords were called from him *Δρουσίανα*.

14. **obrutos,** 'were hastily buried:' cp. 'cadaver levi cespite obrutum est' (Suet. Cal. 59). This version of the story is adopted by Dio (57. 4, 5), who gives no other.

15. **ostentui,** 'to point the lesson.' On this dative, see Introd. v. § 23. This word had been already thus used by Sallust (Jug. 24, 10; 46, 6), but with somewhat different meaning.

1 **30.** Tum ut quisque praecipuus turbator conquisiti, et pars,
extra castra palantes, a centurionibus aut praetoriarum cohor-
tium militibus caesi; quosdam ipsi manipuli documentum fidei
2 tradidere. auxerat militum curas praematura hiems imbribus
continuis adeoque saevis, ut non egredi tentoria, congregari inter
se, vix tutari signa possent, quae turbine atque unda raptabantur.
3 durabat et formido caelestis irae, nec frustra adversus impios
hebescere sidera, ruere tempestates: non aliud malorum leva-
mentum quam si linquerent castra infausta temerataque et soluti
4 piaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur. primum octava, dein
quinta decuma legio rediere: nonanus opperiendas Tiberii epis-
tulas clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione inminen-
5 tem necessitatem sponte praevenit. et Drusus non exspectato
legatorum regressu, quia praesentia satis considerant, in urbem
rediit.

1. **turbator.** This word is almost confined to Livy and Tacitus, and here only (acc. to Dräger) used without a genitive.

2. **centurionibus,** etc. The centurions had fled for refuge (c. 23, 5), probably to the protection of the praetorians remaining outside.

5. **egredi tentoria.** The active use of this verb originates with Caesar and Livy. Tacitus uses it also thus metaphorically, as 'egredi relationem' (2. 38, 3); 'neque . . . praeturam egressa' (3. 30, 2).

**congregari.** Ritter's repetition of 'non' before this word receives support from H. 4. 33, 2; Dial. 23, 3; but it is not impossible that Tacitus may have omitted it here, as having an ill sound before 'con,' though such a juxtaposition is sometimes tolerated by him (2. 55, 2).

6. **tutari,** 'to keep them standing.' The fall of the eagles would be thought ominous, and was so regarded in the expedition of Crassus. See Flor. 3. 11, 3 (1. 46).

7. **formido . . . nec . . . hebescere.** The idea of the principal verb is supplied from 'formido;' the words being their own expression of their fears.

**frustra.** In several passages of Cicero the ordinary meaning, 'without effect,' passes into that of 'without a purpose;' whence by another step, the word comes to mean 'without cause' or 'reason,' 'groundlessly;' as here, and in 3. 58, 1; 6. 6, 2, and in several other places in Tacitus (see Nipp.), as also often in Quintilian.

8. **hebescere,** 'grew dull.' This word, like 'languescere' in c. 28, 1, is nowhere else used of an eclipse. The figure may perhaps have been suggested by the 'stellis acies obtusa videtur' of Vergil (G. 1, 395).

10. **piaculo,** 'from guilt.' This meaning is found in old writers, also in Vergil (Aen. 6, 569), and Livy (5. 52, 8). Tacitus does not elsewhere use it in this sense.

11. **epistulas.** This use of the plural, as in c. 36, 4; 2. 70, 3; 78, 1; and many other places (see Nipp.), is peculiar to this age, but probably suggested, as Nipp. notes, by the classical use of 'literae,' which has this meaning in the plural only.

12. **desolatus,** 'isolated:' so 'filia . . . desolata' 16. 30, 4. This use of the word appears to originate in such an expression as 'desolati manipli' of Vergil (Aen. 11, 870).

14. **praesentia,** 'affairs on the spot:' so c. 45, 1; 2. 47, 4; and 'ubi praesentia satis composita sunt' (11. 18, 2).

**considerant:** so Halm, retaining the MS. form, which is found in Enn. ap. Gell. 4. 7 'qui propter Hannibalis copias considerant.' Such archaic forms are not unfrequently revived by Tacitus, who however uses elsewhere the 'e' form of this perfect (c. 61, 3, etc.).

**31.** Isdem ferme diebus isdem causis Germanicae legiones 1
turbatae, quanto plures, tanto violentius, et magna spe fore
ut Germanicus Caesar imperium alterius pati nequiret daretque
se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis. duo apud ripam Rheni 2
exercitus erant: cui nomen superiori, sub C. Silio legato, in-
feriorem A. Caecina curabat. regimen summae rei penes Ger-
manicum, agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. sed quibus 3
Silius moderabatur, mente ambigua fortunam seditionis alienae
speculabantur: inferioris exercitus miles in rabiem prolapsus
est, orto ab unetvicensimanis quintanisque initio, et tractis prima
quoque ac vicensima legionibus: nam isdem aestivis in finibus
Ubiorum habebantur per otium aut levia munia. igitur audito 4

1. **Germanicae legiones.** The provinces of 'Germania Superior' and 'Inferior' consisted chiefly of German tribes transplanted to the left bank of of the Rhine. On their northern and eastern frontier, see Introd. vii. p. 93. Though not always distinguished from Gallia Belgica, they were certainly at this date separately governed, and parted from it by the line drawn between Germans and Gauls, which in Upper Germany coincided mostly with the Vosges, in Lower Germany partly with the lower course of the Scheldt (Pl. N. H. 4. 14, 28, 98). The two provinces were parted from each other by the Nahe (Nava), or perhaps the Mosel; and the two headquarters of government were at Köln and Mainz, the latter of which is erroneously assigned to Lower Germany by Ptolemy, whose account (2. 10) appears to be inaccurate in other respects (see Dict. of Geog. s. v. 'Obringas'). For further account. see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 120, foll., and, on the legions, Introd. vii. p. 103.

4. **tracturis.** On this concise use of the future participle, see Introd. v. § 54 d. The MS. text 'tracturus' has been generally thus corrected; 'sua,' here, as at the end of this chapter, being more properly referred to the legions; and 'trahere' being elsewhere used (cp. 'tractis' below, and H. 2. 86, 4; 3. 44, 1) of troops inducing others to follow their lead.

5. **C. Silio.** He had been cos. in 776, A. D. 13; and received the 'triumphalia' later (c. 72, 1). On his subsequent achievements, see 3. 42, 2, etc.; on his trial and death, 4. 18; 19; on his son's share in the infamy of Messalina, 11. 12, etc. The poet Silius Italicus may have been related to him.

6. **A. Caecina.** As legatus of Lower Germany, he must have been of consular rank; he also received 'triumphalia' (c. 72, 1), was a veteran soldier (c. 64, 1), and had won distinction in Pannonia and Moesia in 759, 760; A. D. 6, 7 (Vell. 2. 112, 4; Dio, 55, 29–32). He is subsequently mentioned with the cognomen 'Severus' (3. 18, 3; 33, 1).

**regimen summae rei.** Silius and Caecina were the 'legati Augusti propraetore' in the two 'Germaniae;' Germanicus had 'proconsulare imperium' (see on c. 14, 4) over these and the Gaulish provinces.

7. **agendo Galliarum censui**: 'censum agere' is a common phrase (14. 46, 2; Liv. 3. 22, etc.), as also 'censum accipere' (c. 33, 1), of those who received the returns of property which the subjects had to furnish ('censum deferre,' as 6. 41, 1, etc.). On such returns would rest the apportionment of the great tribute of forty million H. S., laid on Gaul as a whole (Suet. Jul. 25). The first systematic census of Gaul appears to have been held by Augustus in 727, B.C. 27 (Dio, 53. 22, 5), and revised by Drusus in 751, B.C. 13 (Liv. Epit. 136; 137; 'Oratio Claudii' sub fin.); and again revised now, and later (2. 6, 1; 14. 46, 2). See Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 204.

12. **Ubiorum.** This tribe, which in the time of Julius Caesar lived beyond the Rhine, but had been already assimilated to Gallic civilisation (B. G. 4. 3, 3), was transplanted, with its own consent, by Agrippa (12. 27, 2; G. 28, 5; Strab. 4. 3, 4, p. 194), probably in 716, B.C. 38

fine Augusti vernacula multitudo nuper acto in urbe dilectu, lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos: venisse tempus quo veterani maturam missionem, iuvenes largiora stipendia, cuncti modum miseriarum exposcerent
5 saevitiamque centurionum ulciscerentur. non unus haec, ut Pannonicas inter legiones Percennius, nec apud trepidas militum aures, alios validiores exercitus respicientium, sed multa seditionis ora vocesque: sua in manu sitam rem Romanam, suis victoriis augeri rem publicam, in suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores.

1 **32**. Nec legatus obviam ibat: quippe plurium vaecordia con-
2 stantiam exemerat. repente lymphati destrictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt: ea vetustissima militaribus odiis materies
3 et saeviendi principium. prostratos verberibus mulcant, sexageni singulos, ut numerum centurionum adaequarent: tum

(Dio, 48, 49). On its 'oppidum,' see c. 36, 1.

1. **nuper**; in 763, A.D. 10, after the defeat of Varus. Freeborn citizens were then so scarce and so reluctant to serve, that Augustus, besides taking other strong measures (Dio, 56. 23, 3), enlisted numbers of freedmen, and even slaves manumitted for the purpose (Suet. Aug. 25). This 'vernacula multitudo' (ἀστικὸς ὄχλος Dio, 57. 5, 4), was drafted no doubt into others, besides the newly formed twenty-first and twenty-second legions (see Introd. vii. p. 103). Suetonius (l. l.) seems to be wrong in saying that this 'libertinus miles' was kept distinct from the legions.

2. **sueta**. This part. thus takes a dat. in 2. 52, 2, etc.; and the verb in 2. 44, 1.

**intolerans.** Used with the genit. in 2. 75, 1; and Livy 9. 18, 1; as is also 'tolerans' 4. 1, 4.

**implere.** This has been needlessly altered to 'impellere' to assimilate the expression to c. 16, 5: 'implere animos' is used in 4. 9, 1, and Sil. 1, 105. The speech with which their minds were filled is to be gathered from the context.

6. **apud . . . aures.** A not uncommon phrase in Tacitus (2. 39, 4; 4. 29, 4, etc.), ='apud aliquem;' 'aures' being quasi-personified. See note on 13. 22, 3.

9. **augeri rem publicam.** 'The empire was being extended.' They consider themselves as not merely defending a frontier, but as still engaged, under Germanicus, in a project of conquest.

**in suum cognomentum adscisci,** 'took from them their name' (or special designation), i.e. that of 'Germanicus,' conferred at the death of Drusus on his posterity (Dio, 55. 2, 3), and hence borne by their present leader, and by his brother Claudius (Suet. Cl. 1). It was also, rarely, borne by Tiberius (Act. Arv. Tab. 1; Orelli, Insc. 2265; Dio, 57. 8, 2). Compare the use of 'adscivit in nomen,' of adoption, 3. 30, 3, etc.

10. **imperatores.** The elder Drusus had the permanent 'nomen imperatoris' (see c. 3, 1); as, perhaps, already had Germanicus (see on c. 58, 9), who is at any rate called 'imperator' (c. 41, 2; 44, 7), probably in virtue of his 'imperium proconsulare.'

11. **Nec legatus,** etc. A contrast is implied to the action of Blaesus (c. 18, 5).

**plurium,** 'the more part,' as 'pluribus probabatur' (15. 48, 5): also in Plaut. as Trin. 2. 2, 16 'quin prius me ad pluris penetravi.'

**constantiam exemerat,** 'had unnerved him:' cp. 'eximere consilium,' 'dissimulationem' (11. 32, 4; 13. 15, 3).

12. **lymphati.** A poetical word, but already in Livy (7. 17, 3). Its equivalence to νυμφόληπτος is explained by 'Lympha' being another form of 'Nympha' (Hor. Sat. 1. 5, 97; Orell. Insc. 1637, 1638, etc.).

14. **sexageni singulos.** This is explained by Nipp. as a piece of grim

convulsos laniatosque et partim exanimos ante vallum aut in
amnem Rhenum proiciunt. Septimius cum perfugisset ad tri- 4
bunal pedibusque Caecinae advolveretur, eo usque flagitatus
est, donec ad exitium dederetur. Cassius Chaerea, mox caede 5
Gai Caesaris memoriam apud posteros adeptus, tum adulescens
et animi ferox, inter obstantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit.
non tribunus ultra, non castrorum praefectus ius obtinuit: vi- 6
gilias, stationes, et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat, ipsi par-
tiebantur. id militares animos altius coniectantibus praecipuum 7
indicium magni atque inplacabilis motus, quod neque disiecti
aut paucorum instinctu, set pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent,
tanta aequalitate et constantia, ut regi crederes.

**33.** Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census ac-
cipienti excessisse Augustum adfertur. neptem eius Agrip- 2
pinam in matrimonio pluresque ex ea liberos habebat, ipse 3
Druso fratre Tiberii genitus, Augustae nepos, set anxius occul-

humour. The legion views itself as one body, and treats each centurion as having chastised the whole; for which his body has to suffer retribution from sixty chastisers. If this view is right, no inference can be drawn as to the number of soldiers in a century.

1. **convulsos laniatosque**, 'with limbs dislocated and mangled.' Thus Lucretius has 'artus . . . convulsi' (3, 343), and M. Seneca 'convolsis laceratisque membris,' of persons racked (Contr. 2. 13, 6). This seems better than Nipp.'s explanation, 'plucked from the ground,' like 'vexilla convellunt' (c. 20, 1).

2. **Septimius . . . Cassius Chaerea.** It is implied that both these were centurions. The former is otherwise unknown; Chaerea was in 794, A.D. 41, a tribune in the praetorian guard, and, if rightly then called 'elderly' (Suet. Cal. 56), can hardly have been now very young.

6. **animi ferox.** See Introd. v. § 33 e γ. With this particular word such a genitive appears elsewhere to be found only in 4. 12, 3; H. 1. 35, 2; Ov. Met. 8, 614.

**et armatos.** This adds force to 'obstantes,' = 'et quidem armatos.' Cp. 'vetera et inania' 3. 13, 2, etc.

7. **vigilias . . . stationes.** Cp. c. 28, 5.

9. **altius coniectantibus**, 'to more penetrating judges of the soldier's character.' On this concise force of altius, cp. 'altius . . . maerebant' (2. 82, 5), 'altius disseram' (3. 25, 3), 'altius expediam' (H. 4. 12, 1), etc., and for 'coniectare aliquem,' in the sense of 'estimating,' cp. 'ne ceteri ex Paeligno coniectarentur' (12. 49, 3).

10. **disiecti** = 'sparsi,' as c. 61, 3; 3. 2, 5; 4. 46, 3, etc.

11. **aut.** The MS. text 'nil,' has been generally assumed to be corrupt; but the various alterations to 'nec,' 'neque,' 'vel,' or 'aut,' seem hardly felicitous. It is possible that some other word, with 'neque,' has dropped out before 'neque disiecti,' or that an erroneous transposition of 'nil' and 'neque,' like that of 'ad se nisi' (c. 26, 5), has taken place (cp. Pfitzner, p. 144, 176); in either of which cases 'nil' might stand, with a verb such as 'agerent' supplied from the context (see Introd. v. § 38 b).

**pariter**, 'as one man.' This word often has the force of 'simul,' as c. 47, 3, etc.

**ardescerent.** On the frequent poetical use in Tacitus of simple verbs for their compounds, see Introd. v. § 40.

12. **aequalitate**, 'uniformity.' This use occurs in Cic., etc.; but with Tacitus the word is more commonly equivalent to ἰσοτιμία, as c. 4, 1, etc.

13. **census accipienti**: see on c. 31, 2.

14. **neptem.** On the descent, family connexions, and children of Germanicus and Agrippina, see Introd. ix.

tis in se patrui aviaeque odiis, quorum causae acriores, quia
4 iniquae. quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum me-
moria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem reddi-
5 turus; unde in Germanicum favor et spes eadem. nam iuveni
civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa ab Tiberii sermone
6 vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris. accedebant muliebres offen-
siones novercalibus Liviae in Agrippinam stimulis, atque ipsa
Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate et mariti amore
quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat.
1 **34.** Sed Germanicus quanto summae spei propior, tanto im-

1. **patrui.** Nipp. notes that Tacitus usually (e.g. 2. 5, 2; 43, 6; 3. 3, 3; 5, 5; 17, 5; 31, 1) describes the relationship of Tiberius and Germanicus as it was by blood; but makes them in their own speeches use the terms of their adoptive relationship (e g. c. 42, 1; 2. 71, 3; 3. 12, 8); an apparent exception, in 2. 14, 6, being due to the necessity of mentioning both Drusus and Tiberius.

**acriores, quia iniquae.** Tacitus had already expressed a similar sentiment 'proprium humani generis odisse quem laeseris' (Agr. 42); and Seneca had preceded him with 'pertinaciores nos facit iniquitas irae' (de Ira 3. 29, 2). On his fondness for such maxims, see Introd. iv. p. 28. The fact of human nature here asserted is explained by Nipp. on the supposition that a sense of our own baseness leads to hatred of one who suggests the thought of it.

3. **credebaturque,** etc. The improbable tale respecting a letter addressed to Tiberius, and by him betrayed to Augustus; in which Drusus had mooted a scheme for compelling a restitution of the republic; seems refuted by the position in which Augustus retained him till his death, at the head of his greatest army; but he may have used expressions such as to suggest this belief as to his republican sentiments, which was evidently prevalent (see 2. 41, 5; 82, 3; Suet. Cl. 1); though Tacitus nowhere expressly endorses it, either as regards him or Germanicus.

5. **civile**: cp. c. 8, 3, etc.

6. **adrogantibus et obscuris.** Both adjectives belong to both substantives: as a countenance may be called 'obscurus,' in the sense of 'inscrutable.' The application of this word to personal character (as 4. 1, 3; 6. 24, 4; Agr. 42, 4) is sanctioned by Cicero and Horace.

**muliebres offensiones,** 'feminine jealousies:' cp. 'muliebres causae' 12. 64, 3. It is intended to represent the 'novercales stimuli' as one cause of such jealousies, and the irritability of Agrippina as another; but the construction is changed by supplying 'accedebat' from above, with the fact contained in the whole sentence 'Agrippina . . . commotior' as its subject; like the participial construction so frequent in Tacitus (Introd. v. § 55).

7. **novercalibus.** Augusta was really her mother's stepmother; but many such terms are carried back a step, as 'amita' (2. 27, 2), 'avunculus' (2. 53, 3), etc.

8. **commotior,** 'excitable:' cp. 'verbis commotior' (2. 28, 3); also 4. 3, 2; 6. 45, 6; 11. 12, 1. The temper of Agrippina is uniformly described as to the last degree passionate and ungovernable. Cp. 2. 72, 1; 3. 1, 1; 4. 52, 3; 53, 1, etc.

**nisi quod,** 'were it not that.' The use of this expression to qualify what has been stated (as 6. 24, 2) is Ciceronian; but its use here (as in 14. 14, 6; Agr. 6, 1) is noteworthy, as qualifying something only implied in thought; as that her temper would have deserved a bad name but for the course it took. The thought in the two other passages is well shown by Mr. Frost.

9. **quamvis indomitum,** 'a temper however ungovernable.' 'Quamvis' is thus used in 6. 50, 1; 15. 24, 1; 16. 16, 1; and 'quamquam' in c. 76, 5.

**in bonum vertebat,** 'gave a good direction to;' i.e. by enlisting such qualities on the side of virtue and in the cause of her husband. Thus it is said of her 'virilibus curis feminarum vitia ex-

pensius pro Tiberio niti, seque et proximos et Belgarum civi-
tates in verba eius adigit. dehinc audito legionum tumultu 2
raptim profectus obvias extra castra habuit, deiectis in terram
oculis velut paenitentia. postquam vallum iniit, dissoni questus
audiri coepere. et quidam prensa manu eius per speciem ex- 3
osculandi inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret;
alii curvata senio membra ostendebant. adsistentem contionem, 4
quia permixta videbatur, discedere in manipulos iubet: sic
melius audituros responsum; vexilla praeferri, ut id saltem
discerneret cohortes: tarde obtemperavere. tunc a veneratione 5
Augusti orsus flexit ad victorias triumphosque Tiberii, prae-
cipuis laudibus celebrans quae apud Germanias illis cum le-
gionibus pulcherrima fecisset. Italiae inde consensum, Galliarum 6
fidem extollit; nil usquam turbidum aut discors. silentio haec
vel murmure modico audita sunt.

uerat' (6. 25, 3). Orelli less well explains it by 'redimebat' ('compensated').

1. **pro Tiberio niti**: cp. 'nullo pro Galba nitente' H. 1. 55, 4.

**seque et proximos**. This is adopted, after Haase, by Orelli and Halm, for the MS. 'seque proximos' (see Halm, Comm. crit.). The text of older editions, 'Sequanos proximos,' couples a portion of a single tribe to the whole province of 'Gallia Belgica;' while Nipp.'s reading, 'Sequanos, proximas et' would necessitate the explanation of 'et' as = 'etiam' (as 'aegro et corpore' c. 4, 2, etc.), which seems here without force. Germanicus would naturally take the oath himself, and then tender it to those next in rank (see on c. 7, 3), such as his 'amicorum cohors;' who might be spoken of as 'proximi.'

2. **in verba eius**. The 'princeps,' though absent, is conceived as dictating the oath of allegiance to him. This is the first instance on record, and probably the first actual instance, of extension of the 'sacramentum,' not only (as in c. 7, 3) to civilians, but even to provincials. A similar course is mentioned as taken in Syria on the death of Tiberius (Jos. Ant. 18. 5, 3). For the practice later, see Pl. ad Trai. 52. Cp. Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 768.

5. **audiri coepere**. On the use of the inf. pass. with this verb, cp. Introd. v. § 42 b.

**exosculandi**. This word is confined to writers of this age, and appears to be stronger than the simple verb.

8. **sic melius audituros responsum**, 'they replied that they would hear better as they were,' i.e. crowding round him in a mass. This refusal is contrasted with the reluctant obedience ('tarde obtemperavere') to his next order. On this use of 'sic,' cp. 'sic quoque' (4. 40, 4; 15. 17, 3). Nipp. thinks that 'est,' which occurs with 'responsum' in c. 26, 1, should be here inserted.

9. **vexilla**: sc. 'manipulorum:' cp. c. 20, 1. This has been held to imply that no 'signa cohortium' existed (see on c. 18, 3); but it is possible to suppose also that, through some circumstances of the tumult, the ensigns of the maniples could more readily be got at. To bring these to the front would infuse some order into the mass, as the soldiers would instinctively group themselves round them (see c. 38, 4); and a kind of formation in cohorts would result.

10. **veneratione**, 'expressions of reverence.' The word is especially suitable to a deified emperor, though not restricted to such: cp. 12. 42, 3.

11. **flexit**. This verb is used intransitively by Verg. Liv., etc. Its application to a turn of speech (cp. 6. 15, 5; 13. 3, 2), or thought (cp. 4. 37, 2; 41, 2), appears to be Tacitean.

12. **illis cum legionibus**. In c. 42, 6, the first and twentieth are particularly mentioned. On the German campaigns of Tiberius, see Introd. viii. pp. 114, 115.

14. **nil usquam**, etc. This general ac-

1 **35.** Ut seditionem attigit, ubi modestia militaris, ubi veteris
disciplinae decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exegissent,
rogitans, nudant universi corpora, cicatrices ex vulneribus, ver-
berum notas exprobrant; mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vaca-
tionum, angustias stipendii, duritiam operum ac propriis no-
minibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli materiae lignorum
adgestus, et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus otium cas-
2 trorum quaeruntur. atrocissimus veteranorum clamor oriebatur,
qui tricena aut supra stipendia numerantes, mederetur fessis,
neu mortem in isdem laboribus, sed finem tam exercitae mi-
3 litiae neque inopem requiem orabant. fuere etiam qui legatam
a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum
4 ominibus; et si vellet imperium, promptas *res* ostentavere. tum

quiescence in the succession of Tiberius is recorded by Dio (57. 7, 1).

1. **modestia.** Here 'subordination,' as c. 49, 6, etc. Cp. c. 11, 1.

4. **exprobrant**: cp. c. 18, 1.

**indiscretis**, 'undistinguishable:' so 'proles indiscreta' Verg. Aen. 10, 392. These several cries are shouted at once confusedly.

**pretia vacationum**: see on c. 17, 6.

5. **propriis nominibus**, 'specifically.' They complain of hard work generally, and particularise these kinds of it.

6. **incusant.** Such a position of a verb belonging to two or more sentences is noted by Nipp. as similar to that of 'tradidit' (2. 48, 1): 'labefecit' (6. 29, 5); 'veni' (H. 1. 83, 2); 'cinxerant' (H. 2. 25, 1); but as otherwise rare except in poetry.

**materiae lignorum**, 'timber and firewood.' The terms are thus distinguished by Ulpian (Dig. 32. 55, pr.), 'ligni appellatio nomen generale est, sed sic separatur, ut sit aliquid materia, aliquid lignum: materia est, quae ad aedificandum, fulciendum necessaria est; lignum quidquid comburendi causa paratum est.' A similar distinction is drawn by Pliny (N. H. 16. 40, 76, 206), 'cornus non potest videri materies propter exilitatem, sed lignum;' and 'materies' has this specific sense as early as Caesar (B. G. 4. 17, 8).

7. **adversus otium.** Sometimes considerable works were undertaken with this object: see 11. 20, 2; 13. 53, 3.

8. **veteranorum**: see c. 17, 4. On the question whether 'in isdem laboribus' here, and 'eosdem labores' there, are to be taken as exaggerations, see note on c. 36, 4.

9. **mederetur . . . neu mortem . . . sed finem . . . orabant.** The harshness of such a combination of constructions with 'orabant' appears to be unprecedented; nor is any other instance given of a verb followed by 'neu' or 'neve' except as coupling a coordinate verb (e.g. 16. 34, 2). Ernesti maintained that 'mortem' should either be altered to 'morerentur' or followed by 'obirent;' the latter is inserted by Nipp. after 'laboribus,' where it might have dropped out through resemblance of sound. The change of construction which would still remain, from a dependent clause to a simple case, may be paralleled by that of 'augebatur' (c. 52, 1) and by several instances of such a change in the reverse order (Introd. v. § 91: Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 233). Others explain the construction as designedly abrupt, like that in c. 41, 2, and the accusatives as exclamatory (see Pfitzner, p. 149).

10. **exercitae**: cp. c. 17, 7.

12. **reposcerent**, 'demanded of him.' Orelli notes that in this is implied a recognition of Germanicus as the lawful heir; which was also probably expressed in more distinct terms ('faustis ominibus'). Dio (57. 5, 1) represents them as going to still greater length (*αὐτοκράτορα ἐπεκάλεσαν*). On the legacy demanded, see c. 8, 3.

13. **promptas res ostentavere.** This reading, suggested by Walther and Weissenborn, is supported by 'promptasque res ostentante' (12. 12, 5). Most editors alter the MS. 'promtas' to 'promptos;' supposing 'se' to be supplied, as with 'moriturum' below, and in other instances, such as 4. 59, 5; 5. 5, 2; etc.

vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit.
opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes, ni regrederetur; at ille 5
moriturum potius quam fidem exueret clamitans, ferrum a latere
diripuit elatumque deferebat in pectus, ni proximi prensam
dextram vi adtinuissent. extrema et conglobata inter se pars 6
contionis ac, vix credibile dictu, quidam singuli propius ince-
dentes, feriret hortabantur; et miles nomine Calusidius strictum
obtulit gladium, addito auctiorem esse. saevum id malique 7
moris etiam furentibus visum, ac spatium fuit quo Caesar ab
amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

**36**. Consultatum ibi de remedio: etenim nuntiabatur parari 1
legatos qui superiorem exercitum ad causam eandem traherent:
destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppidum, imbutasque praeda manus
in direptionem Galliarum erupturas. augebat metum gnarus 2
Romanae seditionis et, si omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis:
at si auxilia et socii adversum abscedentis legiones armarentur,
civile bellum suscipi. periculosa severitas, flagitiosa largitio: 3

(Nipp. and Pfitzner, p. 102). Other corrections are 'promptos se' (Jahn), or 'prompta' (Heinsius), which appears to need such a word as 'studia,' as in 2. 76, 1.

1. **desiluit**. This verb has a simple abl. 15. 28, 5: elsewhere the usage is almost wholly poetical.

3. **moriturum potius quam fidem exueret**. The full construction would be 'potius quam ita victurum, ut,' etc. For similar abbreviations, see 'excedendum potius, quam ... pellerentur' (Agr. 25, 3) and 'perpessus est omnia potius, quam . . . indicaret' (Cic. Tusc. 2. 22, 52, where Kühner gives other instances).

4. **diripuit**. This, the MS. text, has been wrongly altered to 'deripuit:' 'diripit ensem' being the Medicean text in Verg. Aen. 10, 475; and the proper word, as Nipp. shows, for the wearer, who could not be said to 'snatch down' his sword.

5. **adtinuissent**. This word is constantly used for 'retinere' by Tacitus (as c. 50. 1, 2; 2. 10, 2, etc.); but otherwise so only by Plaut. and Sall.

6. **quidam singuli**. In contrast with 'conglobata,' as 'propius incedentes' with 'extrema pars.'

9. **spatium**, 'a pause;' during which their attention was drawn to Calusidius, and Germanicus could be got away unobserved. Orelli.

11. **etenim**. This introduces considerations which make the need of remedial measures more pressing.

12. **superiorem**: see c. 31, 2.

13. **Ubiorum oppidum**, 'the capital:' so 'Batavorum oppidum' H. 5. 19, 2: see on c. 37, 3 ('civitas Ubiorum'). The conversion of this town into the famous 'Colonia Agrippinensis' (Köln) in 803, A. D. 50, is mentioned in 12. 27, 1. Agrippina, from whom it took this title, was born here probably in 768, A. D. 15. See Introd. ix. note 14.

**imbutas praeda manus**, 'troops steeped in plunder.' This sense of 'manus,' if less suited to 'imbutas,' is more so to 'erupturas;' and the whole metaphor resembles that of H. 3. 15, 4 'ut civili praeda milites imbuerentur.'

16. **auxilia et socii**. Ritter appears rightly to distinguish these; the former being those already under arms, the latter those who might be levied.

17. **suscipi**. The construction, though varied, still depends on 'augebat metum.' 'That to arm the allies, etc, was to undertake a civil war.'

**severitas**. This appears to mean 'rigour,' i. e. peremptory refusal (as probably in c. 25, 3), and answers to the 'seu nihil' below, as does its opposite 'largitio' to 'sive omnia.' The notion of 'punishment' (as in c. 46, 2, etc.)

seu nihil militi sive omnia concederentur, in ancipiti res publica.
4 igitur volutatis inter se rationibus placitum ut epistulae nomine principis scriberentur: missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis, exauctorari qui sena dena fecissent ac retineri sub vexillo ceterorum inmunes nisi propulsandi hostis, legata quae petiverant exsolvi duplicarique.

1 **37**. Sensit miles in tempus conficta statimque flagitavit. missio per tribunos maturatur, largitio differebatur in hiberna
2 cuiusque. non abscessere quintani unetvicensimanique, donec isdem in aestivis contracta ex viatico amicorum ipsiusque
3 Caesaris pecunia persolveretur. primam ac vicensimam legiones Caecina legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, turpi agmine,

seems out of place here, as such measures could not have been at present contemplated as practicable.

1. **concederentur.** The MS. has 'concedentur,' which is defended by Nipp., Pfitzner, etc., as an expression of the writer's own view; the historic present 'est' being supplied with 'periculosa,' etc., and with 'in ancipiti.' On the other hand it is more natural to suppose the same construction to be carried through; and the omission of a syllable is shown by Baiter (from 3. 2, 1; 3, 1; 67, 3; 4. 59, 5; probably also 3. 17, 8) to be one of the characteristic errors of this MS.

2. **inter se.** The notion of comparison of one plan with another is implied in 'volutatis.' Thus Vergil has 'artificumque manus inter se . . . miratur' Aen. 1. 455. Nipp.

3. **missionem dari . . . exauctorari.** The latter of these words usually implies full discharge, whether honourable or otherwise; but here it is qualified by the context, so as to express such relaxation of the 'sacramentum' as may have taken place when the legionary soldier became a 'vexillarius' (see c. 17, 4). Similar qualification attaches to 'dimissis' (c. 17, 4); 'missi' (c. 39, 2); and 'dimitterentur' (c. 78, 2); and 'missio' is used of both kinds of discharge (c. 37, 1: 40, 1; 52, 1). The terms offered are a compromise between two regulations of Augustus by which the time of full discharge was fixed, first at sixteen, afterwards at twenty years (Dio, 54. 25, 6; 55. 23, 1): but this concession, though carried out at present (see below, and c. 39, 1), was not perpetuated (see c. 78, 3). The immunity from camp duties, from the prominent mention here made of it, would seem to have been a new concession, not a standing privilege of the veterans, who are certainly made to assert (c. 17, 4) that they have the same work as others ('eosdem labores'). Their language in c. 35, 2, has been thought to point the other way, as they do not there expressly join in the complaint made by the others respecting camp duties.

6. **duplicari.** This gift, noted by Suetonius (Tib. 48) as the only donative from Tiberius to the soldiers, except that to the praetorians and some others at the fall of Seianus, can hardly be called a voluntary gift here, but was voluntarily extended to the Pannonian army (c. 52, 3).

7. **in tempus,** 'to meet the emergency:' cp. 'ad tempus' c. 1, 2.

8. **missio.** Here and below, of both kinds of discharge: cp. c. 36, 4.

**differebatur,** 'was to be deferred.'

9. **non abscessere,** 'would not leave.' It is implied that after receiving payment they departed to 'Vetera' (c. 45, 1); and that the immediate payment thus extorted by them was given also to the two other legions before they went to winter quarters.

10. **viatico.** This is used generally of a soldier's private stock or savings, as H. 1. 57, 5; Hor. Epp. 2. 2, 26; Suet. Jul. 68, etc.

12. **civitatem Ubiorum.** This expression could be used of the whole district, as in 13. 57, 4; but the locality is here certainly identical with that of 'ara Ubiorum' (see on c. 39, 1).

cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa interque aquilas ve-
herentur. Germanicus superiorem ad exercitum profectus se- 4
cundam et tertiam decumam et sextam decumam legiones nihil
cunctatas sacramento adigit. quartadecumani paulum dubita- 5
verant: pecunia et missio quamvis non flagitantibus oblata
est.

**38.** At in Chaucis coeptavere seditionem praesidium agi- 1
tantes vexillarii discordium legionum et praesenti duorum mili-
tum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. iusserat id M'. Ennius 2
castrorum praefectus, bono magis exemplo quam concesso iure.
deinde intumescente motu profugus repertusque, postquam in- 3
tutae latebrae, praesidium ab audacia mutuatur: non praefectum
ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tiberium imperatorem
violari. simul exterritis qui obstiterant, raptum vexillum ad 4
ripam vertit, et si quis agmine decessisset, pro desertore fore
clamitans, reduxit in hiberna turbidos et nihil ausos.

1. **de imperatore rapti.** These words contain the explanation of 'turpi agmine.' The moneybags may indeed have been unusually paraded on this occasion; otherwise, the practice of depositing money with the standards, in custody of the standard bearers, was encouraged, and even to some extent enforced, to make the soldier thrifty, and to bind him to the colours (Veg. 2, 20). Domitian however considered it advisable to limit each man's deposit to 1000 H. S. (Suet. Dom. 7).

2. **superiorem**: cp. c. 31, 2. On these legions, see Introd. vii. p. 103.

7. **in Chaucis.** This tribe occupied a very large space (G. 35), apparently on either side of the lower Weser. Pliny (N. H. 16. 1, 1, 2) divides them into 'maiores' and 'minores;' of whom the latter, along the coast between the Weser and Ems (cp. 2. 24, 3), were under Roman control (cp. c. 60, 3); but, like their neighbours the Frisii (4. 72, 1), appear afterwards to have revolted (11. 18, 1; H. 4. 79, 3; 5. 19, 2; Suet. Cl. 24).

**coeptavere.** This verb, rare elsewhere in prose, is often used by Tacitus to express an attempt, whether successful or otherwise: cp. c. 45, 2; 2. 81, 1; 4. 19, 4; 24, 2, etc.

8. **vexillarii,** 'detachments.' The 'veterani sub vexillo' cannot be here meant, as they do not appear to have left headquarters (cp. c. 35, 2: 39, 1).

**discordium,** 'disaffected.' Thus 'dissideat' (c. 46, 1); 'discordare' (3. 40, 4); 'discordia' (H. 2. 76, 9), etc., are used of soldiers, not as disagreeing among themselves, but as insubordinate and mutinous.

9. **M'. Ennius.** The MS. has 'Mennius,' which is not a known Roman name; and the correction is supported by the error 'Lennium' for L. Ennium in 3. 70, 2, and by the general practice of mentioning officers of this rank by two names (c. 20, 1; 13. 39, 2). The preference of M', rather than M, as the praenomen, rests on a suggestion of the possible identity of this person with a Μάνιος Ἔννιος mentioned in the Pannonian war (Dio, 55. 33, 2).

10. **concesso iure**: see on c. 20, 1; 26, 3.

11. **intumescente motu**: cp. 'quoniam Galliae tumeant' (H. 2. 32, 1). Similar metaphors, originating apparently in the 'monet . . . tumescere bella' of Verg. G. 1. 465, are found in Liv., etc.

15. **ripam.** No river has been mentioned: we should hence suppose the bank to be that of the Rhine, as in c. 36, 2; but the position of the Chauci would make a more distant river, such as the Amisia, more probable.

16. **hiberna.** Probably at 'Vetera;'

1 **39**. Interea legati ab senatu regressum iam apud aram Ubi-
2 orum Germanicum adeunt. duae ibi legiones, prima atque
vicensima, veteranique nuper missi sub vexillo hiemabant. pa-
3 vidos et conscientia vaecordes intrat metus, venisse patrum iussu
4 qui inrita facerent quae per seditionem expresserant. utque mos
vulgo quamvis falsis reum subdere, Munatium Plancum con-
sulatu functum, principem legationis, auctorem senatus consulti
incusant; et nocte concubia vexillum in domo Germanici situm
flagitare occipiunt, concursuque ad ianuam facto moliuntur fores,

which would be nearer to the Chauci than the other winter camp.

**turbidos.** This is best taken in its usual sense as 'seditious' (cp. 34, 6; 43. 5, etc.), in which case 'et' would contain an adversative force (see note on c. 13, 2). On the use of 'et' with a negative, instead of 'neque' with an affirmative pronoun or adverb, see Madvig, § 458 a, Obs. 1. Nipp. has collected many instances to show the fondness of Tacitus for such constructions, especially for 'et' with 'nullus,' 'numquam,' 'nihil,' and 'nemo.'

1. **legati.** Their mission had probably no connection with the mutiny; but was to convey to him the 'proconsulare imperium' (cp. c. 14, 4).

**regressum,** i.e. from the upper army (cp. c. 37, 4).

**aram Ubiorum.** Some have contended that this altar was not situate at the 'oppidum Ubiorum' (Köln), but at or near Bonn, which in 822, A.D. 69 (H. 4. 25, 1), was the winter camp of the first legion. See Mr. Long in Dict. of Geog. s.v. 'Ara Ubiorum.' But the subsequent 'Colonia' certainly derives a title from an altar situate in it, being styled in some inscriptions and coins 'Claudia ara' or 'Colonia Claudia ara Agrippinensis' (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. 121, n. 4, and ref. there). Also the distance from 'Vetera' (c. 45, 1) appears by correct measurement more suitable to Köln. The altar had a Cheruscan for its priest (c. 57, 2), and is believed to have been consecrated to Augustus and Roma (see on c. 59, 6), and to have been probably the centre of this 'cultus' for the whole province: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 121.

3. **sub vexillo.** It appears to be best to take these words as qualifying 'missi' ('ita missi ut sub vexillo retinerentur'). The other explanation, joining 'sub vexillo hiemabant,' forces us to apply the verb with these words to the veterans, and without them to the legions.

4. **conscientia,** 'consciousness of guilt,' as in c. 57, 2, etc.

5. **expresserant**: cp. c. 19, 5, etc.

6. **subdere**: cp. c. 6, 6, etc.

**Plancum.** His full title in the Fasti (as cos. in 766, A.D. 13, with C. Silius) is L. Munatius L. f. L. n. Plancus. He would appear to be son or grandson of the famous consul of 712, B.C. 42, so well known in the history of the triumvirate, and so stigmatised by Velleius (2, 83). Plancina (2. 43, 4) was probably his sister.

8. **vexillum.** The absence of any explanation of this word suggests that the flag is that already mentioned above ('sub vexillo'). Germanicus is living in a house, probably the regular winter residence of the 'legatus,' and the soldiers assaulting him are also outside the legionary camp. It is suggested that these are the veterans, whose 'vexillum' Germanicus had for some reason retained in his own keeping. This fact, and the arrival of the embassy, might lead them to fear that their discharge was a fiction, and might be revoked; and they may be supposed to demand possession of their 'vexillum' as a guarantee. The legions, who had received their money and had less to lose, seem less prominent in this outbreak, though even among them Plancus was not safe. The alternative supposition, that the 'vexillum' is the red flag of the general-in-chief, by which signal for battle was given (Caes. B. G. 2. 20, 1; Plut. Fab. 15, 182), would make the demand for it imply an intention to elect a new general, of which there is no evidence; though Germanicus (c. 43, 2) is represented as imagining such an act in the case of his death.

**situm** = 'positum.' So used of statues, etc., c. 74, 4; 2. 37, 3; 4. 64, 3. See also 2. 7, 3.

9. **occipiunt**: cp. 3. 2, 5; 6. 45,

extractum cubili Caesarem tradere vexillum intento mortis metu
subigunt. mox vagi per vias obvios habuere legatos, audita 5
consternatione ad Germanicum tendentes. ingerunt contume- 6
lias, caedem parant, Planco maxime, quem dignitas fuga impe-
diverat; neque aliud periclitanti subsidium quam castra primae
legionis. illic signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese tuta- 7
batur, ac ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset, rarum
etiam inter hostes, legatus populi Romani Romanis in castris
sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset. luce demum, post- 8
quam dux et miles et facta noscebantur, ingressus castra Ger-
manicus perduci ad se Plancum imperat recepitque in tribunal.
tum fatalem increpans rabiem, neque militum sed deum ira
resurgere, cur venerint legati aperit; ius legationis atque ipsius
Planci gravem et inmeritum casum, simul quantum dedecoris
adierit legio, facunde miseratur, attonitaque magis quam quieta
contione legatos praesidio auxiliarium equitum dimittit.

6, etc. A word generally archaic, but adopted by Tacitus from Livy.

1. **extractum.** This implies some compulsion, but not necessarily physical force: cp. 'contuberniis extracti' (15. 13, 2); 'rure extractus in urbem' (Hor. Sat. 1. 1, 11). The case is probably abl., as in Horace (l. l.); but in 6. 23, 5, the MS. text 'extractum custodiae' is generally accepted.

3. **consternatione,** 'the tumult:' cp. c. 63, 3; 13. 16, 6, etc. This noun appears to originate with Livy, but the verb (cp. H. 3. 79, 3) is found earlier.

5. **castra primae legionis.** Each legion had always more or less separate winter quarters, though the two here may have been in distinct portions of a common enclosure. The context implies perhaps that his assailants followed him into this camp, and certainly that some of the legion, who are addressed as guilty by Germanicus, attacked him there.

6. **religione**: see note on c. 18, 2. On the sanctity of the eagles and other standards, cp. 2. 17, 2, and 'conversus ad signa et bellorum deos' (H. 3. 10, 7); also Dion. Hal. 6, 45 *ταῦτα . . . ὥσπερ ἱδρύματα θεῶν ἱερὰ νομίζεται.* Catiline kept an eagle of Marius in a shrine within his house (Cic. Cat. 1. 9, 24); and the legionary eagle is stated by Dio (40. 18, 1) to have been kept in camp in a portable shrine. Even in old times it was a practice to swear by the standards (see Liv. 26. 48, 12). Other evidence of their sanctity is collected by Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 425.

7. **aquilifer.** The actual bearer of the eagle is not to be confounded with the 'centurio primi pili' who had charge of it, but is an officer of much lower rank, mentioned in several inscriptions. See Henzen, Index.

**rarum etiam,** etc. On such parentheses, see Introd. v. § 82. A similar outrage on 'legati' is similarly spoken of in H. 3. 80, 3.

9. **altaria deum.** These, as well as the standards and the image of the emperor, stood in the principia. See 4. 2, 4.

10. **noscebantur,** 'were capable of recognition:' cp. 4. 62, 5; H. 1. 90, 3.

**ingressus castra**: see above.

11. **imperat recepitque.** The historical present is easily interchangeable with a perfect, as 2. 7, 1; 20, 2; 14. 4, 6, etc.

12. **fatalem increpans rabiem.** 'Rabies' is thus used of mutiny in c. 31, 3. The use of 'fatalem' (cp. 5. 4, 2; 15. 61, 6; and note on 3. 30, 2), which is explained by 'deum ira' (cp. 16. 16, 3), treats them as hardly responsible beings, and softens the censure conveyed in 'increpans;' from which word some such sense as that of 'dicens' is supplied by 'zeugma' with 'resurgere.'

13. **ius legationis,** sc. 'violatum.' On such pregnant constructions, see Introd. v. § 84.

15. **miseratur,** 'expresses sorrow for.'

1 **40.** Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, quod non ad superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia et contra rebellis auxilium: satis superque missione et pecunia et mollibus con-
2 sultis peccatum. vel si vilis ipsi salus, cur filium parvulum, cur gravidam coniugem inter furentes et omnis humani iuris viola-
3 tores haberet? illos saltem avo et rei publicae redderet. diu cunctatus aspernantem uxorem, cum se divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur, postremo uterum eius et communem filium multo cum fletu complexus, ut abiret
4 perpulit. incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen, profuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum coniuges, quae simul trahebantur, nec minus tristes qui manebant.

1 **41.** Non florentis Caesaris neque suis in castris, set velut in urbe victa facies; gemitusque ac planctus etiam militum aures
2 oraque advertere: progrediuntur contuberniis. quis ille flebilis

So 'defendere,' 'to plead in excuse,' 13. 43, 4, etc.

1. **Eo in metu**; 'metus' seems to be used of circumstances causing fear, rather than fear itself: cp. 'ostendere metum ex Tiberio' (2. 72, 2); 'nihil metus' (='nihil metuendum') 'in vultu' Agr. 44, 2. A similar use of 'terror' (11. 19, 1, etc.) is classical, and 'formido' (Agr. 22, 1) is so used by Sall.

6. **avo.** On the use of terms of adoptive relationship, see on c. 33, 3. That of the boy alone is mentioned, as he, in virtue of this adoptive relationship, stood nearer than Agrippina to Tiberius. Nipp.

**diu cunctatus aspernantem . . . perpulit.** Two distinct causes are assigned for the delay; his own hesitation, and the pride of his wife; which latter is explained by 'cum se . . . testaretur.'

8. **degenerem.** This poetical word had been introduced into prose by Liv. and Pl. mai. The construction with 'ad' (which would be in full 'ad pericula subeunda'), not found elsewhere, is analogous to that of 'praecipuos ad scelera,' 'ad pericula' (6. 7, 3; 14. 58. 1).

10. **incedebat.** This implies the absence of such vehicles as would usually be provided. 'Muliebre' and 'miserabile' are also emphatic, and the order of words is studied for effect. 'They were starting on foot, a train of women, and in pitiable plight.'

12. **qui manebant**, i.e. the husbands and friends parting from them.

14. **florentis**, 'in prosperity:' cp. c. 53, 2; 16. 33, 1, etc.

15. **facies.** Gronov. has rightly explained this, as not 'facies Caesaris,' but 'facies rerum' (cp. c. 49, 1) 'non florenti Caesari, sed urbi captae conveniens.' It seems better, with Nipp., to place a semicolon at 'facies,' and to take the sentence in apposition with the last of the preceding chapter, than, with Halm, to join it with 'gemitusque,' etc., as subject of 'advertere.'

16. **advertere**, 'attracted,' as 2. 17, 2; 4. 21, 5; 6. 44, 1, etc. For other uses of the word. see 3. 52, 2; 4. 54, 2, etc.

**progrediuntur contuberniis.** Tacitus appears to follow the 'progredior portu' of Verg. Aen. 3. 300. On other such ablatives, see Introd. 5. § 24.

**quis ille**, etc. The construction is here to be taken as designedly broken and exclamatory, to express the agitation of the speakers. 'What is this sound of mourning? What this sight so sad? Here are women of rank—not a centurion—not a soldier as escort—not a mark of the general's wife or of her usual retinue—setting out for the Treviri'! etc. Such exclamatory sentences are given in 14. 8, 4, and, according to some, in c. 35, 2 ('neu mortem,' etc.). With 'quod,' we should expect a substantive (cp. 'quod nomen,'

sonus? quod tam triste? feminas inlustres, non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus soliti: pergere ad Treveros [et] externae fidei. pudor inde et miseratio et patris Agrippae, Augusti avi memoria, socer Drusus, 3
ipsa insigni fecunditate, praeclara pudicitia; iam infans in castris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo Caligulam appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. sed nihil aeque flexit 4
quam invidia in Treveros: orant obsistunt, rediret maneret,

c. 42, 4), and, though 'triste' may have a substantival force (as 'triste . . . evenit' 15. 34, 1; 'triste lupus stabulis' Verg. Ecl. 3, 80), the addition of 'tam' supports the conjecture (see Halm, Comm. Crit.), that 'spectaculum,' answering to 'sonus,' may have dropped out.

3. **ad Treveros [et] externae fidei.** If we are to follow most commentators in taking the last words as a concise genitive of quality (cp. Introd. v. § 34); they should certainly be joined closely to 'Treveros,' without a needless and even misleading conjunction. 'Et' appears also redundant before 'externae' in H. 5. 10, 3. But the force of such an expression here (as of 'externa superbia' in 15. 31, 2), should be 'homines talis fidei, qualis apud externos esse solet,' i.e. 'parvae fidei;' an interpretation, which, if open to no other objection, seems to misrepresent the thought of the speakers, which is not one of anxiety for Agrippina's safety, but of self-reproach, that the fidelity of foreigners should be the refuge of a Roman general's wife against a Roman army. The alternative explanation, taking 'externae fidei' as a dative adapted in construction to the idea of some such verb as 'committi,' supplied by zeugma from 'pergere,' is hardly justified even by the boldness with which Tacitus uses this figure (see Introd. v. § 83). Some corruption is therefore to be suspected; though the emendations 'externam fidem' (Nipp.), or 'externae tradi fidei' (see Halm, Comm. Crit.), have hardly won general acceptance. On the Treveri, see 3. 40, 1, etc.

4. **socer Drusus,** etc. All these clauses express the thoughts influencing the soldiers, and lead up to 'sed nihil,' etc. The passage begins regularly, but abruptly passes from 'patris . . . memoria' to a pregnant construction, in which mention of the object of thought implies the thought itself. For a similar transition, cp. 'cum . . . ad memoriam coniugii et infantiam liberorum revolveretur' (11. 34, 1). Wolf remarks that here the change seems designedly introduced, as if to denote that not merely the recollection, but the image itself of Drusus, their former beloved commander, is as vividly before them as those whom they actually saw. The relationship expressed is throughout that of Agrippina.

5. **insigni fecunditate.** Of the nine children whom she had in all, three were now living, and six had been born. See Introd. ix.

**in castris genitus.** Gaius was now just two years old. Tacitus here follows the popular belief, as expressed in an epigram quoted by Suetonius (Cal. 8), 'In castris natus,' etc. But he was born when his father, as consul, was in Rome; and Suetonius (l. l.) shows, from a letter of Augustus, that the child was in Italy not long after the date of birth; and that the birthplace was stated in the 'acta publica' to have been Antium.

6. **militari vocabulo**: see on c. 23, 4.

7. **ad concilianda vulgi studia.** The 'caliga' was not worn by officers above the rank of centurion, and is thus so far characteristic of the common soldier, that 'caligatus' is used for 'miles gregarius' (Suet. Aug. 25; Vit. 7), and 'in caliga,' or 'a caliga' for 'in,' or 'from the ranks' (Pl. N. H. 7. 42, 44, 135; Sen. de Benef. 5. 16, 2). Hence it is called 'habitus gregalis' (c. 69, 5), or 'manipularius' (Suet. Cal. 9).

8. **aeque quam**: cp. 14. 38, 3, etc. In prose from Livy, who appears to take it from Plautus.

9. **orant obsistunt,** etc. The construction is again designedly abrupt: 'orant' is explained by 'rediret,' 'maneret;' 'obsistunt' refers strictly to 'pars . . . occursantes,' and more loosely to 'plurimi . . . regressi.'

pars Agrippinae occursantes, plurimi ad Germanicum regressi.
5 isque ut erat recens dolore et ira, apud circumfusos ita coepit.

1 **42**. 'Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores sunt, sed illum quidem sua maiestas, imperium Romanum ceteri
2 exercitus defendent. coniugem et liberos meos, quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium offerrem, nunc procul a furentibus summoveo, ut quidquid istud sceleris imminet, meo tantum sanguine pietur, neve occisus Augusti pronepos, interfecta Tiberii nurus
3 nocentiores vos faciant. quid enim per hos dies inausum inte-
4 meratumve vobis? quod nomen huic coetui dabo? militesne appellem, qui filium imperatoris vestri vallo et armis circumsedistis? an cives, quibus tam proiecta senatus auctoritas? hostium quoque ius et sacra legationis et fas gentium rupistis.
5 divus Iulius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit, Quirites

2. **recens dolore et ira,** 'fresh from,' i.e. with their influence still strong upon him: cp. 'stipendiis recentes' 15. 59, 7, 'recens victoria' H. 3, 77, 5. So one who had been lately praetor is called 'recens praetura' (4. 52, 2). The more classical construction would be with the prep., as 'recens a vulnere Dido' Verg. Aen. 6, 450; but the usage here is analogous to that of the abl. of place whence (see Introd. v. 24).

5. **liberos**; a rhetorical plural, one child only being present.

7. **istud sceleris,** partitive genitive, like 'quicquid . . . auctoritatis' 14. 43, 2. On the freedom with which such are used by Tacitus, cp. Introd. v. § 32.

8. **pietur.** Nipp. has noticed the peculiar use of this word here to denote, not an expiation of guilt, but an act on which guilt might exhaust itself. Cp. Prop. 4 (3). 19, 18 (of Medea) 'quo tempore matris iram natorum caede piavit amor.' The word is generally poetical, the usual prose word being 'expiare.'

9. **inausum intemeratumve.** Both words appear first in Vergil (Aen. 7. 308; 2. 143, etc.). The former, found here alone in Tacitus, occurs in earlier prose (Sen. Ep. 91, 15); the latter seems introduced into prose by Tacitus, but used freely by him, even where the passage is not rhetorical (as c. 49, 6, etc.).

10. **quod nomen,** etc. That this speech is mainly a rhetorical composition, would appear from the evident reminiscence here of that purporting in Livy (28. 27) to have been addressed by Scipio Africanus to his mutinous troops: 'ad vos quemadmodum loquar, nec consilium, nec oratio suppeditat; quos ne quo nomine quidem appellare debeam, scio. Cives? qui a patria vestra descistis: an milites? qui imperium auspiciumque abnuistis, sacramenti religionem rupistis.'

11. **vallo et armis circumsedistis.** Walther appears to be right in treating this as rhetorical and figurative; as neither the occurrences in the summer camp (c. 35), nor those in the winter quarters (c. 39), bear out a literal interpretation.

12. **proiecta,** 'trampled under foot:' so 'proiectum consulare imperium' Liv. 2. 27, 11. In 3. 65, 4, it is adjectival, in the sense of 'abject.' The contempt for the senate here alluded to, is that implied in their treatment of its delegates (c. 39, 6).

**hostium quoque ius,** 'even rights accorded to enemies;' i.e. 'laws of war.' This and the two following expressions are all a rhetorical amplification of one idea, the conjunctions being epexegetical.

13. **sacra,** 'sanctity;' as 'sacra regni' (2. 65, 4); 'mensae' (13. 17, 3).

**fas gentium,** 'international obligation;' i.e. 'law of nations.' Cp. 'fas disciplinae' (c. 19, 3); 'fas patriae' (2. 10, 1), etc.

14. **divus Iulius,** etc. Two mutinies in his time are mentioned by Suetonius (Jul. 69; 70); and this circumstance is referred to the latter of them (that of the tenth legion near Rome in 707, B.C. 47) by him, as also by Appian (B.C. 2. 93),

vocando qui sacramentum eius detrectabant: divus Augustus
vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit: nos ut nondum
eosdem, ita ex illis ortos si Hispaniae Suriaeve miles asperna-
retur, tamen mirum et indignum erat. primane et vicensima 6
legiones, illa signis a Tiberio acceptis, tu tot proeliorum socia,
tot praemiis aucta, egregiam duci vestro gratiam refertis? hunc 7
ego nuntium patri, laeta omnia aliis e provinciis audienti, feram?
ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos non missione, non pecunia sati-
atos; hic tantum interfici centuriones, eici tribunos, includi le-
gatos, infecta sanguine castra flumina, meque precariam animam
inter infensos trahere.

and Dio (42. 53, 3). Merivale (ch. xvi. p. 222) prefers the authority of Lucan (5, 358), who tells this story of the earlier mutiny at Placentia in 705, B.C. 49. In H. 3. 24, 3, Antonius is made to reproach soldiers as 'pagani;' and Alexander Severus is recorded (Lamprid. 52) to have often disbanded legions by merely styling them 'Quirites.'

1. **divus Augustus**, etc. Other accounts of this mutiny represent Augustus as having hastily returned to Brundusium in the winter following Actium, and appeased the military discontent by rewards (Suet. Aug. 17; Dio, 51. 3, 4). In this passage there may be some confusion with the incidents of an earlier mutiny, in 719, B.C. 35, which appears to have been more formidable, and more energetically dealt with: see Liv. Epit. 131; Dio, 49. 34.

2. **nos.** The context shows that this refers to himself alone; Tiberius not being of the blood of Augustus, nor unknown (see 2. 3, 4) to the Syrian legions.

**ut . . . ita.** See on c. 12, 1.

3. **Hispaniae Suriaeve**; i. e. 'an army to which I was personally unknown.'

4. **erat.** On the force of this indicative, see Introd. v. § 50 b, 2. Nipp. has here collected instances of it, as also of the subjunctive in similar expressions.

**primane,** etc. The construction is partly interrogative, partly exclamatory, as suited to the excitement of the speaker. It has been thought from the following words that the first legion had been enrolled by Tiberius (cp. 'ipsius tirones'), probably after the defeat of Varus. But it had not been one of the legions then lost (see Introd. vii. p. 21), and it is unlikely that no first legion had previously existed. Mommsen (on Mon. Anc. p. 46) suggests that it may have lost colours, when the fifth legion lost its eagle, in the defeat of Lollius (see on c. 10, 3); and may have received new ones from Tiberius after the death of Drusus. This would certainly not entitle them to be called his 'tirones;' and, if the context obliges us to restrict this to one of the legions and 'veteranos' to the other, it would be far easier to suppose the twentieth, which probably did not exist till 760, A.D. 7 (see Introd. l. l.), to have been enrolled by him for the Illyrian war. It is perhaps possible to suppose such a distinction in respect of comparative nearness in the thought of the speaker as might justify a reference of 'illa' to the legion last mentioned, but on whose achievements less stress is laid (cp. c. 70, 6, and note there); or that in the composition of this speech, which can hardly be altogether treated as historical, the antecedents of these two legions may have been confused.

6. **egregiam.** In his frequent ironical use of this word (c. 59, 3; 3. 17, 5; H. 1. 33, 3; 4. 32, 4), Tacitus appears to follow Vergil (Aen. 4, 53).

**duci**; sc. 'Tiberio.' The allusion to their former service under him is still sustained.

9. **includi legatos.** The mention of these with the centurions and tribunes, as well as the inapplicability of 'includi' to the delegates of the senate, who had already departed (c. 39, 8), suggests that the 'legati legionum' are meant. No act of violence to these has been mentioned, but all the superior officers must have been under some constraint, which would justify their being spoken of as 'imprisoned,' without greater rhetorical

1 **43.** Cur enim primo contionis die ferrum illud, quod pectori
meo infigere parabam, detraxistis, o inprovidi amici? melius
2 et amantius ille qui gladium offerebat. cecidissem certe nondum
tot flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius; legissetis ducem, qui
meam quidem mortem inpunitam sineret, Vari tamen et trium
3 legionum ulcisceretur. neque enim di sinant ut Belgarum quam-
quam offerentium decus istud et claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano
4 nomini, compressisse Germaniae populos. tua, dive Auguste,
caelo recepta mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria isdem
istis cum militibus, quos iam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc
5 maculam irasque civiles in exitium hostibus vertant. vosque,
quorum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor, si legatos senatui,
obsequium imperatori, si mihi coniugem et filium redditis, dis-

licence than that of 'infecta sanguine castra, flumina,' etc.

**precariam,** 'on sufferance:' cp. 'precaria vita' H. 4. 76, 5; 'precarium imperium' H. 1. 52, 6, etc.

1. **Cur enim,** etc. The thought is, 'I am living on sufferance, and it is the fault of my short-sighted friends that I am living at all.'

2. **melius,** sc. 'fecit.' On the omission of such verbs, see Introd. v. § 38 b.

4. **tot flagitiorum . . . conscius,** 'implicated with my army in so many outrages.' As responsible for its discipline, he treats himself as involved in what he had not prevented. Cp. 'quasi scelere contaminaretur' (c. 35, 4). On the construction, cp. 'alius alii tanti facinoris conscii' Sall. Cat. 22, 3; 'si conscius Dymno tanti sceleris fuissem' Curt. 6. 10, 20. The construction is intended to avoid the awkwardness of a double genitive, and, when the dative is that of a personal pronoun, is usual.

6. **sinant, ut.** This construction is found only a few times in Terence, and once in Curtius, 'nec di siverint ut . . . quisquam . . . possit' (5. 8, 3).

7. **claritudo.** Wölfflin notes (Philol. 25, 99) that Tacitus shows a growing preference for this more archaic form (Cato, Sisenna) instead of the Ciceronian 'claritas,' throughout the Annals, especially in the last six books, where the latter word occurs once (16. 30, 1), the former twenty times. Except in c. 28, 2, it is used always figuratively, whether of personal renown (as here, and 11. 10, 5; 14. 53, 4, etc.), or of distinguished ancestry (as 2. 43, 6; 6. 47, 3, etc.).

9. **imago.** This should be taken figuratively, and 'tui memoria' as its explanation. That the legions still bore the effigy of one who had been long dead and was not deified, is most improbable; and the apostrophe to Augustus ('tua . . . caelo recepta mens') appeals equally to the imagination.

10. **gloria,** 'pride;' as 'iactantia gloriaque' (c. 8, 2). Thus 'pudor' and 'gloria' are joined in H. 2. 21, 6; cp. 'generandi gloria mellis' (Verg. G. 4, 205). Akin to this is its use in a bad sense, as 'vaingloriousness' (14. 15, 3, etc.).

**hanc maculam.** This is by some wrongly referred to the defeat of Varus, of which 'illam' would rather have been used. It means the stain of mutiny, and is explained by 'iras civiles,' as 'eluant' by 'in exitium hostibus vertant.' The expedition in c. 49, 5, is called 'piaculum furoris,' and similar expressions are used in c. 51, 7.

11. **vosque.** etc. The speaker is represented as skilfully imagining the existence of the change of feeling which he desires to produce.

12. **si legatos senatui . . . redditis.** They would give him back his wife and son by so behaving that he could safely recall them. The figure of 'giving back to the senate its delegates' seems more farfetched, and merely to denote due recognition of them as such; unless we suppose him to represent them rhetorically as still in the power of the legions, and not yet in safety.

cedite a contactu ac dividite turbidos: id stabile ad paenitentiam, id fidei vinculum erit.'

**44.** Supplices ad haec et vera exprobrari fatentes orabant 1
puniret noxios, ignosceret lapsis et duceret in hostem: revocaretur coniunx, rediret legionum alumnus neve opses Gallis traderetur. reditum Agrippinae excusavit ob inminentem partum 2
et hiemem; venturum filium: cetera ipsi exsequerentur. dis- 3
currunt mutati et seditiosissimum quemque vinctos trahunt ad legatum legionis primae C. Caetronium, qui iudicium et poenas de singulis in hunc modum exercuit. stabant pro contione legiones destrictis gladiis; reus in suggestu per tribunum os- 4
tendebatur: si nocentem adclamaverant, praeceps datus trucidabatur. et gaudebat caedibus miles, tamquam semet absol- 5
veret; nec Caesar arcebat, quando nullo ipsius iussu penes

1. **a contactu,** 'from contagion:' so used properly in 4. 49, 4, and figuratively often in Tacitus, as 6. 7, 4, etc.

**dividite** = 'secernite:' cp. 'provinciae quae mari dividuntur' (2. 43, 2); 'dividere defensionem' (3. 15, 3). Earlier prose writers appear always to add the prep. and abl. of separation.

6. **reditum Agrippinae excusavit.** Elsewhere, the accusative with this verb either denotes that which has been done, and is apologised for; or (as in 3. 11, 2, etc.) that which is pleaded in excuse. Here it means 'excusavit Agrippinam, quod non rediret.'

**inminentem.** This belongs properly to 'partum,' but may extend its force somewhat to 'hiemem.' An altar at Ambitarvium, a Treveran village near Coblenz, inscribed 'ob Agrippinae puerperium,' is recorded to have been seen by Pl. mai. (Suet. Cal. 8). Mommsen shows (Hermes, 13. pp. 256, foll.) that neither of the children born in Germany (Introd. ix. note 14; 15) can have been born in this year; and that we must suppose at this time the probable premature birth of a child which never lived, and which has no place in the list given by Suetonius.

9. **legatum legionis.** On these officers, see Introd. vii. p. 105. Caecina, the 'legatus Augusti propraetore,' who had led these legions to winter quarters, appears now to have gone to the other camp at Vetera: see c. 48, 1.

**poenas . . . exercuit.** This appears to be taken from Vergil (Aen. 6, 543); and its strangeness is here softened by combination with the regular phrase 'iudicium exercere.'

10. **pro contione.** This construction is familiar in the phrase 'laudare aliquem pro contione' (2. 22, 1; Sall.; Liv., etc.), where it is generally explained to mean 'before the assembly.' But here the legions are the assembly. Also, there appears to be some evidence that the 'tribunal' or 'rostrum' may itself be called 'contio.' Even thus, if 'pro contione' were equivalent to 'pro tribunali' or 'pro rostris,' and analogous in Tacitus to 'pro ripa,' 'pro munimentis,' 'pro muris' (2. 9, 3; 13, 4; 81, 1); it would describe the position of the speaker standing forth on the platform, rather than the audience facing it. Unless therefore we may take the phrase to mean no more than that they 'stood forth assembled,' we must explain it (with Nipp.) to signify 'after the fashion of an assembly;' the expression being probably chosen to imply that it was not strictly a 'contio' convened by the general, but one self-constituted. No such use of the phrase has been however found elsewhere. A rude trial of this kind, in which soldiers were allowed to butcher those whom they pronounced guilty, is called 'priscus mos' in Ammian. 2. 9, 5.

11. **suggestu.** This is the regular term for the 'tribunal' or platform in camps, as H. 1. 36, 1; 55, 5; Caes.; Liv., etc. The construction of such with piled up turf is described in c. 18, 4, but it might often be a more permanent structure.

6 eosdem saevitia facti et invidia erat. secuti exemplum veterani haud multo post in Raetiam mittuntur, specie defendendae provinciae ob imminentis Suebos, ceterum ut avellerentur castris trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedii quam sceleris me-
7 moria. centurionatum inde egit. citatus ab imperatore nomen, ordinem, patriam, numerum stipendiorum, quae strenue in prae-
8 liis fecisset, et cui erant dona militaria, edebat. si tribuni, si legio industriam innocentiamque adprobaverant, retinebat ordinem: ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu obiectavissent, solvebatur militia.

1 **45**. Sic compositis praesentibus haud minor moles supererat

1. **secuti exemplum,** sc. 'legionum.' The separation of the 'veterani sub vexillo' from the legions is here clearly indicated.

2. **Raetiam.** This name strictly answers to the modern Grisons and Tyrol, but often, as here, is taken to include the frontier country of Vindelicia; which comprised Southern Bavaria between the Inn and the Upper Danube, and extended later to the 'limes Romanus.' See Introd. vii. p. 93. Both countries were reduced to subjection by Drusus and Tiberius in 739, B.C. 15 (Liv. Epit. 138; Vell. 2. 39, 3; Hor. Od. 4. 4 and 14). Their only important town was 'Augusta Vindelicorum' (Augsburg): see G. 41, 1.

3. **Suebos.** The various tribes grouped under this name extended in the time of Tacitus from the Baltic to the Danube (cp. G. 38–43), and many of them had been formed into a powerful organization by Maroboduus; on whom see note on 2. 44, 5.

**ceterum**: cp. c. 10, 1.

**castris.** Nipp. takes this as dat.; but Vergil has the abl. 'complexu avolsus Iuli' (Aen. 4, 616).

4. **trucibus**, 'gloomy:' cp. 'lucosque vetusta relligione truces' Claud. Laud. Stil. 1, 229.

5. **centurionatum inde egit.** The sense required is that of 'centuriones recensuit,' or 'creavit;' the former process alone being described, but the latter implied; as the vacancies of those dismissed or killed (c. 32, 3) had to be filled up. But 'centurionatus,' which (according to Nipp.) is found only in Val. Max. 3. 2, 23, and in an inscription of Antonine times (I. R. N. 2653), must mean 'the office of centurion' (cp. 'optionatus,' 'decurionatus,' etc.); and thus the centurion himself should rather be said 'centurionatum agere.' It is perhaps possible, on the analogy of 'delectum agere,' to make the phrase mean 'to hold an election of centurions;' but more probably the passage is corrupt. The most plausible emendation, however, 'centurionum reatum' (Bernhardy, cited by Baiter), introduces a word unknown in Tacitus and very rare otherwise; and one which hardly seems to bear the meaning here required.

7. **dona militaria**, 'decorations.' Such are mentioned in 3. 21, 3; Juv. 16, 57–60; and many inscriptions (See Henzen, Index, p. 144). The brilliant appearance of an army when these were worn, as in full dress, is described in H. 2. 89, 3.

**si . . . adprobaverant, . . . ubi . . . obiectavissent.** 'Si' and 'ubi' are interchanged (both with indic.) in 4. 17, 1; 'si' and 'ut' (both with subj.) in 11. 28, 3; and such changes are frequent: see Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 233. The moods are interchanged, as here, in 6. 18, 5, where see note. Here there appears to be a compromise between the subj. of repeated action, usual in writers of this age, and the indic. of earlier writers. See Introd. v. § 52. Walther takes it to imply that approval was the rule and disapproval the exception.

9. **avaritiam**, in selling 'vacationes.' See on c. 17, 6.

10. **solvebatur militia.** This is the 'ignominiosa missio;' as distinct from the 'honesta,' on completion of service, and 'causaria,' for disease. Macer, Dig. 49. 16, 13.

11. **praesentibus**: cp. c. 30, 5.

**moles**, 'difficulty;' as 2. 78, 1, etc.

ob ferociam quintae et unetvicensimae legionum, sexagensimum
apud lapidem (loco Vetera nomen est) hibernantium. nam primi 2
seditionem coeptaverant: atrocissimum quodque facinus horum
manibus patratum; nec poena commilitonum exterriti nec pae-
nitentia conversi iras retinebant. igitur Caesar arma classem 3
socios demittere Rheno parat, si imperium detrectetur, bello
certaturus.

**46.** At Romae nondum cognito, qui fuisset exitus in Illyrico, 1
et legionum Germanicarum motu audito, trepida civitas incusare
Tiberium quod, dum patres et plebem, invalida et inermia,
cunctatione ficta ludificetur, dissideat interim miles neque du-
orum adulescentium nondum adulta auctoritate comprimi queat.
ire ipsum et opponere maiestatem imperatoriam debuisse ces- 2
suris, ubi principem longa experientia eundemque severitatis

This use of the word had been already adopted by Livy (25. 11, 18) from Vergil (Aen. 1, 33, etc.).

1. **quintae et unetvicensimae.** On the departure of these legions from the summer camp, cp. c. 37, 3.

2. **Vetera.** This station, though here described as if unknown to the reader, had been frequently mentioned in the 'Histories.' The full name, 'Vetera castra,' is given in H. 4. 21, 1; 5. 14, 1. The locality is identified by geographers with that of Birten, near Xanten, between Cleves and Wesel. This would well suit the distance (sixty Roman miles) if reckoned from Köln. The Itinerary of Antoninus (p. 370, cited by Orelli), placing it at a distance of sixty-three 'millia passus' from Bonn, cannot be correct, if 'Vetera' be placed at Xanten. See note on c. 39, 1.

3. **primi coeptaverant**: see c. 31, 3.

4. **paenitentia.** With this 'commilitonum' may be again supplied, or it may be taken (with Nipp.) to mean their own penitence.

5. **arma.** This is often used for 'milites,' as in c. 1, 3, etc. Here the legions especially are meant, as the 'socii' are mentioned separately.

**classem.** This was perhaps a flotilla temporarily got together for use on the river. It is known, however, that a standing German fleet of seagoing ships existed in the time of Drusus (Flor. 4. 12, 26; Suet. Cl. 1), and was employed in 758. A.D. 5, by Tiberius, who carried it to the Elbe (Vell. 2. 106, 2), and even to the Cimbri, or Jutland (Mon. Anc. 5. 14). Germanicus also used (c. 60, 3) and augmented it (2. 6, 2). It is styled in inscriptions 'Classis Germanica' (or 'Augusta Germanica') P. F. ('pia fidelis'): see Orelli 3600; Henzen 6865–6867.

8. **Illyrico.** This is often not distinguished from Pannonia: see c. 52. 3.

10. **invalida et inermia,** 'the feeble and defenceless element:' cp. 'quod imbecillum aetate,' etc. (c. 56, 3). Nipp. has here collected many instances from Tacitus of the substantival application of neuter adjectives to masc. or fem. substantives, to denote them as beings, or things, of a certain class. It is not however peculiar to him, but a classical usage: see Madv. 211 b, Obs. 1.

11. **cunctatione**: see c. 11, etc.

**dissideat,** 'mutinies:' cp. 'discors,' c. 38, 1, etc.

12. **adulescentium.** Germanicus was twenty-nine, Drusus probably about twenty-six, years old. See Introd. ix. note 30, 31.

13. **opponere,** 'to confront them with.'

**cessuris**: cp. 'tracturis' c. 31, 1.

14. **experientia**: cp. c. 4, 3.

**severitatis et munificentiae summum,** 'with sovereign power to punish and reward.' 'Severitas,' though apparently used differently in c. 25, 3; 36, 3, has certainly this force in 3. 21, 2, etc. On the genitive, see Introd. v. § 33, e, $\gamma$. The words might also be taken, with Zumpt (447, n. 1), like 'praestantissimus sapientiae' (6. 6, 2), to mean 'severitatis et munificentiae

3 et munificentiae summum vidissent. an Augustum fessa aetate
totiens in Germanias commeare potuisse: Tiberium vigentem
4 annis sedere in senatu, verba patrum cavillantem? satis pro-
spectum urbanae servituti: militaribus animis adhibenda fo-
menta, ut ferre pacem velint.

1 **47.** Inmotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Tiberio fuit
non omittere caput rerum neque se remque publicam in casum
2 dare. multa quippe et diversa angebant: validior per Ger-
maniam exercitus, propior apud Pannoniam; ille Galliarum
opibus subnixus, hic Italiae inminens: quos igitur anteferret?
3 ac ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur. at per filios pariter
4 adiri maiestate salva, cui maior e longinquo reverentia. simul
adulescentibus excusatum quaedam ad patrem reicere, resisten-
tisque Germanico aut Druso posse a se mitigari vel infringi:
5 quod aliud subsidium, si imperatorem sprevissent? ceterum ut

summae;' but the position of Tiberius, as compared with that of his sons, seems here to be thought of rather than his character.

1. **an Augustum**, etc. The speakers appear to exaggerate the frequency of these expeditions, and wholly to invent the contrast of age. We know of no later expeditions of Augustus to Germany (or rather Gaul) than those of 738, B.C. 16, and 746, B.C. 8 (Dio, 54. 19; 55. 6); in the forty-seventh and fifty-fifth years of his age. Tiberius, though undoubtedly far stronger for his years, was already fifty-six. The absence of any warning of this exaggeration suggests that Tacitus was himself misled by it.

**fessa aetate.** This is a common expression in Tacitus, as 3. 59, 6; 14. 33, 4, etc.

3. **cavillantem**, 'quibbling at.' The word usually means 'to jest' or 'satirize,' but is used in this sense in Liv. 3. 20, 4 'cavillari tum tribuni:' cp. 'cavillante circa crus' (of the cobbler) Pl. N. H. 35. 10, 36, 85.

4. **servituti**, invidiously contrasted with 'pacem.'

6. **Inmotum fixumque.** One of the many imitations in Tacitus of Vergil (see Introd. v. § 97, 4).

7. **omittere**, 'to leave unguarded;' as c. 36, 2, etc.

**caput rerum**: so 'caput rerum Urbem' (of Rome) H. 2. 32, 4. On a similar occasion, later, we have the same idea in other words, 'omissa urbe, unde in omnia regimen' (3. 47, 2).

**se . . . in casum dare.** In 12. 14, 3, Tacitus has 'rem in casum dare;' and such phrases are analogous to 'rem in casum . . . committere' (Liv. 4. 27, 6), and 'dare se in viam' (Cic. Fam. 14. 12), or 'in fugam' (Id. Verr. 4. 43, 95).

10. **subnixus**, 'supported by:' cp. c. 11, 3; 11. 1, 2.

**quos.** The use of this pronoun in the sense of 'uter' is rare, but found in the best authors: cp. 'controversias . . . quisnam anteferetur' (Caes. B. G. 5. 44, 2); 'quem velis, nescias,' i. e. Antonius or Octavianus (Cic. Att. 16. 14, 1): cp. also Cic. ad Fam. 7. 3, 1; Verg. Aen. 12, 719; 727; and several other instances cited by Nipp.

11. **ac ne.** From 'angebant' are supplied both the idea of doubt (with 'quos anteferret'), and of fear (with 'ne . . . incenderentur'). 'Ac ne' is used in H. 2. 34, 2; 3. 46, 3, to subjoin an additional motive for an action. The original text of the MS., 'intenderentur,' has found defenders (cp. Pfitzner, p. 45); but that verb, though often used by Tacitus in the sense of 'to intensify,' appears never used with an accusative of the person.

13. **excusatum.** This participial adjective, in the sense of 'excusable,' is post-Augustan and rare. The adverbial comparative is found in 3. 68, 1, and other adverbial or adjectival uses in Sen., Quint. and Pl. min.

15. **ut . . . iturus.** Dräger notes that, before Livy, this rendering of the Greek

iam iamque iturus legit comites, conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves: mox hiemem aut negotia varie causatus primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime provincias fefellit.

**48.** At Germanicus, quamquam contracto exercitu et parata 1
in defectores ultione, dandum adhuc spatium ratus, si recenti
exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent, praemittit literas ad Caecinam,
venire se valida manu ac, ni supplicium in malos praesumant,
usurum promisca caede. eas Caecina aquiliferis signiferisque 2
et quod maxime castrorum sincerum erat occulte recitat, utque
cunctos infamiae, se ipsos morti eximant hortatur: nam in pace
causas et merita spectari: ubi bellum ingruat, innocentes ac
noxios iuxta cadere. illi temptatis quos idoneos rebantur, post- 3
quam maiorem legionum partem in officio vident, de sententia
legati statuunt tempus, quo foedissimum quemque et seditioni
promptum ferro invadant. tunc signo inter se dato inrumpunt 4

construction of a participle with ὡς is very rare, and not found with the future participle. Tacitus has 'ut . . . arguens' (4. 33, 6); 'ut . . . transmissurus' (H. 2. 58, 4); 'ut . . . positurus' (H. 3. 68, 4). See other instances in Introd. v. § 67.

1. **legit . . . conquisivit . . . adornavit.** On the fondness of Tacitus for asyndeta in lively narrative, see Introd. v. § 65. In such clauses he more frequently uses the historical infinitive (as 2. 31, 1), or present (as H. 2. 22, 3); and with the verb usually at the beginning of its clause, but sometimes for variety at the end in the last clause (as c. 68, 2; 2. 29, 1). Other examples are here collected by Nipp.

2. **causatus,** 'pleading:' cp. 13. 44, 2, etc.; freq. in poets and Livy.

3. **vulgum.** This accus., found in Lucr., Verg., and Liv. is not unfrequent in Tacitus: cp. 3. 76, 2; 4. 14, 4; 6. 44, 1; and several other references given by Nipp.

5. **dandum . . . spatium.** This is equivalent to 'exspectandum;' with which verb, or with such as express or imply design, or attempt, 'si' is often used in the sense of 'whether,' or 'in case that.' See Madv. 451 d. Dräger (Synt. und Stil, § 193) notes the usage as found in Cicero, and Caesar, and especially in Livy, and that it is not really a Graecism.

6. **exemplo,** that of the two other legions (c. 44).

**Caecinam.** He must have gone on to 'Vetera' soon after leading the two other legions to the 'civitas Ubiorum' (c. 37, 3), as he is not mentioned in the events there (c. 39–44).

7. **praesumant:** cp. 2. 73, 6; 3. 46, 2, etc. The word is confined to poets and post-Augustan prose.

8. **promisca.** The first Medicean MS. has always this form (cp. 3. 34. 3; 53, 5; 70, 2; 4. 16, 5; 37, 5); whereas the second interchanges it with 'promiscuus' (cp. e. g. 14. 14, 3 and 15. 9, 2). Halm throughout adopts the former; Baiter and others follow the MS. On such variations, see Introd. v. § 85, Pfitzner, p. 42.

**aquiliferis signiferisque.** On the former cp. c. 39, 7: 'signiferi legionum' are often mentioned in inscriptions. Orelli (on Inscr. 3482) supposes them to be 'signiferi cohortium' (see on c. 18, 3); Ritter, to be the bearers of the 'vexilla' or 'signa' of maniples, for whom no special title appears to occur in inscriptions. Caecina appears to be obliged to act through these officers, as there were no centurions left. See c. 32, 3.

10. **eximant.** The dative with this verb, frequent in poets and post-Augustan prose, is generally used by Tacitus (cp. c. 64, 4; 2. 55, 3; 3. 18, 1, etc.), except in Agr. 3, 3, and perhaps in 14. 64, 1.

11. **causas,** 'excuses:' so 'causam seditioni' (H. 4. 19, 1); 'accipio causam' (Cic. Fam. 16. 19).

15. **promptum.** On the dative with this word, see c. 2, 1.

contubernia, trucidant ignaros, nullo nisi consciis noscente quod
caedis initium, quis finis.
1 **49.** Diversa omnium, quae umquam accidere, civilium ar-
2 morum facies. non proelio, non adversis e castris, sed isdem
e cubilibus, quos simul vescentis dies, simul quietos nox habu-
erat, discedunt in partes, ingerunt tela. clamor vulnera sanguis
3 palam, causa in occulto; cetera fors regit. et quidam bonorum
caesi, postquam intellecto in quos saeviretur, pessimi quoque
arma rapuerant. neque legatus aut tribunus moderator adfuit:
4 permissa vulgo licentia atque ultio et satietas. mox ingressus
castra Germanicus, non medicinam illud plurimis cum lacrimis
sed cladem appellans, cremari corpora iubet.
5 Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hostem,
piaculum furoris; nec aliter posse placari commilitonum manes,
6 quam si pectoribus impiis honesta vulnera accepissent. sequitur
ardorem militum Caesar iunctoque ponte tramittit duodecim
milia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortis, octo equitum
alas, quarum ea seditione intemerata modestia fuit.

1. **nullo . . . noscente,** 'none being able to ascertain:' cp. c. 62, 1; and 'arma,' 'principia noscere' (to distinguish') H. 1. 68, 1; 2. 93, 1.

**quod . . . initium, quis finis.** Walther thinks an explanation possible of the interchange of 'qui' and 'quis,' on the ground that more stress is laid in the first clause on the noun, in the second on the pronoun. But in not a few cases the use of 'quis' for 'qui,' or the reverse, seems to turn on euphony. See Zumpt 134, note; Madvig 88, Obs. 1.

3. **Diversa omnium.** The words might be rendered 'unlike this was the appearance,' etc.; but more probably the genitive is a Graecism like that found often in Horace with words expressing separation; as 'abstineto irarum,' 'sceleris purus,' 'operum vacuus,' etc.: cp. Zumpt 469; Madv. 290, Obs. 3.

4. **facies.** The use of this word in the sense of 'aspectus rei' appears to originate with Vergil, from whom (Aen. 6, 104) Tacitus adopts 'laborum facies' (H. 3. 30, 1): cp. 'facies belli' (H. 1. 85, 2), 'pugnae' (H. 2. 42, 4), 'locorum' (Ann. 14. 10, 5), 'victoriae' (Agr. 38, 2). See above, c. 41, 1.

6. **discedunt in partes.** Nipp. notes the ideas supplied from this above by zeugma; as 'not confronted in battle, nor starting from opposite camps.'

7. **cetera,** 'the issue.' 'Fors omnia regere' is found in Sall. Jug. 51, 1.

11. **illud.** This use of a pronoun in the neuter, where its gender would more classically be attracted to that of the noun referred to, is common in Tacitus, who thus uses 'istud' (2. 38, 4), 'illud' (4. 19, 3), and 'id' (16. 22, 2). Several other instances are collected by Nipp. The usage appears to occur first in Vergil, e.g. Aen. 3, 173 'nec sopor illud erat.'

13. **etiam tum;** this is taken closely with 'truces.'

**animos cupido involat.** This phrase is noted by Dräger as ἅπ. εἰρ., but the construction of 'involare' with the accusative, found also H. 4. 33, 2, and in Pl. mai. etc., is analogous to that of many verbs compounded with 'in,' as 'inrumpere,' etc.

15. **honesta,** i.e. the wounds of honourable battle, contrasted with 'impiis,' polluted by civil war. Cp. 'impius . . . miles' (Verg. Ecl. 1, 71).

**sequitur,** 'seconds:' cp. 'adulationem . . . sequitur' (3. 69, 1).

17. **e legionibus,** i.e. from the four legions of the lower army. These detachments, amounting to about half their

**50**. Laeti neque procul Germani agitabant, dum iustitio ob 1
amissum Augustum, post discordiis attinemur. at Romanus 2
agmine propero silvam Caesiam limitemque a Tiberio coeptum
scindit, castra in limite locat, frontem ac tergum vallo, latera
concaedibus munitus. inde saltus obscuros permeat consult- 3
atque ex duobus itineribus breve et solitum sequatur an inpe-
ditius et intemptatum eoque hostibus incautum. delecta longiore 4
via cetera adcelerantur: etenim attulerant exploratores festam
eam Germanis noctem ac sollemnibus epulis ludicram. Caecina 5

strength, are designated by the legionary names in c. 51, 5.

**quarum** applies to 'cohortes' and 'alae.' The auxiliary troops generally had no share in this mutiny. See c. 36, 2.

**modestia**, 'subordination;' as c. 35, 1.

1. **agitabant** = 'degebant:' so 4. 46, 1; 11. 21, 2, etc.: cp. 'agere' c. 68, 1, etc.

**iustitio**. See c. 16, 2.

3. **Caesiam**. This forest is nowhere else mentioned; but must have been near the point of crossing, which must have been between Xanten and Köln, probably nearer to the former. Some think the name traceable in Coesfeld, where a high tract extends from the Lippe to the Yssel. Another view, more suitable to the probable line of march here, agreeing with Lips., that the name should probably be 'Haesiam' (connected with that of the German war-god), traces it in a formerly existing 'Heserwald,' the name of which survives in the village of Heisingen, near Essen.

**limitem**; this, as well as those mentioned in 2. 7, 5, appear to have no connection with the well-known 'limes Romanus' of later date (Introd. vii. p. 93). The direction of this one may probably be inferred from the position of 'Aliso' (2. 7, 5), westward of Hamm; which is believed to have been one of the forts securing it. Dorsten is supposed also to be on the line of it (Ritter).

**coeptum**, 'laid out.' So '(hortos) a Lucullo coeptos' 11. 1, 1. The word does not in such places imply incompleteness of work, but rather the capability of extension. Nipp.

4. **scindit**, 'penetrates,' or 'passes through.' It is hardly likely that this first march, 'propero agmine,' through a forest within the 'limes,' involved any considerable clearance of obstacles, such as Caecina was sent on to effect in the further march; nor need we suppose that the 'limes' had to be cut away to pass it; the probability being, as Nipp. suggests, that such a barrier had passages at one or more points secured by forts.

**in limite**. Walther and others take this to mean 'touching the barrier,' i. e. so that it formed one side of the camp. The expression would seem rather to imply that the 'limes' was a broad embankment with a double 'vallum,' on which could be formed a long narrow camp, secured in front and rear. But we can hardly suppose it to have been so great a work, and in such a spot it would have been needless to protect the flanks.

**frontem . . . munitus**. On the frequency of this poetical or Greek accus. in Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 11.

5. **concaedibus**. The word appears to be found only in Vegetius and Ammianus, but such barricades of felled trees to protect the flanks are described in Caes. B. G. 3. 29, 1.

**saltus obscuros**. These lay between the 'limes' and the 'Marsi' (see below). Ritter suggests a locality suitable to the narrative, in the 'Haardt-Gebirge,' near Dorsten, between the Lippe and Ruhr. We have no means of knowledge as to the two roads from this point to the Marsi. Those suggested by Klöstermeyer (ap. Rupert.) are routes suitable to longer expeditions.

7. **incautum**. This passive sense is found in poets; also in Sallust ('incautos agros invasit' H. Fr. inc. 46 D, 12 K, 3, 71 G), and Livy ('quod neglexeris incautum . . . habeas' 25. 38, 14).

8. **cetera**, in contrast with 'delecta longiore via.'

9. **sollemnibus epulis ludicram**, 'a night of games at the festival banquet.' The great national game of the Germans is described in G. 24, 1 'genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. Nudi iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu iaciunt.'

cum expeditis cohortibus praeire et obstantia silvarum amoliri
6 iubetur: legiones modico intervallo sequuntur. iuvit nox si-
deribus inlustris, ventumque ad vicos Marsorum et circumdatae
stationes stratis etiam tum per cubilia propterque mensas, nullo
7 metu, non antepositis vigiliis: adeo cuncta incuria disiecta erant
neque belli timor, ac ne pax quidem nisi languida et soluta inter
temulentos.

1 **51.** Caesar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret, quattuor
in cuneos dispertit; quinquaginta milium spatium ferro flam-
2 misque pervastat. non sexus, non aetas miserationem attulit:
profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum
3 quod Tamfanae vocabant solo aequantur. sine vulnere milites,
4 qui semisomnos, inermos aut palantis ceciderant. excivit ea

3. **Marsorum.** This people appear in these books (cp. c. 56, 7; 2. 25, 2) as one of the chief names in this part of Germany, like the Cherusci and Chatti, and are mentioned by Strabo (7. 1, 3, p. 290) as having retreated before the Romans into the interior; but in the 'Germania' appear only as an 'antiquum nomen' (c. 2, 4). Nipp. gives the probable explanation, that the name is that of a combination or aggregate of some such tribes as those mentioned in G. 34, 1, and that it had become dissolved by the time of Tacitus. The locality of the Marsian villages here mentioned would appear to be between the Lippe and the Ruhr, perhaps near Dortmund.

**circumdatae**; probably, as Joh. Müller suggests, 'vicis' should be supplied, and 'stratis' should be taken as abl. abs.

5. **antepositis**, 'placed in front of them;' so 'antepositis propugnaculis' 12. 56, 3.

**disiecta**, disorganized:' cp. 'disiectas per catervas' 2. 45, 3. For other senses of the word, cp. c. 32, 7, etc.

6. **ne pax quidem**, etc., 'even their peace was but the weary and reckless ease of the drunken.' Dräger notes the application in Cicero of 'languidus' to such conceptions as 'senectus,' 'studium,' 'voluptates:' 'inter temulentos' is repeated from H. 1. 80, 3; and this prep. is often used thus concisely (cp. H. 1. 1, 2; 34, 2; 2. 92, 2), where an abl. abs.' or such a clause as 'cum temulenti essent,' would be expected.

8. **avidas.** Tacitus appears to follow Horace (Od. 3. 4, 58) in using this word, without qualification, of eagerness for battle.

9. **cuneos.** This formation would appear suitable rather to battle than to marching; but the word is capable of a more general meaning, equivalent to 'columns;' as in 16. 27, 1; also as used in opposition to 'catervae' (H. 2. 42, 4), and to 'porrecto agmine' (H. 5. 16, 1), and by Curtius (3. 2) of the Macedonian phalanx.

10. **non sexus**, etc. We have similar complacent descriptions of massacre in c. 56, 3; 2. 21, 3, 25, 4: yet 'mansuetudo in hostes' is noted as a special characteristic of Germanicus (2. 72, 3). Orelli supposes that the duty of avenging Varus would justify such extremities of warfare in the mind of a Roman. It is more probable that such acts towards barbarians would not appear to require justification; though the soldiers are made to express special indignation against 'perfidious peacebreakers' (2. 13, 1).

11. **templum quod Tamfanae vocabant.** The Germans had no temples (G. 9, 3), but the consecrated grove in which their altars were placed is called 'templum' in G. 40, 4. A similar place is the 'lucus Baduhennae' in 4. 73, 7. The attributes of this deity are unknown: the form 'Tanfanae' (Beroald., etc.) is a nearer approach to the name as found in a German line of the ninth or tenth century (cited by Nipp.) 'Zanfana sentit morgane feiziu scâf cleiniu' ('Zanfana sendet morgen kleine feiste Schafe').

13. **palantis**, 'stragglers,' as in c. 30, 1. It is meant that all the enemy were in one or other of these three conditions; many possibly in more than one.

caedes Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes; saltusque per quos exer-
citui regressus insedere. quod gnarum duci incessitque itineri
et proelio. pars equitum et auxiliariae cohortes ducebant, mox 5
prima legio, et mediis impedimentis sinistrum latus unetvicensi-
mani, dextrum quintani clausere, vicensima legio terga firmavit,
post ceteri sociorum. sed hostes, donec agmen per saltus por- 6
rigeretur, immoti, dein latera et frontem modice adsultantes,
tota vi novissimos incurrere. turbabanturque densis Germa- 7
norum catervis leves cohortes, cum Caesar advectus ad vicensi-
manos voce magna hoc illud tempus obliterandae seditionis
clamitabat: pergerent, properarent culpam in decus vertere.
exarsere animis unoque impetu perruptum hostem redigunt in 8
aperta caeduntque: simul primi agminis copiae evasere silvas

1. **Bructeros.** This tribe, divided into 'maiores' and 'minores,' appear to have occupied a tract between the Lippe and the upper part of the Ems, near the modern Münster, and on both sides of the former river. (Strab. 7. 1, 3, 291). They had been reduced by Tiberius (Vell. 2. 105, 1), but had risen against Varus, one of whose eagles they had captured (c. 60, 4). They take part in the rising of Civilis (H. 4. 21, 3; 61, 3, etc.); and later history (see Dict. of Geog.) contradicts the statement of Tacitus (G. 33, 1), that they had been annihilated by his own time.

**Tubantes.** These are mentioned in 13. 55, 5; 56, 6; and, though not noticed in the 'Germania,' were known to Ptolemy, and much later (see Dict. of Geog.). They appear to have moved gradually from their original locality near the Yssel in a south easterly direction (see on 13. 55, 5), and to have lived at this time south of the Ruhr.

**Usipetes.** These are elsewhere called 'Usipi' (e.g. 13. 55, 5; 56, 6), and closely joined with the Tencteri (G. 32, 1, etc.). These two tribes fronted the Rhine throughout a considerable part of the Lower Province. The Usipi furnish a cohort to the army of Britain in the time of Domitian (Agr. 28, 1), but are unknown after the date of the 'Germania.'

2. **gnarum**: cp. c. 5, 4.

**incessitque itineri et proelio,** 'he ordered his advance alike for marching and fighting.' Such a disposition of troops is similarly described in 13. 40, 2 'viae pariter et pugnae composuerat exercitum;' and in Curtius (3, 8) by 'itineri simul paratus et praelio.' On this use of the dative, see note on c. 23, 6. The chief peculiarity here consists in the absence (through use of an intransitive verb) of the substantive on which such dative usually more or less depends (see Roby, 1156). 'Incessit' has the force of 'incessum instituit,' as 'honori decucurrit' (2. 7, 4) is equivalent to 'honori decursum duxit,' and as 'signum' is supplied in the phrase 'receptui canere.'

3. **auxiliariae cohortes.** As it is plain from what follows that these did not all march in front, the suggestion of Nipp. is probable, that some numeral, such as x, may have dropped out after, or become altered into, 'et.'

**ducebant;** absolutely, as ἡγοῦμαι is often used. The arrangement, nearly the same as in c. 64, 8, is one of the forms of the 'quadratum agmen,' other dispositions of which are given in Marquardt. Staatsv. ii. p. 411.

6. **porrigeretur.** This verb is here used of extension of columns in file, more usually of extension in line (as H. 5. 16, 1; Agr. 35, 4).

7. **adsultantes.** The accus. with this verb, as also those with 'incurrere' and 'evasere' below, are instances of the fondness of Tacitus for such constructions with compound verbs: see Introd. v. § 12 c. 'Adsultare,' a word not apparently found earlier than in Pl. mai., and chiefly in Tacitus, is elsewhere used by him with a dat. (as 2. 13, 4, etc.), or absol. (as 11. 31, 5, etc.).

10. **illud tempus,** 'the opportunity they had desired' (c. 49, 5).

9 castraque communivere. quietum inde iter, fidensque recentibus
ac priorum oblitus miles in hibernis locatur.

1 **52.** Nuntiata ea Tiberium laetitia curaque adfecere: gaudebat
oppressam seditionem, sed quod largiendis pecuniis et missione
festinata favorem militum quaesivisset, bellica quoque Germa-
2 nici gloria angebatur. rettulit tamen ad senatum de rebus
gestis multaque de virtute eius memoravit, magis in speciem
3 verbis adornata quam ut penitus sentire crederetur. paucioribus
Drusum et finem Illyrici motus laudavit, sed intentior et fida
oratione. cunctaque quae Germanicus indulserat, servavit etiam
apud Pannonicos exercitus.

1 **53.** Eodem anno Iulia supremum diem obiit, ob impudicitiam
olim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox oppido Reginorum,

6. **festinata.** This passive (as 6. 40. 1, etc.) and the corresponding transitive active (as c. 6, 4, etc.) are poetical, but already used by Sall.

**quaesivisset,** 'had courted.' In the subjunct., as part of the thought of Tiberius, who is taken by some to be the subject of the verb, and supposed to view himself as compromised by what was done in his name (c. 36, 4). But the subject 'Germanicus' can be supplied from the following words, as is the object of 'raperet' in 2. 55, 3; and the change of construction, from a dependent clause to a simple case, would resemble that noted on c. 35, 2.

**bellica quoque gloria,** etc. It is not improbable (see on c. 55, 1) that the insignificant campaign just concluded had been greatly overrated at Rome through the popularity of Germanicus. Otherwise, it seems incredible that it could have excited any jealousy, or dread of his increased importance.

7. **rettulit . . . ad senatum.** Dio (57. 6, 2) states that he also sent complimentary letters to Germanicus himself and to Agrippina. The practice of laying before the senate even matters not strictly within their proper business is characteristic of Tiberius, and appears on several occasions (e.g. 2. 43, 1; 63, 3; 88, 1; 3. 47, 1; 4. 15, 3); and several other cases referred to in Suet. Tib. 30: see Introd. vi. pp. 79, 81.

8. **magis in speciem,** etc., 'with a verbiage too ostentatious to win credit for sincerity.' For 'in speciem,' cp. 2. 6, 3; and for other such uses of 'in,' see Introd. v. § 60 b.

10. **intentior,** 'more in earnest:' cp. 3. 35, 2; 13. 3, 1; 15. 62, 2, etc.

**fida.** The application of this word to inanimate things, though common in poets and post-Augustan prose writers, seems confined to them.

11. **indulserat,** 'had conceded:' cp. 2. 38, 3; 11. 20, 3, etc. The passive is found in Liv. 40. 15, 16; otherwise this use appears wholly confined to writers of the silver age.

12. **exercitus.** This plural might be understood here of the separate armies of Pannonia and Delmatia (cp. 4. 5, 4), both loosely styled 'Pannonici.' But nothing has been said in this narrative about the Delmatian army, and 'exercitus' appears to be often equivalent to 'legiones,' e.g. 3. 12, 6; 4. 47, 1; H. 3. 15, 1, etc.

13. **Iulia.** The only child of Augustus. On her marriages, see Introd. ix. note 5. All authorities are agreed upon her vices: see 3. 24, 2; Vell. 2. 100, 3; Sen. de Ben. 6. 32, 1; Suet. Aug. 65; Dio, 55. 10, 12. Some of her sayings and personal traits have been preserved by Macrobius (Sat. 2. 5). She was fifty-three years old at her death, and had lived fifteen years in exile, which at first was voluntarily shared with her by her mother (Dio, l. l.).

14. **Pandateria.** This island is generally identified with Vandotena, a little north of the bay of Naples. It was afterwards the place of exile of Agrippina (Suet. Tib. 53), and of Octavia (14. 63, 1). Julia was kept there five years, her removal to Regium being a slight indulgence (Suet. Aug. 65).

**Reginorum.** The name is thus

qui Siculum fretum accolunt, clausa. fuerat in matrimonio Ti- 2
berii florentibus Gaio et Lucio Caesaribus spreveratque ut in-
parem; nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa cur Rhodum absce-
deret. imperium adeptus extorrem, infamem et post interfectum 3
Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam inopia ac tabe longa
peremit, obscuram fore necem longinquitate exilii ratus. par 4
causa saevitiae in Sempronium Gracchum, qui familia nobili,
sollers ingenio et prave facundus, eandem Iuliam in matrimonio
Marci Agrippae temeraverat. nec is libidini finis: traditam 5
Tiberio pervicax adulter contumacia et odiis in maritum ac-
cendebat; literaeque quas Iulia patri Augusto cum insectatione
Tiberii scripsit a Graccho compositae credebantur. igitur amotus 6
Cercinam, Africi maris insulam, quattuordecim annis exilium

written in the MS., and the orthography is confirmed by inscriptions (e.g. Orell. 3308, 3838, etc.). Nipp. notes that the clause 'qui . . . accolunt' is added to distinguish it from Regium Lepidi (Reggio), between Parma and Modena. Banishment often took the form of restriction to a town: cp. 13. 47, 4.

1. **fuerat in matrimonio**, etc. On her marriage to Tiberius, his retirement to Rhodes, and the death of her sons, see Introd. viii. pp. 113, 114.

2. **inparem**, 'beneath her:' so 'maternum genus impar' (H. 2. 50, 1). Cp. Sall. Jug. 11, 3; Liv. 6. 34, 9. In family, Tiberius was far above her former husband, Agrippa, but had hardly as good a position in the state; and her sons, as adopted into the house of the Caesars, and heirs-designate of Augustus, would rank above her husband.

3. **tam intima**, 'so real.' 'Tam' is used to add force to a superlative by Cic., as 'tam gravissimis iudiciis' (Phil. 12. 5, 11) and 'tam maxime' (de Am. 23).

5. **egenam.** Livy, in a poetical passage (9. 6, 4), adopts the Vergilian 'omnium egeni' (Aen. 1. 599); and Tacitus uses this poetical word with genit. (as 4. 30, 2, etc.), or abl. (as 12. 46, 2).

**inopia ac tabe longa**, 'by privation and slow decay,' i. e. 'tābe per inopiam facta.' Suetonius (Tib. 50) says that after the death of Augustus, Tiberius aggravated her restrictions, and withdrew her 'peculium' and annual allowance. Though she died within the year, her privations may thus have lasted three or four months.

6. **longinquitate**, 'duration,' She had been forgotten so long that none would ask how she died. This sense of the word is fully supported from the best authors (cp. 'longinquitas morbi' Cic. Phil. 10. 8, 16); and Ritter's reference to 6. 14, 4 hardly proves that any place within Italy could be called 'distant.'

7. **Sempronium Gracchum.** There is evidence (Eckhel, v. 304; C. I. L. vi. 1, 1515) that his praenomen was 'Tiberius.' and that he had been 'iii vir monetalis' and 'quaest. design.;' and Nipp. suggests that he may be the same who is mentioned as a tragedian by Ovid (ex P. 4. 16, 31), and of whom three or four lines and titles are preserved by Priscian and others (Ribbeck, p. 196).

8. **prave facundus**, 'of unscrupulous eloquence:' cp. 'pudens prave' ('with false modesty') Hor. A. P. 88.

9. **temeraverat.** This poetical word is also brought into prose by Livy (26. 13, 13, etc.); it is generally figurative in Tacitus, as c. 30, 3, etc.

10. **contumacia et odiis**, 'through defiance and antipathy,' i. e. by rousing these feelings in her. Nipp. compares 'ira magis quam metu . . . accenderant' (15. 4, 4).

12. **scripsit.** This is a mere aorist, denoting a past event, as 'inposuit' (6. 31, 2), 'patefecit' (11. 9, 4), etc., whereas 'credebantur' expresses the belief at the time when the letters were written.

13. **Cercinam**, the 'Karkenah' or 'Kerkena' islands, in the Lesser Syrtis.

**quattuordecim annis.** On this ablative, see Introd. v. § 26. As this computation would make his exile date from a year later than that of Julia, Nipp.

7 toleravit. tunc milites ad caedem missi invenere in prominenti
8 litoris, nihil laetum opperientem. quorum adventu breve tempus
petivit, ut suprema mandata uxori Alliariae per literas daret,
cervicemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud in-
9 dignus Sempronio nomine: vita degeneraverat. quidam non
Roma eos milites, sed ab L. Asprenate pro consule Africae
missos tradidere auctore Tiberio, qui famam caedis posse in
Asprenatem verti frustra speraverat.

1 **54.** Idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito sodalium
Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam Titus Tatius retinendis
2 Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat. sorte ducti e pri-
moribus civitatis unus et viginti: Tiberius Drususque et Clau-
3 dius et Germanicus adiciuntur. ludos Augustales tunc primum

suggests that he was the person whose punishment was deferred till the expiration of his tribuneship (Dio, 55. 10, 15).

4. **constantia mortis**: cp. 'constantia exitus' 15. 49, 2; 63, 4.

5. **vita.** This is usually taken as an abl. and would be a similar modal abl. to 'constantia.' Mr. Frost takes it as the subject of the verb.

6. **L. Asprenate.** Probably this was the nephew of Varus, who is honourably mentioned in Vell. 2. 120, and whose name occurs later in a senatorial debate (3. 18, 5). He is generally identified with the L. Nonius Asprenas, cos. suff. in 759, A.D. 6 (Inscr. Henzen 7130). Nipp. thinks him also the person mentioned by M. Seneca (Controv. 10. praef. 2) as an orator whose fame had perished with him.

8. **speraverat.** This expresses the opinion of Tacitus, whereas 'speraverit,' the conjecture of Freinsh. and Ern. would express that of his authorities.

9. **annus . . . accepit.** On such personifications, see Introd. v. § 75.

**sodalium Augustalium.** These are mentioned in 3. 64, 3; H. 2. 95, 3; Suet. Cl. 6; Galb. 8; and in numerous inscriptions (see Henzen 6045; Index, p. 46, etc.). They ranked with the great priestly colleges, and rose to the number of twenty-eight members: when, after the deification of Claudius, his cultus devolved on them, they are sometimes styled 'sodales Augustales Claudiales.' Afterwards their institution served as a precedent for the creation of 'sodales Flaviales,' 'Hadrianales,' etc. See the authorities cited by Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 449, etc.

11. **sodales Titios.** This old religious brotherhood is mentioned by Lucan (1, 602), Suetonius (Galb. 8), and in many inscriptions, e.g. Orell. 746, 890, 2364, 2365, 2366, etc. Tacitus elsewhere (H. 2. 95, 3) ascribes the foundation to Romulus in honour of Tatius; which is more likely to have been the received form of the legend, inasmuch as Tatius, who (see Liv. 1. 10–14) is really known only as the eponymus of this priesthood and of the old century or tribe of the Titienses, was certainly honoured by sacrifices (Dion. Hal. 2. 52), and may be a god 'Euhemerized' into a man. See Seeley, Hist. Exam. of Livy, b. 1. pp. 37, 73, etc. Nothing is known of the functions of this priesthood; but Varro (L. L. 5, 85), in connecting their name with 'aves Titii,' appears to associate them with the science of augury. Tacitus here supposes them to have kept up the Sabine religion. See Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 427.

**sorte ducti**, etc. In Suet. Galb. 8, we find evidence of subsequent elections by cooptation, but the general mode of election is not known. On 'primores civitates,' see note on c. 24, 1.

13. **adiciuntur**; i. e. as supernumerary or honorary members. Such were not unfrequently added by senatorial election (see on 3. 19, 1). The addition of Claudius is remarkable, as he was not included in the Julian family. On the distinct office of 'flamen Augusti,' see on c. 10, 5, 8.

**tunc primum coeptos.** On the error of supposing an earlier existence of these games, see on c. 15, 3.

coeptos turbavit discordia ex certamine histrionum. indulserat
ei ludicro Augustus, dum Maecenati obtemperat effuso in amo-
rem Bathylli; neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis, et civile
rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi. alia Tiberio morum via: 4
sed populum per tot annos molliter habitum nondum audebat
ad duriora vertere.

**55.** Druso Caesare C. Norbano consulibus decernitur Ger- 1
manico triumphus manente bello; quod quamquam in aestatem
summa ope parabat, initio veris et repentino in Chattos excursu

1. **discordia**, probably 'turbulence:' cp. 'discors' c. 38, 1, etc. Dio (56. 47, 2) states that one of the actors struck for higher pay, and that the people supported him so enthusiastically that the tribunes were forced on the same day to convene the senate to authorise the increase.

**histrionum**. This word (interchanged with 'mimus' in c. 73, 2, 4) is generally applied by Tacitus (e.g. c. 77, 2, etc.) and writers of his age (e.g. Juv. 7, 90) to the ὀρχησταί, who, from the time of Augustus (see Suet. Aug. 45, etc.) are called 'pantomimi.' The art of representing characters by dumb-show (described as 'saltare Agamemnona,' 'Oedipum,' 'Ledam,' etc.), though in some form as old as the earliest Italian drama (see 4. 14, 4; Liv. 7. 2), received such development at that time from Bathyllus, Pylades, and Hylas, that they have been called its inventors (Zosimus 1. 6). Some description of it may be seen in Macrob. 2, 7; Lucian de Salt. c. 67, etc.

**indulserat**. Suetonius (Aug. 45) describes his interest in all public amusements, but adds that his indulgence to the 'histriones' was not untempered by severity; for Hylas and another were scourged, and Pylades temporarily banished (see Dio, 54. 17, 4) by his order.

2. **dum**. See note on c. 23, 6.

3. **Bathylli**; he was a freedman and client of Maecenas, and the chief rival of Pylades. See Dio, 54. 17, 4.

**abhorrebat talibus studiis**. Cp. 'abhorruisse . . . oblectamentis' 14. 21, 2. The case is probably in both instances an abl. like 'meta distabat utraque' (Ov. Met. 3, 145). The simple abl. with verbs expressing difference is rare and poetical; the simple dative rather less rare: see Zumpt 468.

4. **morum via**, 'his character took a different course.' Cp. the use of 'via' alone, 4. 7, 1. On the character given of Tiberius as 'tristissimus hominum,' see Introd. viii. p. 117.

5. **habitum**, 'held in hand,' 'governed:' cp. 'Hispaniae . . . habebantur' 4. 5, 2; 'corruptius habiti (liberti)' H. 1. 22, 1.

**nondum audebat**. It is stated by Dio (57. 11, 5) that he was constantly present at the regular public entertainments during the earlier years of his rule. Occasional treats, such as gladiatorial shows, became very rare under him. See 4. 62, 3.

6. **ad duriora**, 'to sterner courses;' 'duris iudicibus' is used in a good sense (15. 55, 5). Cp. 'dura virtus' G. 31, 5.

7. **Druso Caesare C. Norbano**. 'Flaccus,' the cognomen of the latter, is given in Suet. Vit. 3, and in Fasti (Henzen 6442), which also give M. Silanus as cos. suff. Flaccus appears to have been praetor in 764, A.D. 11 (Henzen, Act. Arv. Index, p. 192).

8. **triumphus**. This was not celebrated till two years later. Cp. 2. 41, 2. Its award seems to show that the insignificant campaign described in c. 50, 51 had been greatly overrated at Rome. See note on c. 52, 1. On the reservation of the full honours of a triumph, or of an ovation (cp. 3. 11, 1) for the imperial family, see note on c. 72, 1.

8. **manente bello**. This was irregular, though not without precedent. At the time of the actual celebration of this triumph, the war was held to be virtually concluded: see 2. 41, 3.

9. **initio veris et repentino . . . excursu**. Nipp. has collected many instances of the somewhat unusual, and especially Tacitean, insertion of a conjunction in such sentences. It is intended here to indicate two distinct contrasts, that of 'in aestatem' to 'initio veris,' and that of 'summa ope' to 'repentino excursu.'

**Chattos**. This powerful tribe, con-

2 praecepit. nam spes incesserat dissidere hostem in Arminium
3 ac Segestem, insignem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide. Ar-
minius turbator Germaniae, Segestes parari rebellionem saepe
alias et supremo convivio, post quod in arma itum, aperuit sua-
sitque Varo ut se et Arminium et ceteros proceres vinciret:
nihil ausuram plebem principibus amotis, atque ipsi tempus
4 fore, quo crimina et innoxios discerneret. sed Varus fato et
vi Armini cecidit: Segestes quamquam consensu gentis in
bellum tractus discors manebat, auctis privatim odiis, quod
5 Arminius filiam eius alii pactam rapuerat, gener invisus inimici
soceri; quaeque apud concordes vincula caritatis, incitamenta
irarum apud infensos erant.

stant enemies of the Cherusci, though also distrustful of Rome (see 12. 28, 2 etc.), are described (G. 30, 1) as inhabiting the tract specified by Tacitus as that of the 'Hercynius saltus,' a term of very wide import in other writers. The Chatti are mentioned in history down to the fourth century, and their name is considered to survive in the modern Hessen, which, with part of Nassau, represents their locality at the time of this expedition.

1. **praecepit**, 'anticipated:' cp. 2. 35, 3, and 'tempore praecepto' Liv. 1. 7, 1, etc.

**dissidere in**, 'were forming factions of.' This new construction is explained by Nipp. as analogous to the personal accus. with 'in' after verbs of distribution, as 'distribuo' (2. 8, 1; Cic. Clu. 27, 74), 'divido' (2. 67, 4; Liv. 40. 59, 2), 'partior' (H. 3. 58, 3; Verg. Aen. 1, 194), etc.

**Arminium.** This prince, here first mentioned by Tacitus, is in Strabo Ἀρμένιος, both forms being equivalents of 'Hermann.' His character and career are summed up in 2. 88. As to his family relations, it is to be gathered that he was of the royal race of the Cherusci, son of Segimerus, and nephew of Inguiomerus, that he had a brother Flavus, who married a princess of the Chatti, and had a son Italicus. Cp. c. 60, 1; 2. 9, 2; 88; 11. 16; 17; Vell. 2. 118, 2. On his wife and son, see c. 57; 58. It is stated by Velleius (l. l.) that he had gained Roman citizenship and even equestrian rank by former military service (cp. 2. 10, 3): whence it is inferred that he must have borne, though he had no doubt renounced, a full Roman name, probably including the 'gentile nomen' of 'Iulius' (cp. 3. 40, 1). See Hübner (in Hermes 10. 393–407).

2. **Segestem**; his son Segimundus is mentioned (c. 57, 2), as also (c. 71, 1) a brother Segimerus and his son.

**perfidia aut fide**, 'the one for treachery, the other for fidelity.' On this use of 'aut,' cp. 'pro . . . decore aut . . . libertate' (2. 46, 3); 'cultus . . . utrisque Dianam aut Apollinem venerandi' (3. 63, 6); and several other instances collected by Nipp. on 2. 30.

3. **parari rebellionem . . . aperuit.** His conduct is stated below as represented by himself (c. 58), and is mentioned by Velleius (2. 118, 4); but he does not appear in the narrative of Dio (56. 18, etc.). On the German practice of discussing important matters over their feasts, cp. G. 22, 3; H. 4. 14, 3.

7. **crimina et innoxios.** This interchange of persons and things, similar to 'insontibus . . . , manifestis flagitiis' (11. 26, 2), and one of the many variations noted by Dräger (Synt. und Stil, § 233), is rendered more natural by the frequent use in Tacitus of abstract for concrete (Introd. v. § 1).

**fato.** On the conception of fate in Tacitus, see Introd. iv. p. 21. The blindness of Varus is similarly explained by Velleius (2. 118, 4).

10. **filiam.** See c. 57, 5.

**gener invisus inimici soceri.** The two last words are taken by Halm as in the nominative plural; on the supposition that the father of Arminius is the Segimerus mentioned by Dio (56. 19, 2) as sharing in the rebellion, and that he and Segestes were therefore enemies.

**56.** Igitur Germanicus quattuor legiones, quinque auxiliarium 1
milia et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum cis Rhenum co-
lentium Caecinae tradit; totidem legiones, duplicem sociorum
numerum ipse ducit, positoque castello super vestigia paterni
praesidii in monte Tauno expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit,
L. Apronio ad munitiones viarum et fluminum relicto. nam 2
(rarum illi caelo) siccitate et amnibus modicis inoffensum iter
properaverat, imbresque et fluminum auctus regredienti metue-
bantur. sed Chattis adeo inprovisus advenit, ut quod imbe- 3
cillum aetate ac sexu statim captum aut trucidatum sit. iu- 4
ventus flumen Adranam nando tramiserat, Romanosque pontem
coeptantis arcebant. dein tormentis sagittisque pulsi, temptatis 5
frustra condicionibus pacis, cum quidam ad Germanicum per-
fugissent, reliqui omissis pagis vicisque in silvas disperguntur.

But the mention of Segimerus seems out of place, and he was probably now dead (see 2. 10, 1); so that it seems better to take the words as genit. sing., and explain them by supposing that 'invisus' and 'inimici' are to be distinguished; the meaning being that Arminius, already at enmity with Segestes on public grounds, was additionally hateful to him from the way in which he became his son-in-law. This would be expanded in the next sentence ('quaeque . . . erant'), where 'apud infensos' answers to 'inimici,' and 'incitamenta irarum' to 'invisus.' The correction of Nipp. 'inimicus soceri' is tempting, both from the analogy of 'invisus avunculo infensusque' (H. 4. 70, 3), and from the likelihood of a loss of the terminal 's,' owing to the initial of the next word. The passages cited from 2. 45, 2, and 3. 16, 6, are hardly apposite.

1. **Igitur**; this takes up the narrative from 'praecepit' (c. 55, 1).

2. **tumultuarias**: cp. 15. 3, 3. Livy often uses the word of troops levied for an emergency. Such are also called 'subitus miles' (H. 4. 76, 2), and 'subitarii' (Liv. 3. 4, 11).

3. **Caecinae.** The service for which he was detached is shown below, where the mention of the Marsi suggests that his advance was in the same direction as that of last year (c. 50, 51).

**totidem legiones.** The four legions of the upper army (cp. c. 37, 4) are under the special command of Germanicus throughout this campaign; hence their legatus, Silius, is unmentioned. See c. 72, 1.

4. **paterni praesidii.** Taunus (cp. 12. 28, 1; Mela 3. 3, 30) is clearly the high tract, still preserving the name, extending, nearly parallel with the Main, from the Rhine to the Nidda between Wiesbaden and Homburg. The fort would therefore be that described in Dio (54. 33, 4), as built by Drusus *παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Ῥήνῳ*.

5. **rapit** = 'raptim ducit:' so 4. 25, 2, etc.; Liv. 3. 23, 3; taken apparently from Vergil (Aen. 7, 725; 10, 178; 308).

6. **L. Apronio.** This legatus, who received 'triumphalia' this year (c. 72, 1), appears from the Fasti (C. I. L. 1. p. 548) to have been cos. suff. in 761, A.D. 8. He is generally identified with the Apronius who had served in Delmatia (Vell. 2. 116, 2); and with the proconsul of Africa in 773, A.D. 20 (3. 21, 1); probably also with the legatus of Lower Germany in 781, A.D. 28 (4. 73, 1; 6. 30, 3).

7. **rarum**: cp. the similar parenthesis, c. 39, 7.

**inoffensum**, 'uninterrupted,' poetical, and in prose from L. Seneca: the transitive 'properare' is found in Sallust, but is also chiefly poetical.

8. **metuebantur.** Lipsius has been generally followed in this correction of the MS. 'metuebatur;' as 'auctus' is probably plural, as well as 'imbres.'

11. **Adranam**, the Eder, which takes a north-easterly course, and, a little above Cassel, joins the Fulda, itself a tributary of the Weser.

14. **pagis vicisque**; these words are thus joined in G. 12, 3. The former is used of some definite cantonal subdivision

6 Caesar incenso Mattio (id genti caput) aperta populatus vertit
ad Rhenum, non auso hoste terga abeuntium lacessere, quod
illi moris, quotiens astu magis quam per formidinem cessit.
7 fuerat animus Cheruscis iuvare Chattos, sed exterruit Caecina
huc illuc ferens arma; et Marsos congredi ausos prospero proelio
cohibuit.

1 **57.** Neque multo post legati a Segeste venerunt auxilium
orantes adversus vim popularium, a quis circumsedebatur, va-
lidiore apud eos Arminio, quoniam bellum suadebat: nam bar-
baris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus rebusque
2 motis potior habetur. addiderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine
Segimundum: sed iuvenis conscientia cunctabatur. quippe anno
quo Germaniae descivere sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus
3 ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles. adductus tamen in spem
clementiae Romanae pertulit patris mandata benigneque ex-
4 ceptus cum praesidio Gallicam in ripam missus est. Germanico

of German tribes; the Semnones (G. 39, 4), as at an earlier time the Suevi (Caes. B. G. 4. 1, 4), being said to have a hundred such. The German 'principes pagorum' are also mentioned (Id. 6. 23, 5); and similar, apparently larger districts, existed in Gaul (Id. 1. 12, 4).

1. **Mattio.** This place is evidently north of the Eder, and has been identified with various localities, one of which, Maden, near Gudensburg, appears to preserve the name. The Mattiaci mentioned later as under Roman rule (11. 20, 4; G. 29, 3), lived in Nassau; their hot springs (Pl. N. H. 31. 2, 17, 20) being identified with Wiesbaden, and their chief town 'Mattiacum' (Ptol. 2. 11, 29) probably with Marburg on the Lahn.

4. **Cheruscis.** In the time of Caesar (B. G. 6. 16, 5) this great tribe appear to have ranked with the Suevi; and they are spoken of ever since the rising against Varus as at the head of the German resistance. In the time of Tacitus, they had been overpowered by the Chatti (G. 36, 2), but the name survives in the fourth century (Claud. Bell. Get. 420). Their country was north-east of that of the Chatti, and between the Weser and the Elbe, in portions of Hanover, Brunswick, etc.; with a confederation probably extending still further to the west.

10. **quanto**: cp. 'quanto inopina' c. 68, 5. On the abbreviation of comparative sentences in Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 64.

**audacia promptus**: so in 14. 40, 3; cp. the similar ablatives 'animo,' 'sermone promptus' (14. 58, 2; H. 2. 86, 3). The dative is more usual, as in c. 2, 1, etc.

**rebusque motis.** Lipsius is generally followed in this correction (from 14. 61, 4) of the MS. 'rebus commotis;' the simple verb, as noted by Walther, being chiefly used by Tacitus to express political disturbance (as 2. 1, 1; 43, 1, etc.).

12. **conscientia**: cp. c. 39, 3. The abl., as also 'memoria' below, is causal: see Introd. v. § 30.

13. **Germaniae.** This plural, denoting usually the two Roman provinces, appears, when used even of tribes beyond the Rhine, to refer especially to such as had been considered to belong to Rome (2. 73, 3; 3. 46, 2; 11. 19, 7; Agr. 15, 4); as distinct from 'Germania,' the general name of the country: Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 121, n. 1.

**aram Ubiorum**: cp. c. 39, 1. The selection of a Cheruscan as priest, and his renunciation of office at the rebellion, tend to show that this altar was dedicated, in token of submission, by the Germans to Augustus and Roma, or possibly to Augustus and Julius. Cp. also c. 59, 6.

15. **benigne exceptus.** As the context shows, he was nevertheless treated as a prisoner, and, according to Strabo (7. 1, 4, p. 291), was exhibited as such in the triumph.

16. **Gallicam.** Nipp. compares 'in Gal-

pretium fuit convertere agmen, pugnatumque in obsidentis, et ereptus Segestes magna cum propinquorum et clientium manu. inerant feminae nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii eademque filia 5
Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque evicta in lacrimas neque voce supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus gravidum uterum intuens. ferebantur et spolia Varianae cladis, 6
plerisque eorum qui tum in deditionem veniebant praedae data: simul Segestes ipse, ingens visu et memoria bonae societatis inpavidus.

**58**. Verba eius in hunc modum fuere: 'non hic mihi primus 1
erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiae dies. ex quo a 2
divo Augusto civitate donatus sum, amicos inimicosque ex vestris utilitatibus delegi, neque odio patriae (quippe proditores etiam iis quos anteponunt invisi sunt), verum quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere et pacem quam bellum probabam. ergo 3
raptorem filiae meae, violatorem foederis vestri, Arminium apud Varum, qui tum exercitui praesidebat, reum feci. dilatus seg- 4
nitia ducis, quia parum praesidii in legibus erat, ut me et Arminium et conscios vinciret flagitavi: testis illa nox, mihi utinam potius novissima! quae secuta sunt, defleri magis quam defendi 5
possunt: ceterum et inieci catenas Arminio et a factione eius iniectas perpessus sum. atque ubi primum tui copia, vetera novis 6

lias traiecti' (12. 39, 4), as showing that, though now peopled by Germans, this side of the Rhine was still regarded as Gallic soil.

1. **pretium.** This abbreviation of 'operae pretium' (2. 35, 1; H. 3. 8, 2) appears to occur in Tacitus alone.

**convertere.** He was in retreat to the Rhine (c. 56, 6), and wheels round again to some point in the enemy's country.

2. **clientium.** On the 'comitatus' of a German prince, cp. G. 13; 14.

3. **uxor,** etc.: cp. c. 55, 4. Strabo (l. l.) gives her name as Θούσνελδα, which Grimm (cited by Orelli) takes to be intended for Thurshilda, Thusshilda, or Thursinhilda.

4. **mariti . . . animo.** Nipp. notes a similar genit., depending on an abl. of quality, in H. 1. 8, 2 ('pacis artibus'), and H. 5. 6, 5 ('specie maris').

**evicta in lacrimas.** On this use of 'in,' cp. Introd. v. § 60 b.

8. **bonae societatis,** 'alliance faithfully kept,' like 'bona fides,' etc.

12. **civitate donatus.** On the bestowal of the 'civitas' by the princeps, see Introd. vi. p. 73; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 855.

**ex,** 'in accordance with;' analogous to 'ex sententia,' 'ex more,' etc.

15. **conducere,** sc. 'iudicabam,' supplied by zeugma from 'probabam.' On the omission of 'magis' before 'quam,' cp. Introd. v. § 64.

16. **raptorem . . . violatorem.** These poetical words are suited to a rhetorical passage, the former being thus used in Vell. 2. 27, 1; the latter in Liv. 4. 19, 3.

19. **nox,** that of the banquet, c. 55, 3.

20. **quae secuta.** This glances at his share in hostilities, as 'consensu gentis in bellum tractus' (c. 55, 4).

22. **tui copia,** 'access to you:' so 'eius copia' Plaut. Trin. 3. 2, 45; Ter. Phorm. 1. 2, 63: more usually, with 'conveniendi.'

et quieta turbidis antehabeo, neque ob praemium, sed ut me per-
fidia exsolvam, simul genti Germanorum idoneus conciliator, si
7 paenitentiam quam perniciem maluerit. pro iuventa et errore
filii veniam precor: filiam necessitate huc adductam fateor.
tuum erit consultare, utrum praevaleat, quod ex Arminio concepit
8 an quod ex me genita est.' Caesar clementi responso liberis
propinquisque eius incolumitatem, ipsi sedem vetere in provincia
9 pollicetur. exercitum reduxit nomenque imperatoris auctore
Tiberio accepit. Arminii uxor virilis sexus stirpem edidit: edu-
catus Ravennae puer quo mox ludibrio conflictatus sit, in tempore
memorabo.

1 **59.** Fama dediti benigneque excepti Segestis vulgata, ut qui-
busque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, spe vel dolore accipitur.
2 Arminium super insitam violentiam rapta uxor, subiectus servitio
uxoris uterus vaecordem agebant, volitabatque per Cheruscos,
3 arma in Segestem, arma in Caesarem poscens. neque probris

1. **antehabeo**, a new word (Introd. v. 69, 5), only here and 4. 11, 5.

5. **praevaleat**, sc. 'apud te.'

7. **vetere in provincia.** The MS. has 'uetera' with 'e' written above 'a.' Jac., Gron., and others (as Pfitzner, p. 47) prefer 'Vetera' (cp. c. 45, 1, etc.). The expression 'vetus provincia' distinguishes, in such cases as Africa (3. 74, 5) and Sicily (Liv. 24. 44, 2; 25. 3, 5), the original portion from later acquisitions; and the German provinces within the 'victa ripa' (c. 59, 6) may possibly be thus designated, if we suppose the country which had risen against Varus to be still regarded as a province in a state of revolt; which other expressions (e.g. 'rebellio,' 'rebelles,' etc.) appear to assume.

8. **nomen imperatoris**: see on c. 3, 1. The words 'auctore Tiberio' show that it was conferred by means of a 'senatus consultum,' as was also the 'proconsulare imperium' (c. 14, 4): see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 1098. Germanicus had this title twice (Inscr. Orell. 655, 660, etc.), and this is thought to be the second time; as a fragment of an inscription seems to give him the title during the life-time of Augustus (see Mommsen in Eph. Epig. i. p. 33).

9. **virilis sexus stirpem.** His name is given by Strabo (7. 1, 4. p. 291) as Θουμελικός.

10. **Ravennae.** This was also the place of exile of Maroboduus (2. 63, 5). Such persons were no doubt held in custody by the officers of the fleet there.

**ludibrio.** In the case of Vonones (2. 4, 5), this term is used of the mockery of royal state kept up in captivity. The allusion here is unknown.

**conflictatus**, 'was harassed:' cp. 6. 51, 2.

**in tempore**, 'at the proper time:' cp. c. 19, 2. This mention must have been made in some lost part of this work. It would certainly appear, as Nipp. suggests, from 11. 16, 1, that the son of Arminius was not living at that date.

11. **memorabo.** Wölfflin notes (Philol. 25. p. 97) that Tacitus, in referring to his own writings, generally uses a plural verb in the Histories (e.g. 1. 10, 6; 64, 3; 2. 63, 1; 4. 3, 3, etc.), and a singular in the Annals (e.g. 2. 32, 4; 43, 1; 16. 14, 1, etc.); the change being apparently due to the growing preference for more unusual forms of expression, which is generally traceable in his style.

13. **invitis . . . erat.** On this Graecism, cp. Introd. v. § 16. Only 'volens' is elsewhere so used, Agr. 18, 3; H. 3. 43, 2; Sall. Jug. 84, 3; 100, 4; Liv. 21. 50, 10; Nipp.

**spe vel dolore**, abl. of manner: cp. Introd. v. § 28.

14. **rapta uxor**, etc., 'the thought of his wife's seizure, and enslavement of her unborn child:' cp. 'an excidit trucidatus Corbulo' H. 2. 76, 6, etc.

temperabat: egregium patrem, magnum imperatorem, fortem
exercitum, quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint. sibi 4
tres legiones, totidem legatos procubuisse; non enim se prodi-
tione neque adversus feminas gravidas, sed palam adversus
armatos bellum tractare. cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis signa 5
Romana, quae dis patriis suspenderit. coleret Segestes victam 6
ripam, redderet filio sacerdotium hominum: Germanos numquam
satis excusaturos, quod inter Albim et Rhenum virgas et secures
et togam viderint. aliis gentibus ignorantia imperi Romani 7
inexperta esse supplicia, nescia tributa; quae quoniam exuerint
inritusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille
delectus Tiberius, ne inperitum adulescentulum, ne seditiosum

1. **egregium**, etc. Tacitus seems here to have in mind the passage of Verg. Aen. 4. 93, etc.

2. **sibi.** On this dative, see Introd. v. § 17: cp. 'quibus . . . legiones procubuerint' H. 4. 17, 6. On the three legions, see Introd. vii. p. 103.

3. **totidem legatos.** Varus was himself the 'legatus Augusti,' but he is separated from the legati in c. 61, 6, and the context seems to show here that the 'legati legionum' are meant. The fate of a legatus named Numonius Vala is mentioned in Vell. 2. 119, 5.

4. **palam.** His attack, though by way of stratagem, is viewed as open war, compared to the treason of Segestes.

5. **bellum tractare**: cp. 6. 44, 3; H. 4. 73, 4. A phrase formed on the analogy of 'negotium tractare,' etc.

7. **sacerdotium hominum.** The MS. has 'sacerdotiū: hominum' with 'e' written over 'u:' and it appears to be considered that the colon is from the same late hand as the 'e,' and inserted to indicate that 'hominem' is to be taken with the following words, and referred to Segestes (see Pfitzner, p. 22). If we suppose the priesthood to be to Augustus, or to him and Julius (see c. 57, 2), 'sacerdotium hominum' may well be a contemptuous expression, like 'inter numina dicatus' below, from a German who recognised no such divinities. For other conjectures, see Baiter, and Halm, Comm. Crit. That of 'hostium' (Nipp. from Halm, Ed. 1), and 'hoc unum' (Bezzenberger, retaining the colon of the MS.), seem the most felicitous.

**Germanos numquam . . . excusaturos**, etc. 'True Germans could never make sufficient apology to themselves, for that they have seen the fasces and the toga between the Rhine and Elbe.' 'Germanos' is no doubt used in indignant contrast to Segestes, but to supply 'Segestem' with 'excusaturos' seems beside the mark. The sentence 'quod . . . viderint' describes the insignia, not of Roman military invasion, but rather of Roman rule, as they had seen it before the defeat of Varus; and Segestes could hardly be regarded as the cause of this. The thought is that the Germans could never forgive themselves for having allowed Roman dominion to exist at all among them, and would now be doubly culpable to suffer its restoration.

9. **aliis gentibus**, etc., i.e. those who knew it not might think it good for them; those who have felt it and cast it off, should not now fear enemies less formidable than those whom they baffled. 'Ignorantia' is a causal abl.: cp. c. 57, 2.

10. **nescia.** This is passively used in 16. 14, 3, and in Plautus: cp. 'gnarus,' 'ignarus' c. 5, 4, etc.

11. **dicatus.** 'Dico' appears to be very rarely (as Pl. Pan. 11), 'dedico' not frequently, used, of consecration or deification of persons.

12. **delectus.** Nipp. appears rightly to see in this an ironical allusion to him as professedly the princeps of the state's free choice (c. 7, 10). The explanation 'chosen for this war,' like 'Titus perdomandae Iudaeae delectus' (H. 5. 1, 1), would have no special significance here.

**adulescentulum.** It has been noted that the age of Arminius (2. 88, 4) was very nearly the same as that of Germanicus.

8 exercitum pavescerent. si patriam parentes antiqua mallent
quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium potius gloriae ac
libertatis quam Segestem flagitiosae servitutis ducem seque-
rentur.

1 **60**. Conciti per haec non modo Cherusci sed conterminae
gentes, tractusque in partis Inguiomerus Arminii patruus, vetere
2 apud Romanos auctoritate; unde maior Caesari metus. et ne
bellum mole una ingrueret, Caecinam cum quadraginta cohortibus
Romanis distrahendo hosti per Bructeros ad flumen Amisiam
3 mittit, equitem Pedo praefectus finibus Frisiorum ducit. ipse
inpositas navibus quattuor legiones per lacus vexit; simulque
pedes eques classis apud praedictum amnem convenere. Chauci
4 cum auxilia pollicerentur, in commilitium adsciti sunt. Bructeros
sua urentis expedita cum manu L. Stertinius missu Germanici
fudit; interque caedem et praedam repperit undevicensimae
5 legionis aquilam cum Varo amissam. ductum inde agmen ad

2. **colonias novas.** The antithesis to 'antiqua' would show that 'novas' belongs to the general contrast, and does not merely distinguish new colonies from older ones; but a special contrast appears to be drawn between dwelling in their fatherland, and migrating to 'new settlements,' such as those of many tribes, and now of Segestes and his train, on the 'victa ripa.' That the Romans, if they conquered Germany, would plant Roman colonies in it, though probable enough, is not here to the point.

5. **sed**, without 'etiam,' as c. 81, 1, etc. So 'etiam' is used without 'sed;' see on c. 77, 1. On other variations of this mode of expression, mostly also found in Livy, see Nipp. here, and on 4. 35, 1; Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 128.

6. **Inguiomerus**; mentioned in this and the next campaign (c. 68, 1; 2. 17, 8; 21, 2), and as deserting to Maroboduus (2. 45, 2).

8. **quadraginta coh. Romanis.** This appears, as Nipp. notes, to be merely a change of expression for four legions, being those of the lower army (c. 64, 8).

9. **distrahendo hosti . . . mittit**; on this dative, see Introd. v. § 22, 6. It is similarly joined to 'mitto' in 2. 1, 2.

**per Bructeros.** Cp. c. 51, 4. His route would be across the Lippe, and through Westphalia.

10. **Pedo**; probably Pedo Albinovanus, to whom Ovid addresses an epistle (ex P. 4. 10), and who wrote a poem on the campaigns of Germanicus, of which M. Seneca (Suas. 1, 15) has preserved a fragment. See Appendix to Book ii.

**finibus.** On this peculiar kind of local ablative, see c. 8, 4, and Introd. v. § 25; and the further instances collected here by Nipp.

**Frisiorum.** This tribe, at present subject to Rome (see 4. 72, 1), is divided by Tacitus (G. 34, 1) into 'maiores' and 'minores.' The Frisii occupied most of the coast of Holland, where part of their territory still retains the name of Friesland. They continued to be important after their revolt from Rome, and formed part of the English conquerors of Britain.

11. **lacus.** See 2. 8, 1; G. 34, 1. One of these is the lake Flevo of Mela 3. 2, 24. Since the great inundations of the thirteenth century, these lakes have become merged in the Zuider Zee.

12. **praedictum.** Nipp. takes this to mean 'before-mentioned,' as in Liv. 10. 14, 7; and often in Velleius. In 2. 6, 4, etc., it means 'appointed,' and may also be so taken here.

**Chauci.** See c. 38, 1.

13. **in commilitium adsciti**, repeated from H. 3. 5, 2. The word 'commilitium' appears not to be found earlier than in Ovid and Velleius.

14. **L. Stertinius**; mentioned often during these campaigns, and always as a leader of cavalry and light troops. Cp. c. 71, 1; 2. 8, 4; 11, 4; 17, 1; 22, 3.

15. **undevicensimae legionis aqui-**

ultimos Bructerorum, quantumque Amisiam et Lupiam amnes
inter vastatum, haud procul Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo reliquiae
Vari legionumque insepultae dicebantur.

**61**. Igitur cupido Caesarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus 1
ducique, permoto ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu ob
propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum et sortem hominum.
praemisso Caecina, ut occulta saltuum scrutaretur pontesque et 2
aggeres umido paludum et fallacibus campis inponeret, incedunt
maestos locos visuque ac memoria deformis. prima Vari castra 3
lato ambitu et dimensis principiis trium legionum manus osten-

**lam.** This passage identifies one of the legions lost with Varus. See Introd. vii. p. 103. Respecting the recovery of other eagles see on 2. 25, 2; 41, 1.

**ductum inde agmen**, etc. Pfitzner (p. 89) supposes the force of Stertinius alone to be here meant, and that Germanicus with the main body moved up the right bank of the Ems, entering the Osning district (see next note) from the north. But the whole passage seems to show that the 'agmen' is the army, and the force of Stertinius only its advanced guard. This district between the Ems and Lippe, i. e. Westphalia between Münster and Paderborn, will thus appear to have been reached by a most circuitous route; and the German military criticism, cited by Pfitzner, that no adequate strategic advantage from the sea-voyage is perceptible, seems fully justified.

2. **inter.** On the position of the prep. cp. Introd. v. 77, 6.

**Teutoburgiensi saltu.** The name is given only here; and the other accounts of the disaster (Vell. 2. 118; Dio, 56. 20–22) do not help to identify the locality, which must have spread over considerable space, as the final catastrophe took place on the fourth day of the retreat. The marshy tract between Beckum and the Lippe, preferred by Nipp. on the ground of its suitability to the description, appears to lie too far west, and too near to the country known to the Romans. The district generally identified with this forest is the Osning, extending, near the sources of the Ems and Lippe, between Paderborn and Osnaburg; and Varus is supposed to have been in retreat from the Weser by way of Herford or Detmold. Tiberius once had a winter camp 'ad caput Luppiae' (Vell. 2. 105, 3).

7. **occulta saltuum**, on this genitive, and 'umido paludum,' see Introd. v. § 32.

**pontes et aggeres**; these are coupled again in 4. 73, 2. On the former, see note on c. 63, 6; the latter appear here, and in 2. 7, 5, to be roads roughly constructed by embankment.

8. **incedunt.** This verb has an accusative of place only here and 14. 15, 6; 22, 6.

9. **maestos locos**; such an application of 'maestus' is frequent in poetry. Tacitus uses another such figure ('tacentes loci') in H. 3. 84, 6. The plural 'loci,' used rather of distinct spots than of localities (cp. 13. 36, 1), is rare, but in Sall. and Liv. as well as in poets.

**visu**, 'the actual appearance,' as opposed to the associations ('memoria').

**prima . . . castra.** It is noticed that the order of description follows that of the retreat of Varus. This may probably have been adopted for pictorial effect; as the advance of Germanicus would naturally be in the reverse direction (see note on c. 60, 5), and it is hardly possible to suppose, as Nipp. suggests, that he altered his route, so as to follow the events in their order. Details of the march and encampments of Varus are given in Dio, 56. 20–22; but some part of his narrative, occupying at least a page of MS., is lost.

10. **principiis**, 'the headquarters,' or central space, from the measurement of which that of the whole camp was taken, containing the 'praetorium,' 'augurale,' etc., and sufficient space to collect the troops for an address (c. 67, 1, etc.). This camp, besides having a wide circuit ('lato ambitu'), had this space regularly marked out, on a scale suitable to the whole force.

**trium legionum manus ostenta-**

tabant; dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa accisae iam reliquiae
cônsedisse intellegebantur: medio campi albentia ossa, ut fuger-
4 ant, ut restiterant, disiecta vel aggerata. adiacebant fragmina
telorum equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora.
5 lucis propinquis barbarae arae, apud quas tribunos ac primorum
6 ordinum centuriones mactaverant. et cladis eius superstites,
pugnam aut vincula elapsi, referebant hic cecidisse legatos, illic
raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici
dextera et suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali contionatus
Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quae scrobes, utque signis et
aquilis per superbiam inluserit.

1 **62.** Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus sextum post cladis

**bant**, 'showing the work of three legions,' i. e. of the undiminished army.

1. **semiruto**, 'half-levelled:' cp. 4. 25, 1. The word is frequent in Livy, who opposes it to 'integer' (36. 24, 6). It is implied that the first camp was still comparatively perfect, and that this second must have been slenderly constructed. Dio (56. 22, 2) speaks also of three φυλακτήρια, not mentioned here.

**accisae**, 'diminished:' cp. 'accisae res' Liv. 6. 5, 2, etc.

2. **consedisse intellegebantur.** On this infinitive, cp. Introd. v. § 45.

**ut fugerant . . . aggerata**, 'scattered or heaped, according as the men had fled or rallied;' 'dispersi' and 'aggerati' are thus opposed in 6. 19, 3.

3. **fragmina.** Tacitus prefers this chiefly poetical word to the classical 'fragmentum:' cp. Introd. v. § 69.

4. **simul.** The idea of proximity is supplied from 'adiacebant.'

**ora.** Nipp. rightly maintains that this can only mean the skulls of men; though the Germans are said (see Orelli) to have sometimes set up the heads of horses offered in sacrifice.

5. **barbarae**; so called with special allusion to the human sacrifices. To some of their gods such were regularly offered (G. 9, 1); and sometimes (cp. 13. 57, 3) the whole conquered army, and all belonging to it, was massacred in discharge of a vow.

**primorum ordinum**: cp. c. 29, 2. Possibly the term may here include, not only the 'primipilus' of each legion, but the 'prior pilus' of each cohort.

6. **superstites**; some were rescued by the reserve force under Asprenas, others subsequently ransomed. Dio, 56. 22, 4.

7. **elapsi**, with accus. in 4. 64, 3; H. 3. 59, 4. The usage is apparently peculiar to Tacitus: cp. Introd. v. § 12 c.

**legatos**: see on c. 59, 4.

8. **vulnus adactum**, taken apparently from Verg. Aen. 10, 850. 'Vulnus adegit' is also found in 6. 35, 4, but the object of the verb is more properly the weapon.

**infelici**, i.e. that could only help him in his despair.

9. **invenerit.** Nipp. gives other instances (c. 76, 6; 6. 45, 5; H. 1. 34, 3) where this tense stands, in 'oratio indirecta,' where that of the principal verb would naturally require a pluperfect. Here there seems to be an especial wish to assist the liveliness of the description, by a nearer approach to the words of the describers.

10. **patibula.** This word appears usually to denote a kind of cross; as 4. 72, 5; H. 4. 3, 3 (cp. 'patibulo eminus adfigebatur' Sall. H. 4. 40 D, 48 K, 24 G). In 14. 33, 6, it is distinct from 'crux,' as in a fragment of Plautus, 'patibulatus ferar per urbem, deinde adfigar cruci,' where it appears to be the same as the 'furca,' or yoke, in which the head and hands were held as in a pillory.

**scrobes.** As it is not probable that they cared to bury the dead, this apparently refers to living burial. The Germans are stated (G. 12, 1) to have been in the practice of burying cowards and infamous profligates alive in morasses.

12. **Igitur.** This seems to take up the relation of what was done, from that of the intention, in the corresponding first sentence of c. 61.

**qui aderat exercitus.** The repeti-

annum trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an
suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut coniunctos, ut consanguineos,
aucta in hostem ira, maesti simul et infensi condebant. primum 2
extruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar posuit, gratissimo munere in
defunctos et praesentibus doloris socius. quod Tiberio haud 3
probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti, sive exerci-
tum imagine caesorum insepultorumque tardatum ad proelia et
formidolosiorem hostium credebat; neque imperatorem auguratu
et vetustissimis caerimoniis praeditum adtrectare feralia debuisse.

**63.** Sed Germanicus cedentem in avia Arminium secutus, ubi 1
primum copia fuit, evehi equites campumque, quem hostis inse-
derat, eripi iubet. Arminius colligi suos et propinquare silvis 2
monitos vertit repente: mox signum prorumpendi dedit iis quos
per saltus occultaverat. tunc nova acie turbatus eques, missae- 3

tion of these words from c. 61, 1 has been treated by Ern. as an interpolation, by Nipp. as a kind of lyrical antistrophe, or imitation of the repetitions of sentimental poetry. The contrast of the living with the dead, the victorious with the slaughtered army, is evidently prominent in the mind of the writer, and it seems hardly possible, where the composition is so elaborate, to suppose such an oversight as that noted by Dräger, in the repetition of 'ad eas res conficiendas' in two successive sentences of Caesar (B. G. 1. 3, 2, 3).

**sextum post cladis annum.** The use of such an expression for 'sexto anno post cladem,' is noted as rare (Madv. 276, Obs. 6); but several instances from writers of this age are collected by Nipp., e.g. 'post decimum mortis annum' Pl. Epp. 6. 10, 3; 'ante quintum mensem divortii' Suet. Cl. 27; 'intra quadragesimum pugnae diem' H. 2. 702.

6. **trahenti,** 'interpreting.' So used with 'in' or 'ad,' after the example of Sall. and Liv., of the judgment formed on an action (as 4. 64, 1, etc.), or the motive assigned to it (as 3. 22, 6; H. 2. 20, 1, etc.): cp. 'varie trahebant' c. 76, 6.

8. **formidolosiorem,** 'more timorous.' The word has this sense but rarely; and (according to Dräger) here only as a genitive of the object, on the analogy of 'pavidus,' etc.

**auguratu . . . praeditum,** 'invested with the augurship, and its time-honoured ritual.' 'Caerimoniae,' from denoting the duties appertaining to a religious office, comes, in Tacitus, almost to stand for the office itself: cp. c. 54, 1, and 'ad capessendas caerimonias' 4. 16, 6. On the priesthoods held by Germanicus, see 2. 83, 2.

9. **adtrectare feralia.** Suetonius (Cal. 3) represents him as collecting the remains with his own hand, which is more likely to have amounted to technical pollution than what is here stated; though the line drawn is uncertain, and probably varied in different priestly colleges. Gellius (10, 15) says of the flamen Dialis; 'mortuum numquam attingit. Funus tamen exsequi non est religio.' Tiberius, then one of the pontiffs, is said by Dio (56. 31, 3) to have received a kind of indemnity for touching the body of Augustus and escorting it; and afterwards, when 'pontifex maximus,' to have interposed a veil when pronouncing the 'laudatio' of his son, lest the sight of a corpse should pollute him (Sen. cons. ad Marciam 15, 3): yet Dio rejects this explanation (though offering no other), of a similar action of Augustus at the funeral of Agrippa (54. 28, 4). Again, holders of priestly offices constantly commanded armies, and seem to have incurred no pollution from the carnage of battle.

11. **copia,** 'opportunity;' usually with genit., as c. 58, 6; 2. 7, 2, etc.

**evehi,** 'to charge:' cp. 'longius evectum' 12. 14, 4; 'evectus . . . equo' Liv. 4. 33, 7.

12. **eripi,** 'to be carried by a rush.' The word is used in the circus of a driver who takes his opponent's ground (cp. 'aequore erepto' Sil. 16, 390); but is here probably a military term.

que subsidiariae cohortes et fugientium agmine impulsae auxer-
ant consternationem; trudebanturque in paludem gnaram vincen-
tibus, iniquam nesciis, ni Caesar productas legiones instruxisset:
4 inde hostibus terror, fiducia militi; et manibus aequis abscessum.
5 mox reducto ad Amisiam exercitu legiones classe, ut advexerat,
reportat; pars equitum litore Oceani petere Rhenum iussa;
Caecina, qui suum militem ducebat, monitus, quamquam notis
itineribus regrederetur, pontes longos quam maturrime superare.
6 angustus is trames vastas inter paludes et quondam a L. Domitio
aggeratus; cetera limosa, tenacia gravi caeno aut rivis incerta

1. **subsidiariae**, 'of the reserve,' as Caes. B. C. 1. 83, 2; Liv. 9. 27, 9.

2. **gnaram**: cp. c. 5, 4.

4. **manibus aequis**: so used by Livy (27. 13, 5), as 'aequa manu' by Sallust (Cat. 39, 4). It is to be noted that the Romans certainly retire with loss, and that we have thus an admission of failure in the only engagement of the whole army recorded in this campaign.

5. **ad Amisiam.** He must have been really in the neighbourhood of this river during the whole land march, so that the point of disembarkation, at or near its mouth, appears here to be intended.

**legiones . . . reportat.** These words, bracketed as an interpolation by Nipp., appear certainly to be both inaccurate and out of place. The legions of Caecina have to be excepted; and, of the remaining four, two were to make part of their retreat by land; nor does the narrative of the movements of any part of this body begin till c. 70. The conjecture of Doed., 'duas legiones,' would stand very awkwardly, unaccompanied by any statement about the others.

6. **pars equitum.** The retreat of this body may be supposed to have been unaccompanied by important incidents. It is probable that we have, in c. 71, an account of the movements of the other portion (see note there); as the narrative of Caecina's retreat mentions no troops but the legions.

**litore Oceani**: cp. 'finibus Frisiorum' (c. 60, 2).

7. **notis itineribus.** His retreat was evidently not by the same route as his advance 'per Bructeros' (c. 60, 2), for the 'pontes' are mentioned below as having fallen into disuse and decay, but his knowledge might date from other times of his forty years' service (c. 64, 6).

8. **pontes longos.** Nipp. notes the practice of making such causeways by mere timbers laid roughly over marshy ground, as probably in c. 61, 2: cp. 'pontibus palude constrata' (Hirt. B. G. 8. 14, 4); but the narrative here seems to describe more regular, though decayed, structures. The locality could only be fixed by knowledge of the point of departure. If Caecina was not detached till after the retreat of the whole army described above ('reducto ad Amisiam exercitu'), his line of march, from the lower Ems to Vetera, would lie across the great Bourtanger morass, where (according to Nipp.) remains of such structures are traceable. But this seems far removed from the strongholds of Arminius, and from any heights deserving the name of mountains (c. 64, 7). If we suppose him to have been detached at some point nearer the Teutoburgian forest, his line of march might have lain by one or other of the localities noted as answering the description, such as Ahlen, south of Münster, or, further west, between Borken and Dulmen, near Coesfeld.

9. **L. Domitio.** The grandfather of Nero, whose achievements in Germany are mentioned in 4. 44, 3; Dio, 55, 10 a. His great exploit, the crossing of the Elbe, appears from Dio to have taken place in the territory of the Marcomani (perhaps then inhabiting part of Saxony), so that we cannot connect his route to it with any probable situation of these causeways.

10. **gravi**, perhaps 'foul:' cp. 'odor caeni gravis' Verg. G. 4, 49. The word 'caenum' generally carries the idea of loathsomeness: cp. 'male olere omne caenum' Cic. Tusc. 4. 24, 54.

erant; circum silvae paulatim adclives, quas tum Arminius
inplevit, compendiis viarum et cito agmine onustum sarcinis
armisque militem cum antevenisset. Caecinae dubitanti, quo- 7
nam modo ruptos vetustate pontes reponeret simulque propul-
saret hostem, castra metari in loco placuit, ut opus et alii proelium
inciperent.

**64.** Barbari perfringere stationes seque inferre munitoribus 1
nisi lacessunt, circumgrediuntur, occursant: miscetur operantium
bellantiumque clamor. et cuncta pariter Romanis adversa, locus 2
uligine profunda, idem ad gradum instabilis, procedentibus
lubricus, corpora gravia loricis; neque librare pila inter undas
poterant. contra Cheruscis sueta apud paludes proelia, procera 3
membra, hastae ingentes ad vulnera facienda quamvis procul.
nox demum inclinantis iam legiones adversae pugnae exemit. 4
Germani ob prospera indefessi, ne tum quidem sumpta quiete, 5
quantum aquarum circum surgentibus iugis oritur vertere in sub-
iecta, mersaque humo et obruto quod effectum operis duplicatus
militi labor. quadragensimum id stipendium Caecina parendi 6
aut imperitandi habebat, secundarum ambiguarumque rerum
sciens eoque interritus. igitur futura volvens non aliud repperit 7

5. **in loco**, 'where he was,' i.e. where he had to repair the bridge: cp. 4. 47, 3; 13. 41, 1.

**opus et alii proelium.** Such an expression is not strictly identical with 'alii' . . . 'alii,' but rather distinguishes the action of the smaller from that of the larger body: cp. 'virgis caedi, alii securi subici' Liv. 3. 37, 8; 'navibus iunctis . . . alii vadis . . . conati' Caes. B. G. 1. 8, 4. The novelty in Tacitus, as Dräger points out, lies in the insertion of 'et:' cp. 'fictis causis et alii per speciem honoris' 12. 41, 5; 'libertate et alii pecunia donati' 15. 54, 2. Several other instances are given by Nipp. on c. 17. The 'opus' appears to be that of repairing the road (cp. 'quod effectum operis' c. 64, 5).

7. **munitoribus**, 'the working party.' The word is uncommon, but the phrase 'munire viam' familiar and classical.

8. **nisi.** The inf. is used with this verb by Sallust (Jug. 25, 9), Nepos, and Ovid; as also, rarely, with 'adnitor' (H. 5. 8, 2), and 'obnitor' (Vell. 1. 9, 6).

10. **ad gradum**, 'to take firm stand upon.' Nipp. compares 'gradu immota' (14. 37, 1), 'stabili gradu' (H. 2. 35, 2), and the frequent phrase 'gradu deicere.'

12. **sueta.** The application of this word to things, as in 'sueto . . . contubernio' (H. 2. 80, 5), is rare, and chiefly found in Appuleius.

**procera membra**: cp. the description of the Germans in 2. 14, 5; and the citation in note there from G. 4, 1.

13. **hastae ingentes**: cp. 'enormes hastas' 2. 14, 3; the 'maiores lanceae' of G. 6, 1.

14. **inclinantis iam.** Most editors follow Freinsh. in adopting this marginal correction of the MS. text 'tam;' for which some others read 'tum:' cp. 'acies inclinatas iam' G. 8, 1. The verb is used of troops giving way, in the active in H. 3. 83, 1, and in both voices by Livy.

**pugnae exemit**: cp. c. 48, 2.

16. **in subiecta**, i.e. 'in loca iugis subiecta:' cp. 'subiecta vallium' c. 65, 1.

18. **quadragensimum**: see note on his own speech, 3. 33, 1.

19. **aut**: see above, c. 55, 2.

20. **volvens**, 'pondering;' for 'volvens animo:' cp. 3. 38, 2, etc. The same abbreviation is found in Sall., Verg., and Liv.: cp. the similar use of 'volutare' c. 36, 4 (also in Livy).

quam ut hostem silvis coerceret, donec saucii quantumque gra-
vioris agminis anteirent; nam medio montium et paludum porri-
8 gebatur planities, quae tenuem aciem pateretur. deliguntur le-
giones quinta dextro lateri, unetvicensima in laevum, primani
ducendum ad agmen, vicensimanus adversum secuturos.

1 **65.** Nox per diversa inquies, cum barbari festis epulis, laeto
cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium ac resultantis saltus com-
plerent, apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces, atque
ipsi passim adiacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis
2 quam pervigiles. ducemque terruit dira quies: nam Quintilium
Varum sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum cernere et audire
visus est velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus et manum inten-
3 dentis reppulisse. coepta luce missae in latera legiones, metu
an contumacia, locum deseruere, capto propere campo umentia
4 ultra. neque tamen Arminius quamquam libero incursu statim
prorupit: sed ut haesere caeno fossisque impedimenta, turbati

2. **medio**: cp. Introd. v. § 25.

3. **tenuem**, 'a thin line.'

**deliguntur legiones**, etc. The same legions are similarly disposed in c. 51, 5. The variation of expression, both in the subject forms and in those denoting the action, is noted by Wölfflin (Philol. 25, p. 121) as eminently characteristic of the later style of Tacitus, as compared with the Ciceronian symmetry of such periods as 'studium . . . inlustrius' (Dial. 5, 2), 'praeponere . . . numerare' (G. 30, 2).

6. **inquies**: cp. c. 68, 1, etc. The word is first found in Sall., thence passing to Vell. and Pl. mai. Within these few lines four poetical words are noted, 'sonor,' 'resulto,' 'oberro,' and 'pervigil;' the first of which is one of those introduced into prose by Tacitus (see Introd. v. § 70).

8. **voces.** Wolf, comparing 'intermisso signo et vocibus' (H. 5. 22, 5), takes this of the challenge of the patrol, wanting its usual regularity and promptness. On the omission of 'essent,' cp. c. 7, 1.

9. **adiacerent vallo.** In 4. 48, 5, 'munitionibus adiacerent' is used of troops listless from negligence, as here from despondency.

10. **dira quies.** Taken apparently from Lucan 7. 26 'dira quies et imagine moesta diurna.' In this and similar uses of 'quies' in Tacitus (2. 14, 1; 11. 4, 3; 12. 13, 3; 16. 1, 1), the word can always bear its usual meaning; the dream by which the rest is accompanied being indicated by the epithet or context. But in the twice repeated line of Vergil, 'Par levibus ventis, volucrique simillima somno' (Aen. 2, 794; 6, 702), 'somnus' stands for the dream itself.

11. **paludibus emersum.** On the abl., see Introd. v. §. 24. Thus Sallust has 'navigia fundo emergunt' (H. 4. 22 D, 37 K, 17 G), but Livy 'ex . . . palude emersus' (1. 13, 4).

12. **manum intendentis reppulisse,** 'thrust aside his hand as he held it out to him.' Usually 'manum intendere' expresses a hostile gesture, as 4. 3, 2, etc.

13. **coepta luce.** On the use of this verb in Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 42 b.

14. **campo umentia ultra.** This would appear not to be the 'planities' (c. 64, 7) bordering on the wooded heights occupied by the enemy, which they were intended to occupy so as to hold him in check; but another solid spot, on the further side of the morass: the occupation of which left the baggage, struggling along by way of the causeways through marshy ground, exposed.

16. **caeno fossisque.** Nipp. rightly takes these as abl., as also 'criminibus haerebant' (4. 19, 5). Cp. 'haeret pede pes' (Verg. Aen. 10, 361); 'currus illuvie haerebant' (Curt. 8, 4): see note on c. 68, 3. In earlier prose we should have ex-

circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, utque tali in tempore sibi
quisque properus et lentae adversum imperia aures, inrumpere
Germanos iubet, clamitans 'en Varus eodemque iterum fato
vinctae legiones!' simul haec et cum delectis scindit agmen 5
equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. illi sanguine suo et lubrico 6
paludum lapsantes excussis rectoribus disicere obvios, proterere
iacentes. plurimus circa aquilas labor, quae neque ferri adversum 7
ingruentia tela neque figi limosa humo poterant. Caecina dum 8
sustentat aciem, suffosso equo delapsus circumveniebatur, ni
prima legio sese opposuisset. iuvit hostium aviditas, omissa 9
caede praedam sectantium; enisaeque legiones vesperascente die
in aperta et solida. neque is miseriarum finis. struendum vallum, 10
petendus agger, amissa magna ex parte per quae egeritur humus

pected 'in caeno,' etc., but such an abl. may be regarded as quasi-instrumental. It seems necessary to suppose the 'fossae' to be natural holes or fissures; a meaning somewhat supported by Bell. Afr. 50, 4 (where the word means a ravine), but hardly so by the rustic proverb 'cantherium in fossam' (Liv. 23. 47, 6), which Nipp. also cites.

1. **utque.** We have here, as Nipp. points out, two concurrent constructions with 'ut.' The 'ut' before 'haesere,' in the sense of 'when,' extends its force to 'aures;' and the parenthetical 'ut tali in tempore' (='ut fieri solet tali in tempore;' cp. 2. 82, 1; H. 3. 71, 4; G. 2, 4; 22, 1; Agr. 11, 1) is interposed. The expression 'tali in tempore' (2. 84, 3; 16. 26, 8) may be a reminiscence of Lucr. 1, 94.

**sibi properus.** Cp. 'sibi . . . tendentes' H. 1. 13, 3.

3. **eodemque.** The MS. has 'et eodemque.' In two similar errors in the second Medicean MS., 'argenti et aurique' (H. 4. 53, 4), 'Gallias et Germaniasque' (H. 4. 54, 1), an accidental transposition appears not improbable, and the 'que' may well have belonged originally to 'argenti' and to 'Gallias.' Here possibly some word after 'et' has been lost: possibly, as Ritter suggests, the copyist of some earlier MS. overlooked 'que' in an abbreviation, and added 'et.'

4. **vinctae.** In the MS. a dot is placed under 'n' by a corrector; whence most older editions read 'victae,' which would be a natural exaggeration of the success described in c. 64, 4. On the other hand, 'vinctae' would resemble the language of Calgacus, 'vinctos di nobis tradiderunt' (Agr. 32, 3); and 'velut vincti' is used of troops encumbered by baggage and sticky ground (H. 1. 79, 3).

**simul haec et**; a poetical expression (Stat. Theb. 2, 659). The usual formula 'simul et . . . et' is modified to 'simul . . . et' in 4. 25, 2; H. 3. 13, 3; Sall. Jug. 97, 4.

6. **lapsantes**: cp. H. 1. 79, 5. In Vergil (Aen. 2, 551), and apparently not in prose before Tacitus.

7. **ferri adversum.** The MS. has '"adversū" ferri,' the double commas being added by a later hand in different ink (see Pfitzner, p. 15). The transposition taken to be indicated by them is now generally adopted. Otherwise 'adversum ferri' must be supposed to take an accusative, like such compounds as 'inrumpere' (c. 48, 4), etc.

8. **figi . . . humo**: cp. 'haesere caeno fossisque,' above, 'figere animo' Agr. 45, 5, etc.

9. **suffosso equo**: so in 2. 11, 4, and v. l. in Verg. Aen. 11, 671. Cp. 'equis . . . ilia subfodere' Liv. 42. 59, 3.

11. **vesperascente die**; also in 16. 34, 1; H. 2. 49, 2. On the variety of expressions for this fact used by Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 93.

12. **aperta et solida.** This again seems different from either of the solid spots before mentioned, and to be altogether beyond the morass traversed by the 'pontes.' Cp. c. 68, 4 'non hic silvas nec paludes.'

13. **agger,** 'material for the mound:'

aut exciditur caespes; non tentoria manipulis, non fomenta
sauciis; infectos caeno aut cruore cibos dividentes funestas tene-
bras et tot hominum milibus unum iam reliquum diem lamenta-
bantur.
1 **66.** Forte equus abruptis vinculis vagus et clamore territus
2 quosdam occurrentium obturbavit. tanta inde consternatio inru-
pisse Germanos credentium, ut cuncti ruerent ad portas, quarum
decumana maxime petebatur, aversa hosti et fugientibus tutior.
3 Caecina comperto vanam esse formidinem, cum tamen neque
auctoritate neque precibus, ne manu quidem obsistere aut re-
tinere militem quiret, proiectus in limine portae miseratione
demum, quia per corpus legati eundum erat, clausit viam: simul
tribuni et centuriones falsum pavorem esse docuerunt.
1 **67.** Tunc contractos in principia iussosque dicta cum silentio
accipere temporis ac necessitatis monet. unam in armis salutem,
sed ea consilio temperanda manendumque intra vallum, donec
expugnandi hostes spe propius succederent; mox undique erum-
2 pendum: illa eruptione ad Rhenum perveniri. quod si fugerent,
pluris silvas, profundas magis paludes, saevitiam hostium super-
3 esse; at victoribus decus gloriam. quae domi cara, quae in

cp. 'aggeris petendi causa' (Caes. B. G. 2. 20, 1), 'longius agger petendus' (Id. B. C. 1. 42, 1). See note on 2. 81, 2. The mound is here distinguished from the palisade (vallum) surmounting it.

**amissa**, etc. Nipp. notes the circumlocution used to avoid 'calling a spade a spade.'

1. **fomenta**, 'appliances:' cp. c. 69, 2, etc.

2. **funestas**. The darkness was 'that of the grave,' i.e. ominous of their fate. Cp. 'feralibus . . . tenebris' 2. 31, 2.

5. **equus abruptis vinculis**. Apparently a reminiscence of Verg. Aen. 11, 492.

8. **decumana**. The 'porta praetoria,' to which this was opposite, always faced the enemy, or the direction of march, or, in stationary camps, the east. Veget. 1. 23.

**aversa hosti**. In no other place is 'aversus' certainly used with the dat.; but possibly so in 'aversus mercaturis' (Hor. Sat. 2. 3, 107), 'aversum praeliantibus' (Sall. Jug. 93, 2), 'aversus contubernio' (Col. 2. 1. 4).

9. **comperto**. On this abl. abs., see Introd. v. § 31 a. 'Comperto' is so used 4. 36, 4, etc., also in Sall. and Liv.

11. **proiectus in limine portae**. A similar action is recorded of Cn. Pompeius as a young man, at a time of treason in the camp (Plut. Pomp. 3, 2, 620).

14. **in principia**: see on c. 61, 3.

15. **temporis ac necessitatis**, 'of the crisis and urgency.' The words are nearly a hendiadys, and are taken by Roth as such.

**monet**. The construction is analogous to that of 'admoneo.' The simple verb is nowhere else used with a genitive, unless in 2. 43, 5, where the reading is disputed.

17. **expugnandi hostes spe**. Nipp. explains this inversion as an affectation of style, indulged in where no misunderstanding could result. Several instances are cited by him, the most striking being 'ardore retinendae Agrippinam potentiae eo usque provectam' 14. 2. 1.

18. **perveniri**. Mr. Frost appears rightly to understand the present tense as a stroke of rhetoric: 'This sally carries you to the Rhine.'

20. **quae domi cara, quae in castris honesta**, 'all that was dear to them at

castris honesta, memorat; reticuit de adversis. equos dehinc, 4
orsus a suis, legatorum tribunorumque nulla ambitione fortissimo
cuique bellatori tradit, ut hi, mox pedes in hostem invaderent.

**68**. Haud minus inquies Germanus spe, cupidine et diversis 1
ducum sententiis agebat, Arminio sinerent egredi egressosque
rursum per umida et inpedita circumvenirent suadente, atrociora
Inguiomero et laeta barbaris, ut vallum armis ambirent: promp-
tam expugnationem, plures captivos, incorruptam praedam fore.
igitur orta die proruunt fossas, iniciunt crates, summa valli pren- 2
sant, raro super milite et quasi ob metum defixo. postquam 3
haesere munimentis, datur cohortibus signum cornuaque ac tubae
concinuere. exim clamore et impetu tergis Germanorum cir- 4
cumfunduntur, exprobrantes non hic silvas nec paludes, sed
aequis locis aequos deos. hosti facile excidium et paucos ac 5
semermos cogitanti sonus tubarum, fulgor armorum, quanto
inopina, tanto maiora offunduntur, cadebantque, ut rebus secundis

home, all that had been honourable to them in camp;' i.e. their past victories. Nipp. takes it of military honour in general.

1. **adversis**, 'disasters' (cp. 14. 38, 5; 15. 26, 3, etc.), e.g. those of the previous days, in contrast to 'honesta.'

2. **orsus a suis**, 'first his own, then those of the legati and tribunes.' Officers may have had more than one horse each in camp, and even the addition of a few to their mounted troops would be important, if we suppose that he had only his 'equites legionum' (see note on c. 63, 5), who would be less than 500 in all (see Introd. vii. p. 104); and that many horses had been killed the day before (c. 65, 5).

**nulla ambitione**, 'without respect of persons;' i.e. to the bravest, whoever they might be, and irrespective of any solicitation on their part: cp. 'sine ambitione' 4. 64, 2.

5. **agebat**, absol. as 3. 19, 2; 38, 4, etc.: cp. 'agito' c. 50, 1.

6. **atrociora**, 'more spirited:' cp. 'pugna atrocior' Liv. 1. 27, 17, 'atrox animus' Hor. Od. 2. 1, 24; and the similar sense of 'ferox' and 'ferocia' c. 2, 1; 12, 6, etc.

7. **promptam**, 'easy:' cp. 'promptam . . . possessionem' 2. 5, 4, etc.

9. **proruunt fossas.** The full expression, as used by Livy (9. 14, 9), 'cum pars fossas explerent, pars vellerent vallum atque in fossas proruerent;' is here condensed into a pregnant construction. On other such in Tacitus, cp. c. 39, 8, and Introd. v. § 84.

**iniciunt crates.** Caesar describes the use of such temporary bridges at Alesia (B. G. 7. 79, 4) 'fossam cratibus integunt, atque aggere explent.'

**prensant**: cp. 'prensant fastigia dextris' Verg. Aen. 2, 444.

10. **super**: cp. 'incensa super villa' 3. 46, 7; a rare use, but in Caes., Verg., etc.

**defixo**, 'rooted to the spot:' cp. 'pavore defixis' 13. 5, 3; also 14. 10, 1; Agr. 34, 3.

11. **haesere munimentis.** This is taken by Nipp. as a dative, but seems very similar to 'inaequalibus locis haerebant' (Agr. 36, 3), which is generally explained to be an ablative, whether of place, or of instrument (cp. c. 65, 4). Thus it would here mean 'were impeded by' (i.e. 'were trying to surmount') 'the outworks.' As a dative, it would mean 'were clinging to.'

12. **impetu**, abl. of manner: cp. c. 59, 1, etc., and Introd. v. § 28.

**tergis . . . circumfunduntur**, i.e. by a sally from the gates.

13. **exprobrantes**, 'with the taunt;' used absol. in 14. 62, 3; also with accus. of the thing, as c. 18, 1, etc.

15. **quanto inopina**: cp. c. 57, 1; Introd. v. § 64, 2; and the full illustration of this usage in Nipp.'s note here.

6 avidi, ita adversis incauti. Arminius integer, Inguiomerus post
grave vulnus pugnam deseruere: vulgus trucidatum est, donec
7 ira et dies permansit. nocte demum reversae legiones, quamvis
plus vulnerum, eadem ciborum egestas fatigaret, vim sanitatem
copias, cuncta in victoria habuere.

1 **69**. Pervaserat interim circumventi exercitus fama et infesto
Germanorum agmine Gallias peti, ac ni Agrippina inpositum
Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, erant qui id flagitium formidine
2 auderent. sed femina ingens animi munia ducis per eos dies
induit, militibusque, ut quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta
3 dilargita est. tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bellorum scriptor,
stetisse apud principium pontis, laudes et grates reversis legioni-
4 bus habentem. id Tiberii animum ultius penetravit: non enim
simplices eas curas, nec adversus externos *studia* militum quaeri.

1. **avidi.** This is taken absol. as in c. 51, 1, etc., as is also 'incauti;' 'rebus secundis' and 'adversis' being abl. abs. The dative can be used with either word (11. 26, 4; H. 1. 7, 4); but would not suit the sense here.

**post . . . vulnus**; a condensed or pregnant construction requiring a participle or equivalent expression to complete it: cp. 'post Cremonam' H. 3. 49, 1. Probably it is to be derived from such Horatian usages as 'post vina' (Od. 1. 18, 5); 'post te' (Od. 3. 21, 19), etc. Other instances are given by Wölfflin (Philol. 26, p. 133).

3. **quamvis.** On the subjunct. of facts with this word, cp. Introd. v. § 53.

4. **egestas.** This has a genit. obj. in 6. 23, 1; Sall. Jug. 44. 4, etc.

8. **pontem**; probably that mentioned c. 49, 6.

**prohibuisset.** This verb is used with accus. and inf. pass. in 4. 37, 4; H. 1. 62, 4; also in Caes. (B. G. 6. 29, 5, etc.) and Liv. (4. 2, 13, etc.).

9. **auderent.** The accus. with this verb is more common in Tacitus than in any other prose author; nearly fifty instances being found in his works.

**ingens animi**: cp. c. 32, 5.

10. **induit.** The metaphorical uses of this word, as 'induere seditionem' (2. 15, 2); 'habitum ac voces' (4. 12, 1); 'diem' (6. 20, 1); 'diversa' (6. 33, 3); 'adulationem' (6. 42, 1); 'hostilia' (12. 40, 3); 'proditorem et hostem' (16. 28, 3), etc.; are among those most characteristic of Tacitus: still more frequent are those of 'exuere;' e.g. c. 2, 1; 4, 1; 59, 7; 75, 4; 2. 72, 1; 3. 12, 4; 4. 72, 1; 6. 8, 1, etc. See Introd. v. § 74.

**vestem et fomenta**; i.e. 'clothes to the former, medicaments to the latter.' Of the instances cited by Nipp. of this use of 'et,' the most apposite is 'trunca . . . manu et professoria lingua' (of Burrus and Seneca) 13. 14, 5.

11. **C. Plinius.** On his historical works, see Introd. iii. p. 12.

12. **laudes et grates habentem.** The nearest approach to this new expression for 'gratias,' or 'grates,' or 'laudes gratesque agere' (see the instances cited by Nipp.), is 'laudibus . . . quas . . . de nobis haberi . . . renunciaverunt' Cic. Att. 13. 38, 1.

13. **penetravit**: 'penetrare aliquid' (4. 44, 3; 15. 27, 1, etc.) is poetical and post-Augustan.

**non enim.** The verb of 'thinking' is supplied from 'id animum penetravit.'

14. **simplices**, 'without ulterior purpose.' Thus 'simplicius' (4. 40, 3; H. 3. 53, 6), 'simplicissime' (H. 1. 15, 8), and 'simplicitas' (6. 5, 2, etc.), are used to express sincerity or frankness.

**studia militum quaeri.** Only the two latter words are found in the MS., with a later correction 'militem;' which the older editors and also Nipp. and Orelli adopt; and which might bear a sense somewhat like that of 'cunctos . . . sibi . . . firmabat' c. 71, 5. The alternative of supposing, that a word has dropped, has led to the insertion, before or after 'militum,' of 'gratiam' (Haase),

nihil relictum imperatoribus, ubi femina manipulos intervisat, 5
signa adeat, largitionem temptet, tamquam parum ambitiose
filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat Caesaremque Caligulam
appellari velit. potiorem iam apud exercitus Agrippinam quam 6
legatos, quam duces; conpressam a muliere seditionem, cui no-
men principis obsistere non quiverit. accendebat haec onerabat- 7
que Seianus, peritia morum Tiberii odia in longum iaciens, quae
reconderet auctaque promeret.

**70.** At Germanicus legionum, quas navibus vexerat, secundam 1
et quartam decumam itinere terrestri P. Vitellio ducendas tradit,
quo levior classis vadoso mari innaret vel reciproco sideret.
Vitellius primum iter sicca humo aut modice adlabente aestu 2
quietum habuit: mox inpulsu aquilonis, simul sidere aequinoctii,
quo maxime tumescit Oceanus, rapi agique agmen. et opple- 3
bantur terrae: eadem freto litori campis facies, neque discerni
poterant incerta ab solidis, brevia a profundis. sternuntur flucti- 4

or 'favorem' (Ritter), as well as that of the text (adopted by Halm from Doederlein, and, after 'militum,' by Heraeus): all can be supported by references to Tacitus, the latter by the most numerous: cp. 2. 5, 2; 3. 12, 6; H. 1. 23, 1; 64, 4.

2. **tamquam parum ambitiose** = 'tamquam non satis ambitiose,' 'as if she did not court them enough by' etc. On the 'gregalis habitus,' cp. c. 41, 3.

5. **conpressam seditionem**, an invidious exaggeration of the facts mentioned c. 40, 41.

**nomen principis**, probably alluding to their treatment of the letters written 'nomine principis' c. 36, 4.

6. **accendebat haec**: cp. 'incendebat haec' c. 23, 1.

**onerabat**: cp. c. 19, 2, etc.

7. **odia in longum iaciens**, 'sowing seeds of jealousy for a distant future.' A similar metaphor, less boldly expressed, is 'futuris . . . caedibus semina iaciebantur' 6. 47, 1.

**quae reconderet**, etc., 'for him to bury and bring to light with increase.' These words explain 'in longum,' and describe the same trait in Tiberius which is mentioned in c. 7, 11; 3. 64, 2; 4. 71, 5.

9. **At Germanicus**, etc. This narrative is taken up from the end of the movement described by 'reducto ad Amisiam exercitu (c. 63, 5), and the tense of 'vexerat' (used for 'advexerat,' as 'vectum' for 'advectum' 11. 14, 2) is referred to the time mentioned in c. 60, 3.

10. **P. Vitellio**, an uncle of the subsequent emperor, who is often mentioned as with Germanicus, and as an accuser of Cn. Piso (see 2. 6, 1; 74, 2; 3. 10. 2; 13, 3; 17, 4; 19, 1). He is thought (see Nipp. on 2. 74) to have been procos. of Bithynia in 771, A. D. 18: on his death, see 5. 8.

11. **vadoso mari**; that off the coast near the mouth of the Ems.

**reciproco sideret**, 'ground less heavily at ebb-tide,' i. e. sooner get afloat again after grounding. 'Reciprocus' has this sense frequently in Pl. N. H.; and 'sido' is thus used in 2. 6, 2, and in Livy and poets

13. **inpulsu**. This abl. might be instrumental, but being here coordinate with 'sidere,' is probably to be taken as causal.

**sidere aequinoctii**; 'sidus' is used of the season of the year by Vergil, 'hiberno moliris sidere classem' (Aen. 4, 309). The autumnal equinox is of course meant, and a date of the conclusion of this campaign thus supplied.

14. **rapi agique**, 'lose footing and are swept away.' Walther thus distinguishes these nearly synonymous words.

16. **brevia**. This poetical term (Verg. Aen. 1, 111; Luc. 9, 338), taken apparently from the Greek βραχέα (Hdt., Thuc. etc.), is used in prose by Tacitus alone. Cp. 6. 33, 5; also 'breve et incertum' 14. 29, 3.

**sternuntur**; sc. 'homines,' supplied

bus, hauriuntur gurgitibus; iumenta, sarcinae, corpora exanima
interfluunt, occursant. permiscentur inter se manipuli, modo
pectore modo ore tenus exstantes, aliquando subtracto solo
5 disiecti aut obruti. non vox et mutui hortatus iuvabant adversante
unda; nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab inprudenti, consilia a
6 casu differre: cuncta pari violentia involvebantur. tandem
Vitellius in editiora enisus eodem agmen subduxit. pernoctavere
sine utensilibus, sine igni, magna pars nudo aut mulcato corpore,
haud minus miserabiles quam quos hostis circumsidet: quippe
7 illic etiam honestae mortis usus, his inglorium exitium. lux
reddidit terram, penetratumque ad amnem [Visurgin], quo
8 Caesar classe contenderat. inpositae dein legiones, vagante fama
submersas; nec fides salutis, antequam Caesarem exercitumque
reducem videre.

from 'agmen.' Individuals are spoken of here, and whole 'manipuli' further on.

3. **subtracto solo**, 'out of depth.' Tacitus appears to take the words, but not the meaning, from Vergil (Aen. 5. 199).

4. **vox et mutui hortatus**. The words are here joined closely in a hendiadys = 'the voice of mutual encouragement;' whereas 'nec' would distinguish the former, as the word of command, from the latter, as the encouragement of comrades. See note on c. 4, 1.

5. **ab inprudenti**. This correction of Lips. for the MS. 'aprudenti' is supported by the occurrence of a similar error ('non prudentem,' for 'non inprudentem') in 4. 70, 6. Some have here followed Wolf in reading 'ab rudi:' but 'sapientes' is opposed to 'inprudentissimi' by Seneca (Epp. 14, 2; 90, 33); also 'sapientes' has the force of 'prudentes' in Agr. 27, 2, and here corresponds to 'prudentes' in a similar passage (2. 23, 2). The two terms are here explained by 'consilia' and 'casu,' denoting the mode of action of persons of each class.

6. **involvebantur**, sc. 'fluctibus;' so 'auster aqua involvens navemque virumque' Verg. Aen. 6, 336. In 14. 30, 3, and in Verg. G. 3, 208, it expresses a similar envelopement in flames. Cp. also 'fraudibus involutos' 16. 32, 3.

8. **utensilibus**, 'necessaries.' The word is used specially of food in 2. 60, 5; 15. 39, 2; and in 3. 52, 3, even of luxuries of diet.

10. **illic** = 'apud illos;' so H. 2. 47, 3; 5. 4, 1; and 'hinc' Ann. 3. 10, 6, etc. 'Hic' and 'ille' are referred here to the nearer and more remote objects of thought, irrespective of the order of mention; as in 6. 37, 2; H. 2. 77, 4; 4. 27, 3: cp. 'huic' Ann. 2. 77, 1; 'illi' 2. 82, 7; and note on c. 42, 6.

**honestae mortis usus**, 'have the resource of even honourable death.' Cp. 'bene morte usum' 6. 48, 5.

**lux**, personified, as in Liv. 9. 30, 10, 'lux . . . oppressit.' See Introd. v. § 75.

11. **reddidit**, 'showed again;' the tide and flood having receded.

**amnem [Visurgin]**. The proper substitute for this plainly wrong name is uncertain. The reading of Ritter ('ad Amisiam') supposes this chapter to describe part of the movement mentioned in c. 63, 5 ('reducto ad Amisiam exercitu'). But we have here a movement not from the interior, but along the coast, and apparently occupying only two days and a night. To make the ships more manageable at sea, these two legions must have been sent on from the naval rendezvous, at or near the mouth of the Ems, by much the same route as the 'pars equitum' (c. 63, 5); and must have been taken on board at the mouth of another river further on, perhaps left unnamed. The conjecture 'Vidrum' (Lips.) is taken from the Οὐίδρος of Ptol. 2, 11, § 1 (supposed to be the Vecht, now falling into the Zuider Zee); 'Unsingim' is imagined by Alting as a Latin name for the Hunse, which suits the geography best.

14. **reducem**, sing.; the principal object of thought being Caesar: cp. 12. 12, 3. Nipp.

**71**. Iam Stertinius, ad accipiendum in deditionem Segimerum 1
fratrem Segestis praemissus, ipsum et filium eius in civitatem
Ubiorum perduxerat. data utrique venia, facile Segimero, cunc- 2
tantius filio, quia Quintilii Vari corpus inlusisse dicebatur. ce- 3
terum ad supplenda exercitus damna certavere Galliae Hispaniae
Italia, quod cuique promptum, arma equos aurum offerentes.
quorum laudato studio Germanicus, armis modo et equis ad 4
bellum sumptis, propria pecunia militem iuvit. utque cladis 5
memoriam etiam comitate leniret, circumire saucios, facta singu-
lorum extollere; vulnera intuens alium spe, alium gloria, cunctos
adloquio et cura sibique et proelio firmabat.

**72**. Decreta eo anno triumphalia insignia A. Caecinae, L. 1
Apronio, C. Silio ob res cum Germanico gestas. nomen patris 2

1. **Iam Stertinius**, etc. It is suggested by Nipp. that, as this officer usually commands cavalry and light troops (see on c. 60, 4), the 'pars equitum,' mentioned in c. 63, 5, were led by him, and after their retreat execute this service, advancing from, and returning to Köln. It is perhaps more likely that we have here some account of the other 'pars equitum,' who are otherwise unnoticed.

**Segimerum**. Vell. (2. 118, 2) gives this name also to the father of Arminius. On the family, see notes on c. 55, 57.

2. **filium**. Strabo (7. 1, 4, p. 292) gives his name as Σεσίθακος, and that of his wife as Ῥαμίς, Οὐκρομίρου θυγάτηρ, ἡγεμόνος Χάττων. Ἀκτουμέρου has been suggested as a correction (see 11. 16, 2).

9. **circumire saucios**: charge of the wounded probably still devolved on the chief officers abroad, as on the nobility in old times at Rome (see on 4. 63, 3). Military hospitals, or 'valetudinaria' are mentioned (Veg. 2. 10, etc.), and legions had their 'medici' (cp. Inscr. Orell. 448, 3508); but from what date appears uncertain.

11. **sibique et proelio firmabat**; 'sibi firmare' ('to secure to oneself') is used in 3. 60; H. 5. 4, 1. Here, the double application involves a zeugma.

12. **triumphalia insignia**. The regular phrase in inscriptions (e.g. Henzen, Index, p. 150; Wilmanns, Index, p. 609) is 'triumphalia ornamenta;' and the term is thus analogous to that of 'consularia ornamenta' (bestowed from the time of the dictator Caesar: cp. Suet. Jul. 76), and others, signifying that the dignity and insignia of an office were given without the office itself. Thus, without an actual triumph, persons were entitled to be called 'triumphales' (3. 30, 4, etc.), and to ennoble their family by 'laureatae statuae' (4. 23, 1). Some suppose this minor honour to have been first given to Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 9). The full honour of the 'iustus triumphus,' though freely given during at least the earlier part of the rule of Augustus (Suet. Aug. 38), is ever afterwards, probably from 740, B.C. 14 (see Dio, 54. 24, 8), reserved for the imperial family: see c. 55, 1, etc.

**A. Caecinae, L. Apronio, C. Silio.** The selection appears to be grounded on rank (these three legati alone being consulars); for the personal service of Silius is unmentioned, and that recorded of Apronius (c. 56, 1) trivial. The award, as that in c. 55, 1, shows that the success of the army was exaggerated at Rome.

13. **nomen patris patriae**. This title, already given by acclamation to Cicero (Juv. 8, 243), and in 709, B.C. 45, to Julius Caesar (App. B. C. 2. 106), was formally accepted by Augustus, from the united voice of senate, knights, and people, on Feb. 5, 752, B.C. 2 (see Mon. Anc. vi. 34, and Mommsen, ad loc.); but had probably been informally used much earlier (cp. Hor. Od. 1. 2, 50). The case of Cicero negatives the supposition of Dio (53. 18, 3), that some recognition of a general 'patria potestas' was implied in it. Tiberius persisted in his refusal (2. 87, 2; Dio, 58. 12, 8); and the title is absent from his coins and inscriptions.

patriae Tiberius, a populo saepius ingestum, repudiavit; neque
in acta sua iurari quamquam censente senatu permisit, cuncta
mortalium incerta, quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto se magis
3 in lubrico dictitans. non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis animi;
nam legem maiestatis reduxerat, cui nomen apud veteres idem,
sed alia in iudicium veniebant, si quis proditione exercitum aut
plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta re publica maiestatem
populi Romani minuisset: facta arguebantur, dicta inpune erant.
4 primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis eius
tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros feminasque
inlustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat: mox Tiberius, consul-

1. **ingestum,** 'imposed by acclamation;' more usually of reproaches, etc., as 4. 42, 1, etc.

2. **in acta sua iurari.** This oath, an outgrowth of that taken in respect of the laws by the old magistrates (Mommsen, Staatsr. i. p. 600), is found in 709, B.C. 45; the formula being 'se nihil contra acta Caesaris facturum' (App. B. C. 2. 106); and was enforced more stringently, in respect of the 'acta' of the late dictator, by the triumvirs on Jan. 1, 712, B.C. 42 (Dio, 47. 18, 3): in respect of the acta of Augustus, it is first mentioned as taken in 729, B.C. 29 (Id. 51. 20, 1). Tiberius himself took the oath to the acta of Augustus (Id. 57. 8, 5), and enforced it strictly (see 4. 42, 3); and the oath, as time went on, upheld the 'acta' of all princes not specially passed over, as became the case with Tiberius himself (Dio, 59. 9, 1). It was taken on Jan. 1, first by magistrates, then by all senators (see 13. 11, 1; 16. 22, 1; Dio, 53. 28, 1; 58. 17, 2); and must not be confounded with the 'sacramentum in nomen principis' (see c. 7, 3).

**permisit.** The use of this verb with accus. and inf. pass., as in 14. 12, 7, etc., and Livy, as also that of 'oro' (11. 10, 8), and other verbs denoting permission, request, or direction, is noted by Madvig (396, Obs. 1) as contrary to the usage of the best writers: see also Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 146, and notes on c. 74, 7; 79, 3.

4. **in lubrico**: cp. 6. 51, 3. Other metaphorical uses of the word occur in 2. 87, 2; 6. 49, 3, etc.

5. **legem maiestatis reduxerat.** On the history of this law and its application under the Republic, see Introd. viii. p. 121. The same expression is used in Pliny, Pan. 11 'dicavit caelo Tiberius Augustum, sed ut maiestatis legem reduceret;' but the implied assertion that it had become obsolete must be qualified by the fact of its extension and recent enforcement by Augustus: see below.

6. **si quis . . . seditionibus.** These two instances seem cited from Cicero, who specifies them as cases falling under the law (de Orat. 2. 39, 164; Partitt. 30, 105). The idea of some such verb as 'laesisset' is supplied by zeugma from 'minuisset.'

8. **populi Romani.** These words seem intended to stand in contrast to its application in later time to the 'maiestas' of the princeps only.

**dicta inpune erant.** That pasquinades were capitally punishable, even by the laws of the Twelve Tables, is affirmed in Cic. de Rep. 4. 10, 12; cp. Hor. Ep. 2. 1, 150, etc. On the applicability of the law of 'maiestas' to them, see next note. 'Inpune esse' is found again, 2. 52, 9; 3. 28, 2; 12. 54, 1; G. 25, 2; 'impune habendum' 3. 70, 3.

9. **primus Augustus**: cp. Suet. Aug. 55. Seneca says (de Ben. 3. 27, 1) 'sub divo Augusto nondum hominibus verba sua periculosa erant, iam molesta.' Yet the 'Lex Cornelia,' even if allowed to slumber, appears definitely to have brought spoken libels under this offence. 'Est maiestas, et sic Sulla voluit, ne in quemvis impune declamari liceret' (Cic. ad Fam. 3. 11, 2).

10. **Cassii Severi.** On his character, see 4. 21, 5. He was probably banished in 765, A.D. 12, when Dio (56. 27, 1) mentions proceedings taken against libellers, but does not give their names. The chronology of Jerome (see on 4. 21, 5) would give a date four years earlier.

11. **diffamaverat.** This verb, first found in Ovid, is used of a personal object also

tante Pompeio Macro praetore, an iudicia maiestatis redderentur,
exercendas leges esse respondit. hunc quoque asperavere carmina 5
incertis auctoribus vulgata in saevitiam superbiamque eius et discordem cum matre animum.

**73.** Haud pigebit referre in Falanio et Rubrio, modicis equiti- 1
bus Romanis, praetemptata crimina, ut quibus initiis, quanta Tiberii arte gravissimum exitium inrepserit, dein repressum sit,
postremo arserit cunctaque corripuerit, noscatur. Falanio obicie- 2
bat accusator, quod inter cultores Augusti, qui per omnes domos in modum collegiorum habebantur, Cassium quendam mimum corpore infamem adscivisset, quodque venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset. Rubrio crimini dabatur violatum

in 15. 49, 6, and with accus. of the report spread in 14. 22, 5: cp. the similar uses of 'differre' c. 4. 3.

1. **Pompeio Macro.** On his parentage and death, see on 6. 18, 4.

**iudicia . . . redderentur.** This is not strictly equivalent to 'ius reddere' ('to give sentence,' e.g. 6. 11, 1; 13. 51, 1, etc.), but rather to 'iudices dare,' i.e. to receive a case and assign jurors to try it: cp. 'iudicium redditur an reus sit causa mortis' Quint. 7. 4, 43.

2. **exercendas leges.** From this answer to the praetor it is to be gathered that, besides the numerous trials for 'maiestas' held before the senate, which alone are reported by Tacitus, other persons, apparently of lower rank, must have been tried under this law before the courts.

**carmina.** Some such pasquinades are quoted by Suetonius (Tib. 59). Paconianus was charged later with a similar offence (6. 39, 1).

3. **discordem cum matre animum:** cp. 3. 64, 1; 4. 57, 4.

5. **modicis equitibus.** Those are meant who had little or no more than the bare equestrian census, as distinct from the 'illustres equites;' on whom see 2. 59, 4. Cp. 'modicos senatores' 11. 7, 7.

6. **praetemptata,** 'essayed;' a poetical word, found in prose from Pl. mai.

7. **dein repressum sit, etc.** It is possible, with Walther, to extend 'Tiberii arte' to these words, as denoting, not any special period of repression during his time (for the reference to 3. 56, 1 is irrelevant to this law), but his general tendency, during all the years immediately succeeding this revival of the law, to moderate the zeal of accusers under it. See Introd. viii. p. 122, etc. Or we may, with Nipperdey, limit 'Tiberii arte' to 'inrepserit,' and find the period of repression in the interval before its revival noted in 815, A.D. 62 (14. 48, 3). Lipsius understands it of the reaction under Vespasian and Titus; but the words of Tacitus seem to confine the periods at least within the limits of this work. The subsequent outburst ('postremo arserit' etc.) might, no doubt, equally suit the history of the last years of Tiberius, or of Nero, or of Domitian.

9. **cultores Augusti.** Similar titles are found in inscriptions, e.g. 'imaginum domus Aug. cultores' (Orell. 738); 'cultores domus divinae et fortunae Aug.' (Id. 1662). The 'cultus' of Augustus and his family in private houses is illustrated by the description in Ovid (ex P. 4. 9, 105–110) of a shrine in his own house with images of Augustus, Augusta, Tiberius, and the two grandsons. The present passage shows that such private 'cultus' had existed while Augustus was living, in a form probably analogous to the municipal worship (see on c. 10, 5): also that the greater houses ('domus') kept up for it, each for themselves or in combination, a body or bodies of persons of low rank, who were constituted, as it were, in 'collegia,' i.e. were analogous to the 'collegia cultorum' of a less private character. On the general subject of this 'cultus,' see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 443, etc.

10. **habebantur,** 'were kept up:' cp. 'mos habebatur' (13. 16, 1), and many instances, collected here by Nipp., of more or less kindred uses of this verb in Tacitus and Sallust.

11. **statuam Augusti . . . mancipasset.** Lipsius quotes the maxim of jurists

3 periurio numen Augusti. quae ubi Tiberio notuere, scripsit con-
sulibus non ideo decretum patri suo caelum, ut in perniciem
4 civium is honor verteretur. Cassium histrionem solitum inter
alios eiusdem artis interesse ludis, quos mater sua in memoriam
Augusti sacrasset; nec contra religiones fieri, quod effigies eius,
ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et domum
5 accedant. ius iurandum perinde aestimandum quam si Iovem
fefellisset: deorum iniurias dis curae.

1 **74.** Nec multo post Granium Marcellum praetorem Bithyniae
quaestor ipsius Caepio Crispinus maiestatis postulavit, subscri-
bente Romano Hispone: qui formam vitae iniit quam postea

'non videri contra maiestatem fieri ob imagines Caesaris nondum consecratas,' implying that consecrated statues might not be sold.

**violatum periurio numen.** A charge apparently of this character ('violatum Augusti numen') is afterwards more seriously taken up (3. 66, 2). That men swore by the 'numen Augusti' in his lifetime, appears from Hor. Epp. 2. 1, 16. Specimens of such oaths are given by Marquardt (Staatsv. iii. p. 443) from C. I. L. ii. 172, and C. I. G. 1983.

1. **notuere.** This verb, frequent in the Annals (e.g. 4. 7, 2; 6. 8, 10; 12. 8, 3, etc.), is one of those found in no earlier prose (Introd. v. § 70).

**consulibus.** As the praetor presided in the law-courts, so the consuls preside at all judicial proceedings in the senate; on which see Introd. vi. p. 78.

4. **ludis,** etc. Dio (56. 46, 5) describes this three days' festival held by Livia in the Palatium, as one of the institutions at the time of apotheosis; but the words of Tacitus appear to imply its earlier existence. It is generally identified with the scenic 'ludi Palatini' (Suet. Cal. 56) described by Josephus (Ant. 19. 1, 13), in his account of the assassination of Gaius during them.

7. **perinde . . . quam si**: cp. 13. 49, 3. The expression is peculiar to Tacitus, who has also 'perinde quam' (6. 30, 4, etc.). 'Perinde' and 'proinde' are often confused in the MS. through abbreviations (cp. 3. 17, 5; and note there).

8. **deorum iniurias dis curae.** This is an old maxim of Roman Law, which therefore refrained from imposing legal penalties for perjury (Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. 784). It is also laid down by later jurists, 'Iurisiurandi contempta religio satis deum ultorem habet' Cod. 4. 1, 2 (cited by Lips.).

9. **praetorem.** Bithynia was governed by senatorial proconsuls of praetorian rank. Hence, though its governor is properly styled 'proconsul' (cp. 16. 18, 3), he may be spoken of as 'propraetor' or even 'praetor' (cp. 'praetorem Achaiae' 4. 43, 5), independently of the constant use of 'praetorius' (as 'cohors praetoria.' 'praetorium,' etc.) for what appertained to a provincial governor in general. See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 381, and note on 4. 15, 3.

**Bithyniae.** This province included not only the country generally known by that name, separated from Mysia and Phrygia by the Rhyndacus and Olympus, and extending eastward to the Parthenius; but also the western part of the Pontic kingdom, added to it by Cn. Pompeius, and extending along the Paphlagonian coast to the Halys. The chief towns of Bithynia proper are Nicomedeia and Nicaea, and in the Pontic portion Amastris and Sinope (the latter a colony of Julius Caesar). The province was subsequently Caesarian, and much of our knowledge of it is derived from the correspondence of the younger Pliny (Epp. 10), as its governor, with Trajan. See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 191, etc.

10. **quaestor ipsius.** This was contrary to Roman sentiment. See Cic. Div. in Caec. 11, 18.

**postulavit.** The genitive with this verb, on the analogy of 'accuso,' etc. is confined to Tacitus (3. 66, 2; 70, 2; etc.) and Suetonius.

**subscribente.** This term, in the sense of 'signing the accusation,' might be used of the principal or sole accuser; but evidently here, as in many other places,

celebrem miseriae temporum et audaciae hominum fecerunt. nam 2
egens, ignotus, inquies, dum occultis libellis saevitiae principis
adrepit, mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam apud
unum, odium apud omnis adeptus dedit exemplum, quod secuti
ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi perniciem aliis ac
postremum sibi invenere. sed Marcellum insimulabat sinistros 3
de Tiberio sermones habuisse, inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus
principis foedissima quaeque deligeret accusator obiectaretque
reo. nam quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur. addidit 4
Hispo statuam Marcelli altius quam Caesarum sitam, et alia in
statua amputato capite Augusti effigiem Tiberii inditam. ad 5
quod exarsit adeo, ut rupta taciturnitate proclamaret se quoque
in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et iuratum, quo ceteris
eadem necessitas fieret. manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis 6
libertatis. igitur Cn. Piso 'quo' inquit 'loco censebis, Caesar?

(cp. Cic. ad Q. F. 3. 3, 2; Vell. 2. 69, 5; and 'subscriptor,' 'subscriptio' Cic. Div. in Caec. 15. 47, 49), denotes that he appeared as subordinate to Crispinus.

**Romano Hispone.** M. Seneca, who gives his name as 'Hispo Romanius,' mentions him often, and in one place (Contr. 26, 17) says of him 'erat natura qui asperiorem dicendi viam sequeretur.'

**qui formam,** etc. This probably refers to Hispo, who, besides being nearest in order of mention, is known, if not as a professional informer, at least as a professional rhetorician (see above); and who is more likely to be 'egens' and 'ignotus,' than a quaestor, who was presumably a senator. But it is difficult, after so long a parenthesis, to take 'Crispinus' to be the subject of 'insimulabat;' and also difficult to refer this verb to Hispo, whose separate charge is specified below. There is therefore much to be said for Nipp.'s reading 'insimulabant,' which makes this part their joint charge.

1. **miseriae . . . audaciae.** On such plurals of abstract nouns in Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 1; and a fuller list in Dräger Synt. und Stil, § 2.

3. **adrepit.** The dative with this verb (cp. 3. 50, 5) is otherwise only used by Pl. mai.

6. **postremum sibi**: see 4. 71, 1, etc.

**sed,** used to mark a return from a digression, as in 3. 62, 3; 63, 5, etc.

8. **obiectaretque reo,** 'and charged the accused with mentioning them.'

9. **quia vera,** etc., 'their truth would stand for evidence of their utterance.'

10. **sitam** = 'positam:' cp. c. 39, 4.

11. **amputato,** etc. The destruction of a statue was a significant act (cp. 3. 14, 6; Juv. 10, 58); but adaptation of new heads was common in Pliny's time, who says (N. H. 35. 2, 4) 'surdo figurarum discrimine statuarum capita permutantur.'

**inditam.** This verb, generally used with dat., or 'in' and acc., here alone has an abl. with 'in.'

13. **palam et iuratum.** The former word is in contrast to voting 'per discessionem,' the latter implies such a formula as that in 4. 31, 5 'ut iureiurando obstringeret, e republica id esse.' Cp. c. 14, 6, and 'iudicio iurati senatus' 4. 21, 5; also Liv. 30. 40, 12.

**quo . . . fieret.** The explanation is that of the historian, and the 'necessitas' meant is that of also voting openly and on oath.

14. **vestigia morientis libertatis.** On the personifications in Tacitus, see on c. 70, 7. For the figure 'manent vestigia,' cp. 15. 42, 4; H. 5. 7, 1; and 'manebat imago reipublicae' 13. 28, 1. The figurative use of 'morior' is Ciceronian, but hardly appropriate to the metaphor here.

15. **Cn. Piso**: see on c. 13, 3, etc.

**quo . . . loco.** On the usual custom of the princeps, to vote first or last, see Introd. vi. p. 71. Dio (57. 7, 4) describes Tiberius as interposing his 'sententia,' also at other stages, or sometimes informally intimating his opinion.

si primus, habebo quod sequar: si post omnis, vereor ne inpru-
7 dens dissentiam.' permotus his, quantoque incautius efferverat,
paenitentia patiens tulit absolvi reum criminibus maiestatis: de
pecuniis repetundis ad reciperatores itum est.

1 **75.** Nec patrum cognitionibus satiatus iudiciis adsidebat in
cornu tribunalis, ne praetorem curuli depelleret; multaque eo
2 coram adversus ambitum et potentium preces constituta. set
3 dum veritati consulitur, libertas corrumpebatur. inter quae Pius
Aurelius senator questus mole publicae viae ductuque aquarum

2. **quantoque**, etc., 'with a repentant submission proportioned to the indiscretion of his outburst.' On the use of the positive, see c. 68, 5.

3. **tulit.** This may only mean 'permitted;' but Nipp. is probably right in interpreting it by 'laturum sententiam' above, as meaning that he gave the first vote for acquittal. On the acc. and inf. cp. c. 72, 2.

**absolvi.** Suetonius (Tib. 58), if he is telling the same story, appears to speak inaccurately. 'Statuae quidam Augusti caput demserat, ut alterum imponeret: acta res in senatu est, et, quia ambigebatur, per tormenta quaesita est. Damnato reo,' etc.

4. **reciperatores.** Frequent mention is made of such a judicial board, one of their chief functions being the assessment of claims preferred by provincials against Romans. Thus in Liv. 43. 2, 3, five senators, under this title, are appointed by the praetor at the instance of the senate, to adjudicate on the complaint of Spain. See also Liv. 26. 48, 8; and Weissenborn ad loc. It is here implied that the trial of Marcellus became a mere civil question of damages, the criminal charges being dropped. Pliny (Epp. 2. 11, 2) protests against an attempt to give a similar turn to the trial of Marius Priscus, 'excessisse Priscum immanitate et saevitia crimina quibus iudices dari possent, cum ob innocentes condemnandos, interficiendos etiam, pecunias accepisset.' Cp. also Id. 4. 9, 16; 6. 29, 10.

5. **in cornu tribunalis.** The statement of Suetonius (Tib. 33; cp. Dio, 57. 7, 6), that he sat 'iuxtim vel ex adverso in parte primori,' appears to imply that the basilica was one with a tribunal at each end, and that he either sat beside the praetor or in the corresponding place opposite to him.

6. **curuli.** The use of this word without 'sella' is peculiar to writers of the silver age.

7. **potentium preces**, i. e. those of influential 'advocati' present in court. This would be thus a particular form of 'ambitus,' rather than a synonym for it. Suetonius (l. l.) gives a more detailed description, 'si quem reorum elabi gratia rumor esset, subitus aderat, iudicesque aut e plano aut e quaesitoris tribunali legum et religionis et noxae, de quo cognoscerent, admonebat.' Cp. 'accessit . . . iudiciis gravitas' Vell. 2. 126, 2.

8. **veritati.** This word is here nearly equivalent to 'aequitas:' cp. 'veritas mea' 3. 16, 5; 'ex vero statuisse' 4. 43, 4; also 'verum' Hor. Epp. 1. 7, 98; 12, 23; Liv. 2. 48, 2; 3. 40, 11; and 'iudicem a veritate depelli' Quint. 5, Proem. 1.

**libertas**, 'the independence of judges.' Tacitus, though he has been blamed for this sentiment, is plainly no defender of judicial corruption, but may have rightly held the coercion of judges by the princeps to be liable to result in still more flagrant injustice than that which it might prevent.

**inter quae.** These words appear only to connect this case with his general interest in questions of justice; for the context, 'auxilium patrum invocabat,' shows that this is not an action at law, but a petition to the senate.

9. **senator.** The apparently superfluous use of this word here and in 3. 36, 2 is generally taken to imply that the persons are 'pedarii senatores' (cp. 3. 65, 2) only. Where it is used (e. g. 4. 31, 7; 11. 35, 7) of 'praetorii,' it is to distinguish them from the non-senatorial persons mentioned in the passage.

**mole.** Nipp. argues that, as 'ductus' means 'the operation of conducting' of water, 'moles' is 'the construction' of the road, as in 'machinas molemque

labefactas aedis suas, auxilium patrum invocabat. resistentibus 4
aerarii praetoribus subvenit Caesar pretiumque aedium Aurelio
tribuit, erogandae per honesta pecuniae cupiens, quam virtutem
diu retinuit, cum ceteras exueret. Propertio Celeri praetorio, 5
veniam ordinis ob paupertatem petenti, deciens sestertium largitus
est, satis conperto paternas ei angustias esse. temptantis eadem 6
alios probare causas senatui iussit, cupidine severitatis in iis etiam
quae rite faceret acerbus. unde ceteri silentium et paupertatem 7
confessioni et beneficio praeposuere.

**76.** Eodem anno continuis imbribus auctus Tiberis plana urbis 1
stagnaverat; relabentem secuta est aedificiorum et hominum
strages. igitur censuit Asinius Gallus ut libri Sibullini adirentur. 2

operum Batavis delegat' (H. 4. 28, 5); but it seems doubtful whether 'ductus aquarum' may not have acquired the meaning, which it appears to have later, of the actual conduit or aqueduct itself.

2. **aerarii praetoribus.** Augustus transferred charge of the 'aerarium' from quaestors to praetors in 726, B. C. 28 (Suet. Aug. 36; Dio, 53. 2, 1); and the reversal of this change by Claudius was again reversed by Nero (13. 29, 2; H. 4. 9, 1).

3. **tribuit**, as a gift from the 'fiscus.'

**erogandae . . . cupiens.** Many instances are recorded of his liberality to individuals (2. 37, 1; 48, 1; 86, 2; 4. 64, 1; 6. 17, 4; 45, 1) and to provincial states (2. 47, 3; 4. 13, 1). Suetonius (Tib. 47, 48) speaks depreciatingly of these acts. The genitive with 'cupiens,' used by Tacitus in the Annals only (6. 46, 2; 14. 14, 4; 15. 46, 1; 72, 4; 16. 6, 1), seems to be an instance in which he has gone back to a Plautine usage.

4. **diu.** Even the absence of criminal covetousness (3. 18, 2) is represented as afterwards no longer characterising him: see 4. 20, 2; 6. 19, 1; and several stories collected in Suet. Tib. 49. As regards his munificence, we must set against these insinuations the fact that one, at least, of its chief instances (see above) is among the last acts of his life.

5. **veniam ordinis,** 'leave to resign senatorial rank.' Frost notes the special application of 'ordo' to the senate (e. g. 13. 11, 2; 32, 2), and to its municipal counterpart (13. 48, 1; H. 2. 52, 3).

**deciens sestertium.** This sum had been fixed as the senatorial census by Augustus (Dio, 54. 17, 3), who had bestowed a similar gift on Hortalus (2. 37, 2).

6. **paternas,** 'inherited,' i. e. not due to his own extravagance. So again 3. 32, 2.

7. **alios**: Seneca (de Ben. 2. 7, 2) mentions Marius Nepos, on whom see 2. 48, 3.

8. **acerbus.** The demand for proof was 'rite factum;' the publicity imposed on it is here called harshness. Dio (57. 10, 4) says that he also paid over his gifts openly; finding that those privately given by Augustus had often been filched in transit.

10. **Tiberis,** etc. The frequency of these inundations is noted throughout Roman History (cp. Gibbon, ch. 71; Merivale, ch. xli.; Friedländer, i. p. 27, etc.); and, notwithstanding the rise of the soil by accumulations, still requires a remedy.

11. **stagnaverat,** 'had flooded.' The verb is mostly poetical and post-Augustan, and the transitive sense very rare. Cp. ('loca) stagnata paludibus' Ov. Met. 15, 269.

**relabentem . . . strages.** Probably 'relabentem' is aoristic (see Introd. v. § 54 a), and 'strages' is to be taken in two senses, of the fall of buildings, and of mortality among human beings; the probability being that the stagnant water may have bred a pestilence, which was the most usual occasion for consulting the Sibylline books. In the account of a similar flood in H. 1. 86, 2, the river is described as 'strage obstantis molis refusus,' 'strages' having its more proper meaning of a confused heap. To make the passage here mean that such a mingled mass of building material and human bodies was carried along with the retiring waters, we should require 'sequebatur:' but it may possibly be meant

3 renuit Tiberius, perinde divina humanaque obtegens; sed re-
medium coercendi fluminis Ateio Capitoni et L. Arruntio manda-
4 tum. Achaiam ac Macedoniam onera deprecantis levari in
5 praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari placuit. edendis
gladiatoribus, quos Germanici fratris ac suo nomine obtulerat,
Drusus praesedit, quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens; quod
6 *in* vulgus formidolosum et pater arguisse dicebatur. cur absti-

that such a mass 'ensued,' i. e. was the spectacle presented to view.

**libri Sibullini.** The new collection of these prophecies, formed after the destruction of the old books with the Capitoline temple in 671, B.C. 83 (Dion. Hal. 4, 62), had been revised by order of Augustus (see on 6. 12, 3), who placed those approved in gilded caskets kept in the pedestal of the statue of Apollo in the Palatine temple (Suet. Aug. 31). Tiberius also, annoyed at the circulation of a professed prophecy, is said to have ordered a further revision and the destruction of the spurious (Dio, 57. 18, 4). On the whole subject of these books, see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 336, etc.

1. **perinde.** The combination of this word with 'et' or 'que' is Tacitean (2. 2, 6; H. 5. 6, 5). Cp. c. 73, 5.

**divina . . . obtegens.** It is an obvious explanation, that he considered this a case for the engineer rather than the prophet. His fatalism (see 6. 20, 3; Suet. Tib. 69) may also have influenced his refusal. That he did, however, consider the suppression of prophecy politically desirable, would appear from his action (see above) respecting the Sibylline prophecies in circulation, and also from his attempt (see Suet. Tib. 63) to restrict the consultation of 'haruspices,' and to abolish all the oracles in the vicinity of Rome.

**remedium coercendi,** defining genitive: cp. 'effugium . . . prorumpendi' 2. 47, 2, etc. See Madv. § 286.

2. **Ateio Capitoni.** This great jurist (see 3. 70, 2; 75, 1) was 'curator aquarum,' in succession to Messala, from 766–776, A. D. 13–23. Frontinus de Aquaed. c. 102.

**L. Arruntio**: cp. c. 13, 1, etc. Their recommendations are discussed below (c. 79). It is probable that Dio (57. 14, 7) is right in assigning to this time the institution of a permanent board of five 'curatores alvei Tiberis,' ascribed by Suetonius (Aug. 37) to an earlier date. See Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 1001.

3. **Achaiam.** Achaia, governed before with Macedonia, appears not to have been formed into a separate senatorial province till 727, B.C. 27. It included Thessaly and Epirus (cp. 2. 53, 1), besides Greece proper. Of its many famous cities, the metropolis, and seat of government, was the great Julian colony of Corinth. See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 173, etc.

**Macedoniam.** This country was formally reduced to a province in 608, B.C. 146, some twenty years after its submission. It was separated by the Drilo and Mt. Scordus from Delmatia and Moesia, and by the Nestus from Thrace; its southern limits being the northern boundaries of Achaia. Its chief cities at this time were Thessalonica and the colonies of Dyrrhachium and Philippi. See Marquardt, i. p. 163.

**levari . . . proconsulari imperio.** It is implied that the Caesarian government was less costly. See Introd. vii. p. 101. One explanation is suggested by c. 80, 1, that the expense of separate staffs was often saved by giving one 'legatus' charge of two or more provinces. Macedonia and Achaia were restored to the senate by Claudius in 797, A.D. 44 (Dio, 60. 24, 1; Suet. Cl. 25).

6. **quamquam vili,** 'true, that it was but worthless blood:' cp. 'quamquam fas sit' c. 10, 2. The extenuation is characteristic of Roman sentiment. On the character of Drusus, see on c. 29, 4.

**quod in vulgus formidolosum,** etc. Most editors insert 'in,' though only a marginal addition to the MS. Cp. 'in vulgus' 2. 59, 2; Liv. 2. 8, 2; 'in vulgum' 6. 45, 2; and other passages cited in Introd. v. § 60 b, in which this construction has much the force of a simple dative. With 'formidolosum,' 'erat' might be supplied, or it might be in apposition with 'quod,' and 'et' might

nuerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant; alii taedio coetus, quidam
tristitia ingenii et metu conparationis, quia Augustus comiter
interfuisset. non crediderim ad ostentandam saevitiam moven- 7
dasque populi offensiones concessam filio materiem, quamquam
id quoque dictum est.

**77.** At theatri licentia, proximo priore anno coepta, gravius 1
tum erupit, occisis non modo e plebe set militibus et centurione,
vulnerato tribuno praetoriae cohortis, dum probra in magistratus
et dissensionem vulgi prohibent. actum de ea seditione apud 2
patres dicebanturque sententiae, ut praetoribus ius virgarum in
histriones esset. intercessit Haterius Agrippa tribunus plebei 3
increpitusque est Asinii Galli oratione, silente Tiberio, qui ea
simulacra libertatis senatui praebebat. valuit tamen intercessio, 4
quia divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam
responderat, neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius. de modo 5

have the force of 'etiam:' 'which even his father was said to have censured, as alarming to the people' (the 'vilis sanguis' of Rome).

**abstinuerit.** On the tense, see on c. 61, 6.

1. **varie trahebant.** On this sense of 'trahere,' cp. c. 62, 3.

**alii . . . quidam,** 'abstinuisse dicebant' is to be supplied.

2. **tristitia.** On his character, and the contrast in this respect with Augustus, see c. 54, 4, Suet. Aug. 45; Introd. viii. p. 117, etc.

3. **non crediderim,** etc. On the rejection of scandals by Tacitus, and on his reference to tradition as an authority for motives, see Introd iv. p. 24, 26.

6. **proximo priore anno:** see c. 54, 3. 'Proximo' could have well stood alone, as in c. 22, 1; 78. 3, etc.; but 'proximus superior' and 'inferior' are used with apparently equal redundancy by Cicero (Orat. 64, 116; de N. D. 2. 20, 52).

7. **occisis,** aoristic perfect; cp. Introd. v. § 54 b.

**set.** The MS. has 'et,' which, as closely followed by another 'et,' can hardly stand. 'Set' is suggested by the marginal 'sed,' and can stand without 'etiam,' as c. 60, 1. Nipp. and Pfitzner read 'etiam,' which, followed by 'militibus,' could have been easily corrupted into 'et,' and is used thus without 'sed' in 4. 35, 1, where similar stress is laid on the second clause.

8. **praetoriae cohortis.** One of these cohorts was usually present, and an attempt afterwards to dispense with it only resulted in riot: see 13. 24, 1; 25, 4.

11. **intercessit.** On the position of tribunes, and permissive exercise of their veto at this time, see Introd. vi. p. 76.

**Haterius Agrippa.** He is mentioned as a relation of Germanicus and as praetor (2. 51, 2, where see note), as consul (3. 49, 4; 52, 1), and as a man of profligate character (6. 4, 5).

13. **simulacra:** cp. 'durat simulacrum' 6. 11, 2. A similar dispute between praetor and tribune is called 'imago reipublicae' in 13. 28, 1. Cp. 'imago libertatis' c. 81, 4; 'antiquitatis' 3. 60, 1.

14. **immunes verberum.** Augustus appears from Suetonius (Aug. 45) to have allowed the magistrates some power of chastising actors ('coercitio') at the actual time and place ('ludis et scena'); and to have himself ordered some to be scourged (see on c. 54, 3). But this resolution appears to have contemplated the restoration of the general power as existing 'omni loco et tempore, lege vetere' (Suet. l. l.). See Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 518. The penalty substituted seems usually to be banishment from Italy (4. 14, 4; 13. 25, 4); which had also been inflicted under Augustus: see Suet. l. l.

15. **neque fas,** etc. This obligation is stated, professedly in his own words, 4. 37, 4. Cp. Agr. 13, 3 ('consilium id Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum'); and Introd. viii. p. 135.

**de modo lucaris.** These words,

lucaris et adversus lasciviam fautorum multa decernuntur; ex quis maxime insignia, ne domos pantomimorum senator introiret, ne egredientes in publicum equites Romani cingerent aut alibi quam in theatro sectarentur, et spectantium immodestiam exilio multandi potestas praetoribus fieret.

1 **78**. Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto
petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in omnes provincias
2 exemplum. centesimam rerum venalium post bella civilia insti-
tutam deprecante populo edixit Tiberius militare aerarium eo

and 'mercedibus scenicorum recisis' (Suet. Tib. 34), show that the high pay at first demanded at the 'Augustalia' (see on c. 54, 3) was not kept up. 'Lucar' is elsewhere found only in juristic writers or inscriptions.

1. **fautorum**. The context shows that all patrons are meant, not merely the 'theatrales operae' (c. 16, 4).

2. **ne domos**, etc. The laxity here condemned probably dated from the patronage of Augustus and Maecenas (see on c. 54, 3), and these prohibitions appear to have been wholly ineffectual. Seneca says (Ep. 47, 17) 'ostendam nobilissimos iuvenes mancipia pantomimorum;' and (Quaest. Nat. 7. 32, 3) 'mares inter se uxoresque contendunt uter det latus illis' ('successoribus Pyladis et Bathylli'). Pliny (N. H. 29. 1, 5, § 9) says of Thessalus, a physician of Nero, 'nullius histrionum . . . comitatior egressus in publico erat;' and Juvenal (7. 88) 'quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio,' etc.

4. **sectarentur**. This conjecture of Wölfflin, adopted by Halm, is recommended by its avoidance of the awkward introduction, by 'aut,' of a change of subject, and by the probability that 'spectarentur' may have arisen out of 'spectantium' following. The MS. text would make the prohibition that of performances in private houses, where no control could be maintained. There is evidence that rich persons kept actors for their private use, as Ummidia Quadratilla (Pl. Epp. 7. 24, 4); or hired them out. See Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 518.

**et**. With this 'ut' is supplied from 'ne.' Nipp. notes 3. 51, 3 'idque . . . spatium prorogaretur;' and 3. 69, 1 'idque princeps diiudicaret.' In c. 79, 1 'idque' stands for 'et ne id.'

**exilio**. This would imply power to inflict a lesser penalty, as imprisonment (see 13. 28, 1). Lipsius refers to a 'lex de poenis' (Pandect. Lib. 28) arising out of this decree.

6. **colonia Tarraconensi**. The modern Tarragona, a colony of Julius Caesar, further dignified with the title 'Colonia Iulia Victrix Triumphalis Tarraco' (Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 104, n. 3); the chief city of the great province Hispania Tarraconensis (on which see 4. 5, 2). That it already had an altar to Augustus is shown by an anecdote in Quint. 6. 3, 77 'Augustus nunciantibus Tarraconensibus palmam in ara eius enatam, apparet, inquit, quam saepe accendatis.' The temple is represented on coins, and appears to have been inscribed 'Deo' (not 'Divo') 'Augusto' (Eckh. i. p. 57, 58). It was no doubt the centre of this worship for the whole province.

7. **datum . . . exemplum**. Soon after the victory of Actium, Augustus had allowed temples, to himself and Roma, at Pergamum in Asia, Nicomedeia in Bithynia, Ancyra in Galatia, and elsewhere (see 4. 37, 4; Dio, 51. 20, 7), besides altars (see above, also c. 39, 1); but the example now set may well have consisted, as Nipp. thinks, in its being the first national temple to 'divus Augustus' alone, and in the necessity imposed on other provinces to act likewise.

8. **centesimam rerum venalium**. It is thought that the idea of this tax was suggested by its use in Egypt: see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 269. On its further history, see 2. 42, 6.

9. **militare aerarium**. Augustus thus describes the institution of this treasury (Mon. Anc. iii. 35), 'M. Lepido et L. Arruntio cos (759, A. D. 6), in aerarium militare, quod ex meo consilio constitutum est, ex quo praemia darentur militibus, qui vicena plurave stipendia emeruissent, H. S. milliens et septingentiens Ti. Caesaris nomine et meo detuli.' This treasury was placed under three 'praefecti' (Inscr.

subsidio niti; simul imparem oneri rem publicam, nisi vicensimo
militiae anno veterani dimitterentur. ita proximae seditionis
male consulta, quibus sedecim stipendiorum finem expresserant,
abolita in posterum.

**79.** Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio, an ob 1
moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur flumina et lacus,
per quos augescit; auditaeque municipiorum et coloniarum
legationes, orantibus Florentinis, ne Clanis solito alveo demotus
in amnem Arnum transferretur idque ipsis perniciem adferret.
congruentia his Interamnates disseruere: pessum ituros fecun- 2
dissimos Italiae campos, si amnis Nar (id enim parabatur) in
rivos diductus superstagnavisset. nec Reatini silebant, Velinum 3
lacum, qua in Narem effunditur, obstrui recusantes, quippe in

Orell. 946, etc.) of praetorian rank, chosen at first by lot, afterwards by selection; and, as funds fell short, received other taxes, as the 'vicesima hereditatum' (Dio, 55. 25, 5); some confiscated property, as that of Agrippa Postumus (Dio, 55. 32, 2); and some foreign revenues (2. 42, 6). Probably a deficiency in its funds caused the substitution of land gifts for money, complained of by the veterans (c. 17, 5).

1. **simul**, 'even with its help.'

**nisi vicensimo**, i.e. unless the concession lowering the time of their 'missio' from the twentieth to the sixteenth year of service (see c. 36, 4) were revoked. As the discharge then given after sixteen years, was only 'missio sub vexillo,' it would here seem that some gratuity was payable at that stage. The praemium given by Augustus on full discharge was 12,000 H. S. to the legions (Dio, 25. 23, 1); but Tiberius is said to have avoided 'missiones' as much as possible (Suet. Tib. 48); and Gaius to have reduced the gratuity by one half (Suet. Cal. 44).

3. **sedecim stipendiorum finem.** Nipp. follows Walther in explaining this as a genitive of quality.

**expresserant**: cp. c. 19, 5.

5. **Actum . . . an**, 'the question was raised, whether,' etc. Their appointment was mentioned in c. 76, 3.

7. **augescit**; ind. pres. because this fact is no part of the question.

**municipiorum et coloniarum.** These terms are constantly used together by Tacitus (cp. 3. 55, 4; 4. 67, 1; 15. 33, 3; H. 2. 20, 1; 56, 1; 62, 4, etc.) to designate the towns of Italy; the term 'praefectura' being obsolete, and 'colonia' taken to include both Roman and Latin colonies. The old distinction between 'municipia' and 'coloniae' (see Watson, Select Letters of Cicero, Appendix xii) had become obsolete, and Tacitus appears, below in this chapter, and perhaps in 3. 2, 2, to use 'coloniae' as a common term for both; but to attain colonial rank was still an honour to an Italian town (14. 27, 2). Of the towns here mentioned, Florentia alone was a colony, and that from recent date.

8. **ne Clanis**, etc. The marshes near Cortona and Arretium are the source of the Chiana (Clanis), and also of streams flowing north into the Arno.

9. **idque . . . adferret**. On 'idque,' see note on c. 77, 5. 'Adferret' is used as 'traheret' (2. 58, 1), 'maneret' (2. 81, 3), 'exstrueret' (4. 37, 1), etc.; in all of which cases a request that something may or may not happen, is addressed to those with whom it rests to permit or hinder it. See Nipp. on 2. 58.

10. **Interamnates**: of Interamna (Terni), in Umbria, between two branches of the Nar (Nera).

12. **superstagnavisset**, ἅπ. εἰρ. On the simple verb, cp. c. 76, 1.

**Reatini.** Of Reate (Rieti) in Sabina. Between this place and Interamna, the lake and river Velinus are discharged into the Nar through the passage cut by M'. Curius (Cic. Att. 4. 15, 5), forming the famous Falls of Terni. The expressions here used seem to show that it had come to be regarded as a work of nature.

13. **lacum . . . obstrui recusantes.** The accus. and inf. with this verb occurs only here and Pl. N. H. 29. 1, 8, 16; but,

adiacentia erupturum; optume rebus mortalium consuluisse naturam, quae sua ora fluminibus, suos cursus utque originem, ita fines dederit; spectandas etiam religiones sociorum, qui sacra et
4 lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint: quin ipsum Tiberim nolle
5 prorsus accolis fluviis orbatum minore gloria fluere. seu preces coloniarum seu difficultas operum sive superstitio valuit, ut in sententiam *Cn.* Pisonis concederetur, qui nil mutandum censuerat.

1 **80.** Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, additis
2 Achaia ac Macedonia. id quoque morum Tiberii fuit, continuare

like that with 'obsisto' (G. 34, 3), and the more common use with 'prohibeo' (c. 69, 1, etc.), is analogous to the usage with verbs having the opposite sense of permitting, etc. See on c. 72, 2; 74, 7.

2. **ora**, 'outlets.'

3. **sociorum.** Nipp. thinks it necessary to read 'maiorum,' on the ground that the Italians, who can alone be meant, could not at this time be called 'socii.' But the term would suit the original dedicators; who, though their own descendants would no longer generally so style them, might still be spoken of under such a title in the Roman senate.

**sacra**, etc. A worship of the Clitumnus, at its source, is mentioned in Pl. Epp. 8. 8, 5.

4. **patriis**, 'of their fatherland:' cp. 'insignibus patriis' 15. 29, 4; 'abietibus patriis' Verg. Aen. 9, 692, etc.

**Tiberim**, etc. On this personification, cp. Introd. v. § 75.

7. **Pisonis.** The last mention of Cn. Piso (c. 74, 6) might be considered sufficiently recent to make it needless here to insert 'Cn.' with Nipp. and Halm. No other Piso has as yet been mentioned.

**concederetur.** This has been generally adopted, after Lipsius, for the MS. 'concederet.' The instances given by Baiter of a similar error are, however, all in the second Medicean MS.; and Pfitzner points out that 'senatus,' mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, might possibly be supplied as the subject of this sentence recording their final decision. Doed. reads 'concederent.'

**nil mutandum.** A 'fossa' made by Nerva or Trajan is mentioned in Pl. Epp. 8. 17, 2.

9. **Prorogatur.** The tenure of a Caesarian province was strictly during the pleasure of Caesar (Dio, 53. 13, 6); but a period of three to five years appears, from the advice attributed to Maecenas (Dio, 52. 23, 2), to have been customary. Sabinus had probably been appointed in 764, A.D. 11. See next note.

**Poppaeo Sabino.** His full name in the Fasti Cap. as cos. 762, A.D. 9, is C. Poppaeus Q. f. Q. n. Sabinus. He was the father of Poppaea Sabina (on whom see 11. 2, 2), and, through her, the grandfather of Poppaea the wife of Nero (13. 45, 1, etc.). He received triumphal honours in 779, A.D. 26 (4. 46, 1), and died in 788, A.D. 35; having governed important provinces for twenty-four years 'quod par negotiis neque supra erat' (6. 39, 3).

**Moesia.** This was a Caesarian province of the first rank, bounded north and east by the Danube and Euxine (see note on 2. 65, 5), and parted from Thrace, Macedon, and Illyria, by the range of Haemus and Scordus, and the Drinus and Savus; thus comprising the whole of Servia and Bulgaria, and having a garrison of two legions (4. 5, 5). It was established at some time late in the life of Augustus (cp. Ov. Trist. 2, 197); and was divided into two by Domitian. The importance of most of its towns is of later date; but Tomi, on the coast, is known as the place of exile of Ovid. See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 146, etc.

**additis Achaia ac Macedonia.** According to Dio (58. 25, 5) this arrangement held throughout the lifetime of Sabinus, and was continued under his successor Memmius Regulus, and apparently till the restoration of these provinces to the senate (see c. 76, 4). Tacitus, though he mentions Sabinus as still governing Macedonia and Achaia (5. 10, 3), mentions other governors of Moesia; namely, Ti. Latinius Pandusa and his successor Pomponius Flaccus in 772, A.D. 19 (2.

imperia ac plerosque ad finem vitae in isdem exercitibus aut
iurisdictionibus habere. causae varie traduntur: alii taedio novae 3
curae semel placita pro aeternis servavisse, quidam invidia, ne
plures fruerentur; sunt qui existiment, ut callidum eius ingenium,
ita anxium iudicium; neque enim eminentis virtutes sectabatur,
et rursum vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis
dedecus publicum metuebat. qua haesitatione postremo eo pro- 4
vectus est, ut mandaverit quibusdam provincias, quos egredi urbe
non erat passurus.

**81.** De comitiis consularibus, quae tum primum illo principe 1

66, 3); probably P. Vellaeus in 774, A.D. 21 (3. 39, 1); and Pomponius Labeo in 779, A.D. 26 (4. 47, 1; 6. 29, 1): but of these only Flaccus, who was appointed for a special purpose, is known to have been a consular, and Labeo was certainly not such. It is therefore possible that these stood in some subordination to Sabinus. See note on 4. 47, 1.

**morum.** This plural form of the classical usage, 'moris est,' appears to be new. On similar genitives, see Introd. v. § 35.

**continuare imperia.** For instances, see Introd. vii. pp. 99, 100. The same long tenure was given to his fiscal officers: see 4. 6, 5.

2. **iurisdictionibus.** In Caesar's time the government of a peaceful province was mere 'iurisdictio' (ad Q. F. 1. 1, 7). Hence Ern., who is followed by Marquardt (Staatsv. i. p. 407), refers this term here to the senatorial provinces. But only the direct appointments of Tiberius seem here spoken of, and among the Caesarian there were peaceful provinces, under procurators, or even under 'legati,' to which the term may well be applied.

**causae, etc.** To those here mentioned, may be added that which Josephus (Ant. 18. 6, 5) quotes as assigned by Tiberius himself, that 'it is better to leave the gorged flies on a sore than to drive them off' (see Introd. viii. p. 134); and the complaint, also alleged by himself, that the best men constantly declined the office (6. 27, 3). Dio (58. 23, 5) alleges the reduction in the ranks of the senate as the cause, in later years, both of these and of the prolonged tenures of senatorial provinces.

**alii:** sc. 'tradunt,' supplied from 'traduntur.'

3. **semel placita.** Orelli illustrates this habit, even in small matters, from the fact that the types of his coinage show hardly any change after this year (Eckh. vi. 188).

4. **ut callidum,** etc., 'that his decision was as irresolute, as his perception was acute.' On the apparently true insight here shown into his character, see Introd. viii. p. 117, etc.

6. **rursum,** 'on the other hand:' cp. 2. 39, 4; 11. 28, 3; 13. 14, 5, etc.

8. **ut mandaverit.** Tacitus uses the historical perf. subj., where the imperf. would be more natural, with more freedom than any other writer except Suetonius: cp. 'agitaverint' (c. 18, 2); 'trucidatum sit' (c. 56, 3), etc.; Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 182; Madv. 382, Obs. 1.

**quibusdam.** The only cases known are those of L. Arruntius and Aelius Lamia; see 6. 27, 2, 3. It is stated by Suetonius (Tib. 63) that he treated them as governors, and gave them instructions, to be executed by their 'legati:' a governor of Syria was similarly kept at home by Nero (13. 22, 2).

9. **non erat passurus.** Nipp. notes this as implying, not that he had made up his mind at their appointment (in which case there would be no 'haesitatio'), but that the moment never came when he would let them go.

10. **comitiis.** The term is used of election by the senate, as in c. 15, 1. That the consular as well as other elections were so conducted, is shown by an inscription cited below, and by the temporary restitution to the people under Gaius (Dio, 59. 20, 3).

**tum primum.** The consuls for this year had been designated before the death of Augustus (c. 14, 5). With 'deinceps,' 'illo principe' is again supplied, no allusion being here made to the practice of his successors.

ac deinceps fuere, vix quicquam firmare ausim: adeo diversa non modo apud auctores sed in ipsius orationibus reperiuntur.
2 modo subtractis candidatorum nominibus originem cuiusque et vitam et stipendia descripsit, ut qui forent intellegeretur: aliquando ea quoque significatione subtracta candidatos hortatus, ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id curam pollicitus est.
3 plerumque eos tantum apud se professos disseruit, quorum nomina consulibus edidisset; posse et alios profiteri, si gratiae aut meritis confiderent: speciosa verbis, re inania aut subdola, quantoque maiore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.

2. **non modo.** Nipp. here notes the apparently inadvertent repetitions found sometimes in Tacitus, as here 'modo' ... 'modo,' also 'eximeretur' ... 'exemit' (3. 18, 1); 'nisi' ... 'nisi' (3. 57, 2): 'simul' ... 'simul' (4. 16, 1), etc. On the other hand, the repetition here of 'subtractis' ... 'subtracta;' as of 'parentur' ... 'parentur' (2. 33, 4); 'venas' ... 'venas' (6. 9, 4): are intentional. Many instances of each kind are cited here by Nipp. from a much larger list in Joh. Müller (Beiträge, sect. 4. 11–18).

**ipsius orationibus.** These would probably be recorded in the 'acta senatus;' but it is remarkable that Tacitus does not cite the 'acta' themselves as evidence of the mode of procedure. See Introd. iii. p. 14.

3. **modo, etc.** Although an inscription (I. R. N. 4762) records a person as 'per commendation(em) Ti. Caesaris Augusti ab senatu co(n)s(ul) dest(inatus),' this passage appears clearly to show that his control of these elections was informal, and not analogous to the special 'commendatio' of 'candidati Caesaris' for other magistracies. See on c. 15, 2; and Introd. vi. p. 80. Tacitus is here describing three modes of informal recommendation: (1) by giving two names to the consuls, and stating that no others had offered themselves; which amounts to a 'nominatio' (see on c. 14, 6; and Introd. l. l.) of two candidates only: (2) and (3) without even formal 'nominatio;' by indicating in a speech or letter (without names) the persons whom he preferred; or by intimating to 'candidati' that they need not canvas, and leaving it apparently to them to make this known.

**subtractis**, 'being suppressed:' cp. 'aliis nominatis me unum subtrahebat' (Curt. 6. 10, 7).

# BOOK II.

## SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

**A. U. C. 769, A. D. 16. Statilius Sisenna Taurus, L. Libo, coss.**

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# CORNELII TACITI

## ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

## LIBER II.

1 **1.** SISENNA Statilio [Tauro] L. Libone consulibus mota ori-
entis regna provinciaeque Romanae, initio apud Parthos orto,
qui petitum Roma acceptumque regem, quamvis gentis Arsaci-
darum, ut externum aspernabantur. is fuit Vonones, obses
2 Augusto datus a Phraate. nam Phraates quamquam depulisset
exercitus ducesque Romanos, cuncta venerantium officia ad

4. **Sisenna Statilio [Tauro].** The name is thus given in the Fasti (Henzen 6422; C. I. L. i. p. 475), but the mention of another cognomen, after one cognomen and a gentile name, is noted by Ritter as contrary to the usage of Tacitus. The full names in Dio (Argum. of B. 57) are T. Statilius T. f. Sisenna Taurus, and L. Scribonius L. f. Libo. On the latter, see c. 29, 2.

6. **gentis Arsacidarum.** This dynasty created, cir. B.C. 250, the Parthian Empire, which lasted till cir. A.D. 230, and included nearly all the eastern portion of the Syro-Macedonian dominions, from the Euphrates to the Hindoo Koosh and the desert of Carmania; the principal exceptions being the partially, and, at times, wholly independent kingdoms of Northern Media (Atropatene), and of 'Armenia maior.' Its history is fully treated in Prof. Rawlinson's 'Sixth Oriental Monarchy' (London, 1873), and the chronology has been accurately determined from numismatic data. See Prof. Percy Gardner ('The coinage of Parthia,' Part v. of 'Numismata Orientalia,' London, 1877), from whom most of the dates here given have been taken.

7. **is fuit.** Nipp. notes the recurrence of this mode of expression in 4. 15, 2; 13. 42, 1; H. 3. 47, 1; 4. 11, 3.

8. **nam Phraates.** For a general sketch of the policy of Rome towards Parthia and Armenia from the time of Augustus to that of Nero, see Introd. to vol. ii. The Phraates here mentioned was the fourth of that name and fifteenth king of the dynasty, and reigned from B.C. 37 to B.C. 2. The repulse of the Romans alluded to is that of M. Antonius and his lieutenant Oppius Statianus in 718, B.C. 36. The force under the latter was annihilated. See Dio, 49. 24–32.

9. **venerantium,** a form of defining genitive equivalent to 'venerantibus propria:' cp. 'supplicia civium' 6. 40, 2; 'illecebrae peccantium' Agr. 4. 3; 'servientium poenae' Id. 32, 5.

**officia.** The chief mark of respect lay in his restoration, in 734, B.C. 20, of the standards taken from Crassus and others (Dio, 54. 8, 1). Cp. 'Parthos trium exercituum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi, supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi' (Mon. Anc. v. 40). The homage alleged here, and in Hor. Ep. 1. 12, 27, would appear from Dio (l. l.) to be overstated.

Augustum verterat partemque prolis firmandae amicitiae mis-
erat, haud perinde nostri metu quam fidei popularium diffisus.
**2.** Post finem Phraatis et sequentium regum ob internas 1
caedes venere in urbem legati a primoribus Parthis, qui Vono-
nem vetustissimum liberorum eius accirent. magnificum id sibi 2
credidit Caesar auxitque opibus. et accepere barbari laetantes,
ut ferme ad nova imperia. mox subiit pudor degeneravisse 3
Parthos: petitum alio ex orbe regem, hostium artibus infectum;
iam inter provincias Romanas solium Arsacidarum haberi dari-
que. ubi illam gloriam trucidantium Crassum, exturbantium 4
Antonium, si mancipium Caesaris, tot per annos servitutem
perpessum, Parthis imperitet? accendebat dedignantes et ipse 5

1. **partemque prolis.** Strabo (16. 1, 28, 748) states that he sent four sons, Seraspadanes, Rhodaspis, Phraates, and Vonones, with two wives and four sons belonging to them. In Mon. Anc. vi. 3, these are described as 'filios suos nepotesque omnes.' The two first names are given in an inscription (Orelli 628). This surrender was made to M. Titius (Strabo, l. l.) who was legatus of Syria between 743 and 747, B.C. 11–7 (Rawlinson, p. 211).

**firmandae amicitiae.** On this dative with 'mittere,' cp. 1. 60, 2.

2. **haud perinde . . . quam**: cp. c. 5, 3, etc.; also without a negative in 4. 20, 6; 6. 30, 4, etc., and in Suet. The same reason for this action of Phraates is given by Strabo (l. l.) δεδιὼς τὰς στάσεις καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους αὐτῷ. Cp. Mon. Anc. (l. l.) 'non bello superatus, sed amicitiam nostram per [liberorum] suorum pignora petens.' It would thus appear that 'obses datus,' above, is not to be taken strictly.

3. **Post finem**, etc. Phraataces, a natural son of Phraates, murdered his father and succeeded him, and was himself forced to give way to Orodes, also an Arsacid, who was assassinated by his subjects (Jos. Ant. 18. 2, 4). Phraataces was king as early as August B.C. 2, and had an interview with Gaius Caesar in the East: see Dio, 55. 10, a, 4 (Dindorf): cp. Vell. 2. 101, 2. His coins date to A.D. 4; and the assassination of Orodes appears to have taken place in A.D. 7 or 8, in the latter of which years the coinage of Vonones begins. He may have been sent for earlier, as we hear of a Parthian embassy to Rome apparently in 758 or 759, A.D. 5 or 6 (Suet. Tib. 16).

**internas**, 'domestic.' So used of 'discordiae' (c. 26, 3), 'certamina' (c. 54, 2), etc., and domestic affairs generally (4. 32, 2).

4. **primoribus**, more properly called 'megistanes' ('mehestàn'), 15. 27, 4; Suet. Cal. 5.

5. **vetustissimum.** Of the others, Phraates was certainly alive (6. 31, 4); so that either Strabo (l. l.), who places Vonones last, may not give a correct order of seniority, or Josephus (l. l.) may be right in saying that he was selected as the fittest.

6. **Caesar.** Augustus, who has been mentioned (c. 1, 2), is intended by this name here and in c. 3.

**auxit**, 'enriched him:' cp. 'nominibus auxit' 1. 3, 1; 'ornat Phraaten' 6. 32, 1.

**laetantes . . . ad**: so 'laeto milite ad mutationem ducum' H. 2. 36, 4. This mode of expressing relation is frequent in Tacitus with adjectives or participles, e.g. 1. 40, 3; 43, 5; 6. 7, 3; 8, 4; 29, 5, etc.

8. **alio ex orbe.** The Parthians are made to speak of their empire as a world in itself, as the Romans would speak of 'noster orbis' (G. 2, 1; Agr. 12, 3) or ἡ οἰκουμένη (Luke 2, 1, etc.).

10. **trucidantium . . . exturbantium**, used aoristically: see Introd. v. § 54. On the defeat and death of Crassus in 701, B.C. 53, see Plut. Crass. 27–31, 560–563; Dio, 40. 16–27, etc.; on that of Antonius, see above, c. 1, 2.

12. **accendebat**: cp. 'incendebat' 1. 23, 1, etc. 'Dedignor' is chiefly poetical, and elsewhere in Tacitus is followed by an infin. (c. 34, 8, etc.) or accus. (14. 46, 2).

**ipse.** His character, as distinct from his antecedents.

diversus a maiorum institutis, raro venatu, segni equorum cura;
quotiens per urbes incederet, lecticae gestamine fastuque erga
6 patrias epulas. inridebantur et Graeci comites ac vilissima uten-
silium anulo clausa. sed prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignotae
Parthis virtutes, nova vitia; et quia ipsorum moribus aliena,
perinde odium pravis et honestis.

1 **3.** Igitur Artabanus Arsacidarum e sanguine apud Dahas
adultus excitur, primoque congressu fusus reparat vires regnoque
2 potitur. victo Vononi perfugium Armenia fuit, vacua tunc inter-
que Parthorum et Romanas opes infida ob scelus Antonii, qui

1. **raro venatu, segni . . . cura.** Usually taken as abl. of quality; but 'gestamine' and 'fastu' would be more naturally instrumental, and there is no need to suppose a change of construction. Justin states (41. 3, 3) that the Parthians ate no flesh but that taken in the chase, and were never seen out except on horseback.

2. **quotiens . . . incederet**; subjunct. of repeated action: cp. Introd. v. § 52.

**lecticae gestamine**: cp. 'gestamine sellae' 14. 4, 6; 15. 57, 3; and 'eodem gestamine' 11. 33, 3. The word, generally poetical and post-Augustan, is otherwise almost exclusively used of that which is worn or borne.

**erga.** The use of this word to express every kind of feeling or mere relation towards a person or thing, is especially, though not exclusively, Tacitean. See Introd. v. § 59; Nipp. on c. 76. For other instances of its use in application to things or abstract conceptions, cp. 4. 20, 2; 11. 25, 8; 16. 33, 1, etc.; and a few instances in earlier authors, as 'erga meam salutem' Cic. Prov. Cons. 1, 1; Att. 8. 3, 2.

3. **epulas.** The feasts with the 'megistanes,' only suspended as an act of mourning ('iustitii instar'); Suet. Cal. 5.

**Graeci comites.** Probably men of letters, as those attendant on Tiberius (4. 58, 1).

**utensilium,** 'stores:' cp. 1. 70, 6.

4. **anulo clausa**: cp. Plin. N. H. 33. 1, 6, 26 'nunc cibi quoque ac potus anulo vindicantur a rapina;' also Plaut. Cas. 2. 1, 1; Cic. ad Fam. 16. 26, 2; Hor. Ep. 2. 2, 134; Juv. 14, 132, etc. These precautions against pilfering slaves would seem mean to Parthians.

**prompti aditus,** etc. It seems best to supply 'erant,' not with these clauses, but with 'nova vitia,' taken as predicate to the whole, and explained by 'et quia,' etc., following.

**obvia,** 'affable,' i.e. ready to meet all halfway: cp. obvium obsequium' H. 1. 19, 2; and 'obvius' thus used of a person in Plin. Epp. 1. 10, 2.

5. **moribus.** Generally adopted, after Muretus, for the MS. 'maioribus.'

7. **Arsacidarum e sanguine.** By his mother's side only (6. 42, 4): on his father's side he was probably a Dahan, or of Hyrcanian or Carmanian blood; see 6. 36, 5. According to Josephus (Ant. 18. 2, 4), he was king of Media, i.e. of the independent part, Atropatene.

**Dahas.** This Scythic race, bordering on the Arii (11. 10, 3), and grouped by Strabo (11. 8, 2, 511) with the Sacae and Massagetae, must have then lived between the Caspian, the sea of Aral, and the Oxus; though the modern Daghestan shows trace of them at some other time further west. They are known as a warlike race to Vergil (Aen. 8, 728).

8. **primo congressu fusus.** This victory is commemorated by coins, dating A. D. 9–11, inscribed *Βασιλεὺς Ὀνώνης νεικήσας Ἀρτάβανον*. It has been remarked that these coins are wholly distinct from the usual Parthian types, and thus illustrative of the difference of Vonones from the national character: see the engraving, Rawlinson, p. 223; Gardner, p. 47, and Pl. v.

**reparat vires,** by a retreat to Media: see Josephus (l. l.), who adds further particulars. The coinage of Artabanus begins in A. D. 10 or 11.

9. **vacua,** without a head: cp. 6. 34, 3; 51, 4, etc.

10. **Parthorum et Romanas.** On such variations, see Introd. v. § 91: cp. c. 17, 6; 60, 4; 3. 2, 1; 15. 6, 6: also 'inter

Artavasden regem Armeniorum specie amicitiae inlectum, dein
catenis oneratum, postremo interfecerat. eius filius Artaxias, 3
memoria patris nobis infensus, Arsacidarum vi seque regnumque
tutatus est. occiso Artaxia per dolum propinquorum, datus a 4
Caesare Armeniis Tigranes deductusque in regnum a Tiberio
Nerone. nec Tigrani diuturnum imperium fuit neque liberis 5
eius, quamquam sociatis more externo in matrimonium regnumque.

**4.** Dein iussu Augusti inpositus Artavasdes et non sine clade 1
nostra deiectus. tum Gaius Caesar componendae Armeniae 2
deligitur. is Ariobarzanen, origine Medum, ob insignem cor-

regem Macedonum Poenumque ducem' Liv. 23. 34, 7; 'inter Macedonum Romanaque castra' Id. 36. 29, 5.

**ob scelus Antonii.** Tacitus cares to explain only their alienation from Rome. Artavasdes I was son of Tigranes I (the king known in the campaigns of Lucullus and Pompeius), and had reigned some twenty years before his capture by Antonius in 720, B.C. 34: Dio, 49. 39, 4; Vell. 2. 82, 3. He was put to death by Cleopatra, after Actium, to win the alliance of the Median king, his enemy (Dio, 51. 5, 5).

2. **filius Artaxias.** He had been made king by the military chiefs on the capture of his father, and though at first defeated, had made good his position in the following year: see Dio, 49. 39, 6; 40, 1; 44, 4. He put to death all Romans in his dominions (Id. 51. 16, 2).

4. **occiso Artaxia**, etc.: cp. Mon. Anc. v. 24 'Armeniam maiorem interfecto rege eius Artaxia cum facere possem provinciam, malui maiorum nostrorum exemplo regnum id Tigrani regis Artavasdis filio, nepoti autem Tigranis regis, per Ti. Neronem tradere.' Josephus (Ant. 15. 4, 3) represents Artaxias as expelled by Tiberius. The date is that of the restoration of the standards (see note on c. 1, 1); and the statement of Augustus above, that Armenia lay at his mercy, is magnified into a conquest by Horace (Epp. 1. 12, 16) and Velleius (2. 94, 2), and in coins of this date (see Momms. on Mon. Anc. p. 77), bearing the legend 'Armenia capta.'

6. **nec Tigrani**, etc. The confused record of this period has been reduced to some order by Visconti (Icon. Grecque, iii. p. 305, foll.), Rawlinson (p. 206, etc.), and Mommsen (on Mon. Anc. pp. 76–80). The children of this Tigranes II, joined in marriage and in regal power, were Tigranes III and Erato, who are recorded on the two sides of the same coin, as *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Τιγράνης*, and *Ἐρατὼ βασιλέως Τιγράνου ἀδελφή* (Visconti, Pl. 57).

7. **more externo.** As examples of this Eastern custom may be cited Mausolus and Artemisia in Caria, and several instances during the Ptolemaean dynasty in Egypt.

9. **Artavasdes.** This prince is unnoticed in Mon. Anc. which speaks generally (v. 28) of a period of revolt ('gentem postea desciscentem et rebellantem'). A solitary coin is however extant, bearing on the obverse the head and title of Artavasdes, and on the reverse the head of Augustus, with the inscription *θεοῦ Καίσαρος Εὐεργέτου*; which must belong to the son of Ariobarzanes (see on § 3) or to this king, to whom Prof. Percy Gardner (Num. Chron. N. S. 12. p. 9–15) inclines to refer it. Nipp. thinks he may have been a brother of Artaxias and Tigranes II. Tigranes and Erato, who had been set aside for Artavasdes, appear to have inflicted this 'clades' and driven him out with Parthian aid. The only evidence of date is supplied by the statement that Tiberius was to have been despatched to deal with the Armenian revolt after the death of Tigranes, but for his retirement to Rhodes, 748, B.C. 6 (Dio, 55. 9, 4; Zon. 10. 35, 36; p. 421, 422, Pind.). Affairs were thus left unsettled till the mission of Gaius.

10. **Gaius Caesar.** He was in the East from 753, B.C. 1, till his death on Feb. 21, 757, A.D. 4. Tigranes had fallen in battle with his neighbours, Erato again retired, and Phraataces was induced to withdraw his support (Dio, 55. 10. a, 5).

11. **origine Medum:** cp. Mon. Anc. l.l.

poris formam et praeclarum animum volentibus Armeniis prae-
3 fecit. Ariobarzane morte fortuita absumpto stirpem eius haud
toleravere; temptatoque feminae imperio, cui nomen Erato,
eaque brevi pulsa, incerti solutique et magis sine domino quam
4 in libertate profugum Vononen in regnum accipiunt. sed ubi
minitari Artabanus et parum subsidii in Armeniis, vel, si nostra
vi defenderetur, bellum adversus Parthos sumendum erat, rector
Suriae Creticus Silanus excitum custodia circumdat, manente
5 luxu et regio nomine. quod ludibrium ut effugere agitaverit
Vonones, in loco reddemus.

1 **5.** Ceterum Tiberio haud ingratum accidit turbari res orientis,
ut ea specie Germanicum suetis legionibus abstraheret novisque
2 provinciis inpositum dolo simul et casibus obiectaret. at ille,
quanto acriora in eum studia militum et aversa patrui voluntas,
celerandae victoriae intentior, tractare proeliorum vias et quae
sibi tertium iam annum belligeranti saeva vel prospera evenis-
3 sent. fundi Germanos acie et iustis locis, iuvari silvis, paludi-

'domitam per Gaium filium meum regi Ariobarzani, regis Medorum Artabazi filio, regendam tradidi.' The royal house of Media was related to those of Armenia and Parthia (Strab. 11. 13, 1, 523). Some hostilities ensued, in the course of which Gaius received his death-wound.

2. **stirpem eius**: cp. Mon. Anc. l. l. 'et post eius mortem filio eius Artavasdi. Quo interfecto Tigranem, qui erat ex regio genere Armeniorum oriundus, in id regnum misi.' It has been thought that there was only one Artavasdes, and that Tacitus has in error placed him earlier (see § 1). This Tigranes IV, unnoticed here by Tacitus, is identified by Mommsen with the one mentioned in 6. 40, 2, and appears to have been son of Alexander (son of Herod the Great) and of a daughter of Archelaus of Cappadocia (see c. 42, 2), who had apparently married an Armenian princess.

3. **Erato.** Supposed to be the same mentioned above, who would thus appear to have returned a third time to the throne. Of this there is no other evidence.

4. **soluti**, 'disorganized:' cp. 'soluta pax' 1. 50, 7.

5. **ubi minitari.** On this use of the historical infinitive, see Introd. v. § 46 c.

7. **defenderetur**, sc. 'Vonones,' supplied from the sense.

8. **Creticus Silanus**: cp. c. 43, 3.

10. **in loco**: cp. 'desipere in loco' Hor. Od. 4. 12, 28: also 'in tempore' 1. 19, 2; 'suo loco' H. 4. 67, 3. The narrative is given in c. 68.

12. **suetis legionibus.** Probably a dative: cp. c. 26, 6; Introd. v. § 15.

14. **aversa.** On the use of the positive, and the ellipse of 'tanto' following, see Introd. v. § 64.

15. **celerandae victoriae**: cp. 'obpugnationem . . . celerare' 12. 46, 4. This verb, whether transitive or intransitive, seems to be found in no earlier prose. 'Intentus' takes a gerundial dative in 1. 31, 2; Liv. 10. 42, 1, etc.

**proeliorum vias**, 'methods of attack:' cp. 'viam belli' Liv. 38. 18, 9; ὁδοὶ πολέμου Thuc. 1. 122, 1; and other metaphorical uses of 'via,' as 1. 54, 4, etc.; 'eloquentiae itinera' Dial. 19, 5; 'vias pecuniae' Cic. ad Q. F. 1. 1, 5, 15; 'seditionum vias' Id. pro Rab. 1, 3.

16. **tertium.** Besides previous service under Tiberius, he had been in command from 766, A.D. 13; but hostilities appear not to have begun till the short campaign of the next year (1. 49–51).

17. **iustis locis**, 'on fair ground,' equivalent to 'aequis locis' (1. 68, 4, etc.), i.e. such as Romans thought fair to themselves. The expression is ἅπ. εἰρ., and seems borrowed from, though not strictly analogous to, 'iustum proelium,' 'iusta acies,' 'iustus amnis,' etc.

bus, brevi aestate et praematura hieme; suum militem haud
perinde vulneribus quam spatiis itinerum, damno armorum ad-
fici; fessas Gallias ministrandis equis; longum impedimentorum
agmen opportunum ad insidias, defensantibus iniquum. at si 4
mare intretur, promptam ipsis possessionem et hostibus ignotam,
simul bellum maturius incipi legionesque et commeatus pariter
vehi; integrum equitem equosque per ora et alveos fluminum
media in Germania fore.

**6.** Igitur huc intendit, missis ad census Galliarum P. Vitellio 1
et C. Antio. Silius et Anteius et Caecina fabricandae classi
praeponuntur. mille naves sufficere visae properataeque, aliae 2
breves, angusta puppi proraque et lato utero, quo facilius fluctus
tolerarent; quaedam planae carinis, ut sine noxa siderent;
plures adpositis utrimque gubernaculis, converso ut repente re-
migio hinc vel illinc adpellerent; multae pontibus stratae, super 3
quas tormenta veherentur, simul aptae ferendis equis aut com-
meatui; velis habiles, citae remis augebantur alacritate militum

3. **fessas Gallias**, etc. In 1. 71, 3, these supplies were said to have been eagerly offered.

5. **promptam ipsis**, etc., 'it was an element which they could readily occupy, and was unfamiliar to the enemy' (the Germans having no ships). On this use of 'promptus,' cp. c. 2, 6; 1. 68, 1, etc. On the strategic sense of 'possessio,' cp. 'possessa Vicetia,' 'Mevania' H. 3. 8, 2; 59, 1.

6. **maturius incipi.** Nipp. notes that the sea route is practicable earlier in the season than the forest roads; also that, as the following words imply, the march is not retarded by the baggage. In the expedition of Tiberius from the Rhine to the Elbe in 758, A. D. 5, the army marched by land, but was supported by a fleet. See Vell. 2. 106, 3.

9. **huc intendit**: cp. 3. 37, 3; 'illuc intenderat' H. 4. 79, 3; 'huc inclinarat' H. 3. 27, 1. The full expression ('intendere animum alicui rei') occurs in c. 61, 1, etc.

**ad census Galliarum**: see on 1. 31, 2.

**P. Vitellio**: see 1. 70, 1. The conjecture of Orsini, reading 'C. Antio' for the MS. 'Cantio,' is supported by the occurrence of the name C. Antius Titi fi. on a votive inscription found at Langres (Orelli 1415). Nipp. introduces below a more violent change, 'Apronius' (cp. 1. 56, 1; 72, 1) for 'Anteius.' It is certainly strange to find an unknown person mentioned by one name only, side by side with Silius and Caecina; but it is more probable that a praenomen 'A' or 'T' may have dropped out.

12. **utero.** This word, though nowhere else used for the 'alveus' of a ship, is used of the wooden horse (Verg. Aen. 2, 52), and of a 'dolius' (Col. 12. 4, 5).

13. **planae carinis.** Similar ships were built to attack Mona (14. 29, 3). and the Gauls used such in Caesar's time 'quo facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere possent' B. G. 3. 13, 1.

14. **plures . . . gubernaculis.** Ships able to go either way are described as used on the Euxine (H. 3. 47, 4), and by the Suiones (G. 44, 2).

15. **pontibus.** The word appears nowhere else to mean a 'deck,' though the 'pontes' of a tower have been taken to mean its floors in Verg. Aen. 9, 530; 12, 675. Possibly some partial deck across the midships is meant, which would have the appearance of a bridge when viewed from the prow or stern.

**super quas.** The ships are the main subject of reference throughout, so that Ern's correction 'quos,' as referring to 'pontes,' is needless.

17. **velis habiles**, etc. This applies to

in speciem ac terrorem. insula Batavorum in quam convenirent
4 praedicta, ob faciles adpulsus accipiendisque copiis et transmit-
5 tendum ad bellum opportuna. nam Rhenus uno alveo conti-
nuus aut modicas insulas circumveniens apud principium agri
Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur, servatque nomen et vio-
lentiam cursus, qua Germaniam praevehitur, donec Oceano
misceatur: ad Gallicam ripam latior et placidior adfluens—
verso cognomento Vahalem accolae dicunt—, mox id quoque
vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine eiusque inmenso ore eundem in
Oceanum effunditur.
1 **7.** Sed Caesar, dum adiguntur naves, Silium legatum cum
expedita manu inruptionem in Chattos facere iubet: ipse audito

the whole fleet, which is subject of 'augebantur,' and to which the other nominatives ('aliae,' etc.) are in apposition. Nipp. 'Citae' is to be taken as a participle.

**augebantur.** This may mean that the soldiers showed their zeal by building them higher than was usual, to look more imposing (cp. 15. 9, 1, and 'vallum turresque castrorum augebat' H. 4. 34, 8); or perhaps better, that the spirit of the soldiers made the fleet seem still more imposing and formidable. On the force of 'in,' cp. Introd. v. § 60 b. The form of the similar expression 'acies in speciem simul ac terrorem . . . constiterat' (Agr. 35, 3), would show that the words are not here to be taken strictly as a hendiadys, though in meaning nearly such.

1. **insula Batavorum**: see G. 29, 1; H. 4. 12, 2, etc. It was known to Caesar (B. G. 4. 10, 1), and is called 'nobilissima' by Pliny (N. H. 4. 15, 29, 101). The modern district Betuwe preserves the name. The true mouth of the Rhine as here described appears to be the now insignificant stream still called the old Rhine, which passes by Utrecht and Leyden. On some other points in this description and that of Caesar, see Mr. Long in Dict. of Geog., s. v. 'Batavi.'

2. **adpulsus**, 'landing-places:' cp. 'adpellerent,' above.

**accipiendis . . . transmittendum ad bellum.** On such variations, see Introd. v. § 88. Dr. notes this one in particular as peculiar to the Annals: cp. c. 37, 6; also 'accipiendis . . . ordinibus . . . ad explicandas . . . turmas' 13. 85, 5, and others.

**transmittendum**, 'to carry into the enemy's country:' so 'transmiserat bellum' H. 2. 17, 1; 'ne . . . transmittant bellum' Liv. 21. 20, 4.

5. **velut**, i. e. not strictly two; for only one branch retains the name.

6. **praevehitur.** Ruperti notes the frequent use in Tacitus of verbs compounded with 'prae' for those with 'praeter;' as 'praefluere' c. 63, 1; 'praegredi' 14. 23, 4; 'praelegere' c. 79, 1; 'praelabi' H. 2. 35, 1; 'praelatus' 6. 35, 5. In most of them he is preceded by Livy or poets.

**donec**, with subjunct. of facts: cp. 1. 1, 4, etc.; Introd. v. § 53.

7. **placidior adfluens**: cp. 'violentior effluit amnis' Verg. G. 4, 373.

8. **cognomento**: cp. 1. 23, 6. Nipp. notes here the interchange for variety's sake, of 'nomen' . . . 'cognomento' . . . 'vocabulum;' and similar changes in 3. 56, 2; also 'nominibus' . . . 'appellationes' . . . 'nomina' . . . 'vocabulum' (G. 2, 3), etc. The construction passes on from 'adfluens' to 'mutat,' as if the intermediate clause had been 'Vahalis . . . vocatur.'

**Vahalem.** In Caes. B. G. 4. 10, 1 the Waal is called 'Vacalus,' in Sid. Apoll. (see Nipp.) 'Vachalis.' In H. 5. 19, 3, Tacitus calls the Waal the Rhine, and in H. 5. 23, 2 speaks as if the Maas received the whole Rhine.

11. **adiguntur**: 'naves adigere' seems a regular phrase (cp. 11. 18, 2; H. 2. 83, 2; 3. 47, 3) to express the concentration or collection of a fleet at one spot.

12. **Chattos.** This expedition, like that of last year (1. 55, 1), seems intended to prevent their assisting the Cherusci.

castellum Lupiae flumini adpositum obsideri, sex legiones eo
duxit. neque Silio ob subitos imbres aliud actum quam ut 2
modicam praedam et Arpi principis Chattorum coniugem filiam-
que raperet, neque Caesari copiam pugnae opsessores fecere, ad
famam adventus eius dilapsi: tumulum tamen nuper Varianis 3
legionibus structum et veterem aram Druso sitam disiecerant.
restituit aram honorique patris princeps ipse cum legionibus 4
decucurrit; tumulum iterare haud visum. et cuncta inter cas- 5
tellum Alisonem ac Rhenum novis limitibus aggeribusque per-
munita.

**8.** Iamque classis advenerat, cum praemisso commeatu et 1
distributis in legiones ac socios navibus fossam, cui Drusianae
nomen, ingressus precatusque Drusum patrem ut se eadem au-
sum libens placatusque exemplo ac memoria consiliorum atque
operum iuvaret, lacus inde et Oceanum usque ad Amisiam flu-
men secunda navigatione pervehitur. classis Amisiae *ore* relicta 2

1. **castellum.** Nipp. notes that, had Tacitus meant 'Aliso,' he would have given the name here instead of below. That fort would be the one described by Dio (54. 33, 4) as built at the junction of the Λουπίας καὶ Ἐλίσων (Lippe and Ahse), westward of Hamm; this one would be further east, probably near Lippborg, certainly, from the context, near the Teutoburger-Wald.

5. **nuper**: see 1. 62, 1.

6. **sitam.** The use of this word in the sense of 'conditus' (as in 3. 38, 6; 4. 55, 6; 6. 41, 2, etc.) is peculiar to Tacitus. Dräger, connecting it with a particular use of 'sistere' (see 4. 37, 4), appears to take it as a form of passive participle of that verb. But the use noted on 1. 39, 4 connects this with the ordinary senses of the participle of 'sino.' 'Druso' must be dat. commod. answering to 'legionibus.' Such an altar may have been merely commemorative (see on 1. 14, 3), or may have been set up for the private worship of his 'Di Manes' (cp. c. 83, 3), possibly at the place of his death.

8. **decucurrit.** The 'decursio funebris' is alluded to in Verg. Aen. 11, 188; Luc. 8, 735; and described with more detail in Stat. Theb. 6, 213, etc. The custom is described as observed even by the army of Hannibal (Liv. 25. 17, 5), and corresponds to the procession of chariots round the dead Patroclus (Il. 23, 13).

**haud visum.** Probably he did not actually reach the spot.

9. **limitibus aggeribusque**: for the former, see note on 1. 50, 2; for the latter, on 1. 62, 2.

12. **distributis in**: cp. 1. 55, 2; c. 67, 4; 3. 38, 4, etc.

**Drusianae**: see Suet. Cl. 1. This work included both the construction of the 'Neue Yssel,' connecting the Rhine near Arnheim with the old Yssel at Doesburg, and a widening of the latter river to its mouth.

13. **eadem ausum.** Drusus was in 742, B.C. 12 (Dio, 54. 32, 2), the first Roman to sail on the northern ocean. Suet. Cl. 1: cp. Strab. 7. 1, 3, 290. The same route was taken in the previous year by a part of the army (1. 60, 3), and afterwards by Corbulo (11. 18, 2).

16. **classis Amisiae ore,** etc. Nipp. and Halm follow Seyffert in inserting 'ore,' which could easily have been lost before 'relicta.' Tacitus would not have called the river 'amnis Amisiae,' but 'amnis (or 'flumen') Amisia' (cp. c. 23, 1; 1. 32, 3, etc.): and, though there appears to have existed a place called Ἀμάσεια (Ptol. 2. 11, 28), or Ἄμισσα (Steph. Byz.); he would hardly have spoken of it without removing ambiguity by adding 'oppido.' In the next line, the addition of 'aut' (Wurm, Ritter, Halm) would make the criticism assert that Germanicus ought either to have sailed his fleet up the river (cp. 'subvehebatur' c. 60, 1) to a part

laevo amne, erratumque in eo quod non subvexit *aut* transposuit
militem dextras in terras iturum; ita plures dies efficiendis pon-
3 tibus absumpti. et eques quidem ac legiones prima aestuaria,
nondum adcrescente unda, intrepidi transiere: postremum auxi-
liorum agmen Batavique in parte ea, dum insultant aquis artem-
4 que nandi ostentant, turbati et quidam hausti sunt. metanti
castra Caesari Angrivariorum defectio a tergo nuntiatur: missus
ilico Stertinius cum equite et armatura levi igne et caedibus
perfidiam ultus est.

1 9. Flumen Visurgis Romanos Cheruscosque interfluebat. eius
in ripa cum ceteris primoribus Arminius adstitit, quaesitoque an
Caesar venisset, postquam adesse responsum est, ut liceret cum
2 fratre conloqui oravit. erat is in exercitu cognomento Flavus,
insignis fide et amisso per vulnus oculo paucis ante annis duce
3 Tiberio. tum permissu . . progressusque salutatur ab Arminio;

where little or no bridging would have been required, or to have landed the troops at once on the right bank: the reading 'et' (Seyffert) or 'que' (Nipp.) would make the words mean that he ought to have done both: others would omit 'subvexit' or 'transposuit;' the former omission deriving most support from the context. As regards the fact, Germanicus probably thought it necessary to secure his retreat by a bridge (cp. c. 11, 1).

2. **pontibus.** That this plural might be used of a single bridge, would appear from 'pontem' and 'pontes' being used of the same structure interchangeably in Cic. Fam. 10. 18, 4; 23, 3. The chief use of this bridge would be for the baggage; the troops being represented as taking advantage of the low tide for at least part of the way.

3. **aestuaria,** tidal marshes:' cp. 4. 73, 2; 11. 18, 2; 14. 32, 2; etc.; the 'stagna . . . inrigua aestibus maritimis' of Livy 10. 2, 5. By 'prima' would appear to be meant those next to the channel of the river.

5. **in parte ea,** i. e. 'in extremo agmine.'

6. **metanti castra.** This should naturally be at the close of the first day's march; but as the next locality mentioned is the Visurgis, all mention of the route from the Amisia has been omitted or lost.

7. **Angrivariorum.** This people are mentioned as bordering on the Cherusci beyond the Weser (c. 19, 3). To imagine them as on the rear of Germanicus, and to explain 'defectio,' we must suppose that a part of the race lived between the Ems and the Weser, and had been subject to Rome. This is consistent with the mention of them at a later date as bordering on the Frisii (G. 34, 1), though perhaps hardly so with the position assigned to them by Ptolemy (2. 11, 16) between the greater Chauci and Suebi. It has been thought by Nipp. and others that here, and in c. 22, 3; 24, 5, the Ampsivarii are spoken of; whose name ('Emsfahrer') denotes their position; and whose chief, Boiocalus, is stated to have served under Tiberius and Germanicus. See 13. 55, 56.

8. **Stertinius**: see 1. 60, 4.

10. **Visurgis.** We have no clue to the locality, but Ritter suggests that it was probably in the low country north of Minden and the 'Porta Westphalica.' Merivale (c. xlii. p. 50) remarks that the probable breadth of the river gives an air of romance to this alleged conversation across it. The dream (c. 14, 1) and the omen (c. 17, 2) are conceived in a similar spirit.

**interfluebat.** The verb is used with this construction in H. 3. 5, 5; Liv. 27. 29, 9: cp. 'interluo' 6. 1, 1, and other verbs so used in poets and late authors: see Introd. v. § 12 c.

13. **Flavus.** On his wife and son, see 11. 16, 2.

14. **paucis ante annis**: probably during the later campaigns of Tiberius after the defeat of Varus, 762–764, A. D. 9–11.

15. **tum permissu.** It is supposed that

qui amotis stipatoribus, ut sagittarii nostra pro ripa dispositi
abscederent postulat, et postquam digressi, unde ea deformitas
oris interrogat fratrem. illo locum et proelium referente, quod- 4
nam praemium recepisset exquirit. Flavus aucta stipendia, 5
torquem et coronam aliaque militaria dona memorat, inridente
Arminio vilia servitii pretia.

**10.** Exim diversi ordiuntur, hic magnitudinem Romanam, 1
opes Caesaris et victis graves poenas, in deditionem venienti
paratam clementiam; neque coniugem et filium eius hostiliter
haberi: ille fas patriae, libertatem avitam, penetralis Germaniae
deos, matrem precum sociam; ne propinquorum et adfinium,
denique gentis suae desertor et proditor quam imperator esse
mallet. paulatim inde ad iurgia prolapsi quo minus pugnam 2
consererent ne flumine quidem interiecto cohibebantur, ni Ster-
tinius adcurrens plenum irae armaque et equum poscentem Fla-
vum adtinuisset. cernebatur contra minitabundus Arminius 3
proeliumque denuntians; nam pleraque Latino sermone inter-
iaciebat, ut qui Romanis in castris ductor popularium meruisset.

**11.** Postero die Germanorum acies trans Visurgim stetit. Cae- 1
sar nisi pontibus praesidiisque inpositis dare in discrimen legiones
haud imperatorium ratus, equitem vado tramittit. praefuere 2
Stertinius et e numero primipilarium Aemilius, distantibus locis

'Caesaris deducitur,' or other words to that effect (see Nipp.), have dropped out. The abl. is thus used with a verb in 2. 59, 4. The correction of older editors, 'permissum,' is supported by a similar omission of the final letter in 'sermones' c. 28, 2, 'imaginem' c. 37, 3, etc. (Pfitzner, p. 119): but we should expect 'tum' to introduce something more than the bare fact of permission.

5. **militaria dona**: see on 1. 44, 7, etc.

6. **vilia**, i. e. from the view of Arminius himself, 'the low wages he had earned by bondage.'

7. **diversi**, 'in opposite strains:' cp. 'diversi interpretabantur' c. 73, 6; 'diversos reperies' 6. 22, 2.

**ordiuntur**; used with brevity, as 'orditur ... labores' 12. 5, 4; 'magnifica' 15. 26, 3; 'scelera' 15. 51, 4. From it, the sense of some such word as 'referens' is supplied below.

9. **coniugem et filium**: see 1. 57, 5; 58, 9. They may be supposed to have been in 'libera custodia' at Ravenna.

10. **fas patriae**: cp. 1. 42, 4.

**penetralis . . . deos.** In 11. 16, 8, Flavus is called the enemy of the 'Dii penates' of his country; for which 'dii penetrales' is, according to Cicero (N. D. 2. 27, 68), a poetical equivalent, and is so used in Sen. Trag.

11. **matrem.** From the mention of his mother only, it is inferred that his father was dead. See on 1. 55, 4.

12. **imperator**: used of barbarian leaders, as c. 45, 3; 12. 33, 1.

18. **Romanis in castris**: cp. Vell. 2. 118, 2 'adsiduus militiae nostrae prioris comes, [cum] iure etiam civitatis Romanae ius equestris consequens gradus.'

20. **dare in discrimen**: see note on 1. 47, 1.

21. **imperatorium.** Dräger notes as a novelty the substantival use of this word (= 'good generalship').

22. **primipilarium**; those who had served the office of 'primipilus;' analogous to 'consulares,' etc. On the cen-

3 invecti, ut hostem diducerent. qua celerrimus amnis, Chario-
valda dux Batavorum erupit. eum Cherusci fugam simulantes
in planitiem saltibus circumiectam traxere: dein coorti et undi-
que effusi trudunt adversos, instant cedentibus collectosque in
4 orbem pars congressi, quidam eminus proturbant. Chariovalda
diu sustentata hostium saevitia, hortatus suos ut ingruentes ca-
tervas globo perfringerent, atque ipse densissimos inrumpens,
congestis telis et suffosso equo labitur, ac multi nobilium circa:
ceteros vis sua aut equites cum Stertinio Aemilioque subveni-
entes periculo exemere.

1 **12**. Caesar transgressus Visurgim indicio perfugae cognoscit
delectum ab Arminio locum pugnae; convenisse et alias nationes
in silvam Herculi sacram ausurosque nocturnam castrorum op-
2 pugnationem. habita indici fides et cernebantur ignes, suggres-
sique propius speculatores audiri fremitum equorum inmensique
3 et inconditi agminis murmur attulere. igitur propinquo summae
rei discrimine explorandos militum animos ratus, quonam id

turio primipilus,' see Introd. vii. p. 105; on the privileges of a 'primipilaris,' see Id. p. 108.

**Aemilius**, probably the same mentioned in 4. 42, 2. Nipp. refers to him in the following inscription, found at Capua (I. R. N. 3619), 'Paulo Aemilio, primipilo, bis praefecto equit[um], tribuno chortis iiii praetor[iae].' He is evidently here acting as 'praefectus equitum.'

2. **erupit**, sc. 'ex amne.'

3. **circumiectam**, 'surrounded by;' this participle has usually a dative of the thing surrounded, as 'moenia regiae circumiecta' H. 5. 11, 7; but takes here a construction analogous to that usual with 'circumdatus.'

7. **globo**, 'massed together,' abl. of manner: cp. Introd. v. § 28. The term is often used of soldiers (e.g. 1. 25, 1; 4. 50, 4; 12. 43, 2; 14. 61, 2, etc.; and Liv.), but appears not to denote any definite formation: cp. Veg. 3, 19 'globus autem dicitur, qui a sua acie separatus, vago superventu incursat inimicos, contra quem alter populosior vel fortior immittitur globus.' Marquardt (Staatsv. ii. p. 412) cites other passages.

**ipse . . inrumpens**: so Weissenborn and others. The MS. has 'ipsis . . . inrupens;' the margin and most old edd. 'ipse in . . . inrumpens;' Haase reads 'ipsis densissimis inruens.' The simple accusative with such verbs is often found (Introd. v. 12. c.); and Nipp. points out that 'inrumpere aliquid,' and 'in aliquid,' are distinct in Tacitus; the former meaning 'to break into' (as 1. 48, 4, etc.) the latter 'to break loose against' (as 6. 16, 1). An exception may however be noted in Dial. 11, 3.

8. **suffosso equo**: cp. 1. 65, 8.

**labitur**. The use of this word to express falling in death is poetical: cp. Verg. Aen. 2, 250; Ov. A. A. 3, 742; Luc. 2, 265; etc.

13. **Herculi**. The German Hercules appears from G. 3, 1, to have been a hero rather than a god, and is thought by Grimm (Mythol. p. 337, referred to by Orelli) to be identical with Irmin, though many of the attributes of Hercules agree with those of Thor. It is conjectured (see Orelli) that this forest may have been in the locality of Bückeberg, between Minden and Hameln, where remains of an ancient German altar have been found.

14. **suggressi**. This verb has been thought to be confined to the Annals (4. 47, 2; 13. 57, 6; 14. 37, 1; 15. 11, 1), but is found in Sall. H. 4. 67 D, 68 K, 76 G.

16. **summae rei discrimine**: cp. 'summa belli' c. 45, 5; 'summum discrimen' H. 3. 6, 3.

17. **explorare**, 'to test.' This sense originates in poets and Livy, and is frequent in Tacitus, e.g. 12. 66, 5; 13. 16,

modo incorruptum foret, secum agitabat. tribunos et centu- 4
riones laeta saepius quam comperta nuntiare, libertorum servilia
ingenia, amicis inesse adulationem; si contio vocetur, illic quo-
que quae pauci incipiant reliquos adstrepere. penitus noscendas 5
mentes, cum secreti et incustoditi inter militaris cibos spem aut
metum proferrent.

**13.** Nocte coepta egressus augurali per occulta et vigilibus 1
ignara, comite uno, contectus umeros ferina pelle, adit castrorum
vias, adsistit tabernaculis fruiturque fama sui, cum hic nobilita-
tem ducis, decorem alius, plurimi patientiam, comitatem, per
seria per iocos eundem animum laudibus ferrent reddendamque
gratiam in acie faterentur, simul perfidos et ruptores pacis ultioni
et gloriae mactandos. inter quae unus hostium, Latinae linguae 2
sciens, acto ad vallum equo voce magna coniuges et agros et
stipendii in dies, donec bellaretur, sestertios centenos, si quis
transfugisset, Arminii nomine pollicetur. incendit ea contumelia 3
legionum iras: veniret dies, daretur pugna; sumpturum militem
Germanorum agros, tracturum coniuges; accipere omen et ma-
trimonia ac pecunias hostium praedae destinare. tertia ferme 4
vigilia adsultatum est castris sine coniectu teli, postquam crebras
pro munimentis cohortes et nihil remissum sensere.

2, etc.: cp. 'secundae res . . . animos explorant' H. 1. 15, 5; 'pace exploratos' Agr. 29, 2.

1. **incorruptum**, genuinely: cp. the use of the word of 'fides,' 'iudicium,' etc.

4. **adstrepere**: cp. 1. 18, 1, etc.: with accus. H. 4. 49, 5.

7. **egressus augurali.** Hyginus (de mun. cast. 11) speaks of an 'auguratorium' on the right of the general's tent, leading to the 'via principalis.' See Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 399. Those who so understand 'augurali' here, take it as an abl. of direction (cp. 1. 60, 2, etc.): but we find from Quint. 8. 2, 8, that in his time the general's tent was itself called 'augurale,' a meaning which appears better suited to this passage, and not less so to 15. 30, 1. The abl. will thus depend on 'egressus,' and the direction be indicated by 'per occulta,' etc.

8. **ignara** = 'ignota:' cp. 3. 69, 3; 4. 8, 3; 6. 22, 5, etc.; also in Sall., Verg., Ov., Sen. On the similar use of 'gnarus,' see 1. 5, 4.

**ferina pelle**; perhaps to assume the appearance of a German auxiliary. See G. 17, 2; Caes. B. G. 6. 21, 5.

9. **adsistit**; with dat. as 'adsisto divinis' Hor. Sat. 1. 6, 116, etc.

11. **eundem animum**, 'his even temper in grave or gay moments.' Nipp. thinks that Germanicus, as he is described in c. 72, 3, could not jest with his men, and that we must read 'eundem in animum;' i. e. 'with words, whether in jest or earnest, to the same purport.' This correction can hardly recommend itself.

12. **ruptores pacis**, in their rising against Varus.

13. **mactandos**, 'must be offered as victims to vengeance and glory.' On such personifications, cp. 4. 74, 3, etc.

15. **centenos**, i. e. twenty-five 'denarii' or one 'aureus.' Germans near the frontier are represented as more or less familiar with Roman money (G. 5, 4). We hear of such a bribe given to small bodies of soldiers on occasion (H. 1. 24, 2); but the offer of regular pay so vastly above the Roman scale (see on 1. 17, 6) implies an almost hopeless attempt.

18. **matrimonia**, for 'coniuges:' cp. Introd. v. § 1. Here the concrete has been already twice used.

20. **adsultatum**: see note on 1. 51, 6.

1 **14.** Nox eadem laetam Germanico quietem tulit, viditque se
operatum et sanguine sacri respersa praetexta pulchriorem aliam
2 manibus aviae Augustae accepisse. auctus omine, addicentibus
auspiciis, vocat contionem et quae sapientia provisa aptaque
3 inminenti pugnae disserit. non campos modo militi Romano
ad proelium bonos, sed si ratio adsit, silvas et saltus; nec enim
inmensa barbarorum scuta, enormis hastas inter truncos arborum
et enata humo virgulta perinde haberi quam pila et gladios et
4 haerentia corpori tegmina. denserent ictus, ora mucronibus
quaererent: non loricam Germano, non galeam, ne scuta quidem
ferro nervove firmata, sed viminum textus vel tenuis et fucatas

**pro munimentis.** That a camp had outposts beyond its enclosure, is shown by many passages (see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 396); but in such uses of 'pro' the meaning is generally 'upon,' or 'at the front of,' as 'pro ripa,' c. 9, 3: see note on 1. 44, 4.

1. **quietem**: see on 1. 65, 2.

2. **operatum.** The use of this participle, with an aoristic or present force, in the special sense of 'sacrificing' (like the Greek use of ἔρδειν or ῥέζειν), is found in Vergil (G. 1, 339), Tibullus (2. 5, 95), and Propertius (2. 33, 2). The expression 'operari sacris' (Hor. Od. 3. 14, 6; Liv. 1. 31, 8) connects this with the general sense of the word, as used in 3. 43, 1; H. 5. 20, 2, etc.

**sanguine sacri.** The use of 'sacrum' for 'hostia,' though strictly only supported by the old formula 'inter sacrum saxumque stare' (Plaut. Capt. 3. 4, 84; Cas. 5. 4, 7; Appul. M. 11. p. 271, 813), is hardly a violent transition from the general use of the word. The marginal correction 'sacro' was supposed to be the MS. text by the older editors, and is still read by Ritt. and Nipp.

**praetexta.** Lips. cites Quint. Decl. 340, speaking of this as the sacred robe 'quo sacerdotes velantur, quo magistratus.' Germanicus was augur and flamen Augustalis (see on 2. 83, 2), and had 'imperium proconsulare.'

3. **auctus,** 'invigorated;' as if 'auctus animo' had been used: cp. 'novis ex rebus aucti' (sc. 'dignitate') 1. 2, 1.

**addicentibus.** This verb in this sense has usually 'aves' as subj.; so that 'auspicia,' as 'augurium' in c. 17, 2, is used of the actual omen.

4. **quae sapientia provisa,** 'what his wisdom had taken thought for.' His correction for 'praevisa' has been generally adopted after J. F. Gron.: cp. 'quae provideri astu ducis oportuerit, provisa' H. 5. 17, 4; 'cuncta praelio provisa' 4. 25, 3; 'omnia suis provisa' Sall. Jug. 49, 2. Tacitus omits this part of the speech, as less suitable to rhetorical treatment.

7. **enormis hastas**: see c. 21, 1; 1. 64, 3; H. 5. 18, 1. That there were few, is stated below, and in G. 6, 1 'rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur.'

8. **haberi** = 'habilia esse;' 'could be managed.'

9. **tegmina.** Lips. takes this of the 'scutum pectori adpressum' (c. 21, 1), but the expression better suits the Roman armour generally.

**denserent.** Neither 'denseo' nor the more common 'denso' are found elsewhere in Tacitus; and in other authors the MSS. appear often to confuse the forms. The command here is to 'plant blows thickly:' cp. 'hastilia denset' Verg. Aen. 11, 650.

10. **non loricam**: 'paucis loricae; vix uni alterive cassis aut galea' G. 6, 3. The latter fact explains the command here to strike at the face (cp. c. 21, 1), which, even in fully armed soldiers, was the most unguarded part. The Romans strike thus at the Latins (Liv. 8. 10, 6), and Merivale (c. xvii. p. 297) thinks this the true explanation of the command of Caesar at Pharsalia ('miles, faciem feri').

11. **nervo**; used rhetorically for leather, as 'subtextaque tegmina nervis' Sil. 4, 293.

**viminum textus**; similar shields were used by the Aduatici (Caes. B. G. 2. 33, 2).

**fucatas colore**: cp. 'nulla cultus iac-

colore tabulas; primam utcumque aciem hastatam, ceteris prae-
usta aut brevia tela. iam corpus ut visu torvum et ad brevem 5
impetum validum, sic nulla vulnerum patientia: sine pudore
flagitii, sine cura ducum abire, fugere, pavidos adversis, inter
secunda non divini, non humani iuris memores. si taedio via- 6
rum ac maris finem cupiant, hac acie parari: propiorem iam
Albim quam Rhenum neque bellum ultra, modo se, patris
patruique vestigia prementem, isdem in terris victorem sisterent.

**15.** Orationem ducis secutus militum ardor, signumque pug- 1
nae datum. nec Arminius aut ceteri Germanorum proceres 2
omittebant suos quisque testari, hos esse Romanos Variani ex-
ercitus fugacissimos, qui ne bellum tolerarent, seditionem indu-
erint; quorum pars onusta vulneribus terga, pars fluctibus et

tatio; scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt' G. 6, 2. Orelli traces in this the origin of the mediaeval devices on shields.

1. **utcumque**, 'somehow;' i. e. the lances, such as they were (their defects having been already noted), were confined to the front rank. The word is here best taken closely with 'hastatam;' as in 12. 51, 2 ('primam utcumque fugam . . . toleravit'), with 'toleravit.' Its use in this way, as limiting a verb or participle, is especially frequent in Livy (e.g. 29. 15, 1).

2. **brevia**. These would be the 'frameae' described in G. 6, 1, as 'angusto et brevi ferro,' and as the German general weapon for distant and close fighting. The 'praeusta tela' would have no iron head at all.

**corpus**: see below, c. 21, 1, and the description in G. 4, 1 'omnibus truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida.' The military qualities of the Gauls are similarly described in Liv. 5. 44, 4; 10. 28, 2.

3. **sine pudore**, etc. To give way before a direct attack was part of their regular tactic (G. 6, 6); but the chivalrous courage of at least the chiefs and their 'comitatus' is celebrated (Id. 14, 2).

4. **adversis, inter secunda**. The interchange of prepositional clauses with simple cases is very common in Tacitus. Most commonly the dative is so interchanged (e.g. c. 6, 4; 4. 2, 1; 46, 4; 11. 21, 4, etc.: cp. Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 105), but probably here Nipp. is right in taking 'adversis' as an abbreviated abl. abs. akin to those noted in Introd. v. § 31. He considers this also the proper explanation of 'firmus adversis' Agr. 35, 4; 'sperat infestis, metuit secundis' Hor. Od. 2. 10, 13.

5. **viarum ac maris**: one of the few direct reminiscences of Horace apparent in Tacitus: see Introd. v. §. 97.

7. **ultra**. Nipp. thinks this alludes to the neutral or friendly attitude of Maroboduus and the Suevi beyond the Elbe (see c. 44, etc.). It might also be meant that no resistance could remain if they crushed the force now opposed to them.

**patris patruique**. Drusus had reached the Elbe in 745, B.C. 9 (Dio, 55. 1, 2); and Tiberius in 758, A.D. 5 (Vell. 2. 106, 2). On the use of 'patrui' here, see on 1. 33, 3.

8. **sisterent**: cp. 'ut eum in Syria . . . sisterent' H. 2. 9, 2; and the uses in Vergil, as 'o qui me . . . sistat' G. 2, 488; 'te limine sistam' Aen. 2, 620; 'classem Cretaeis sistet in oris' Aen. 3, 117.

11. **hos esse . . . fugacissimos**. There were some survivors of that disaster in the present army (cp. 1. 61, 6); and the preservation of the reserve force of two legions under Asprenas (Vell. 2. 120, 1) may give more colour to the sarcasm, in which Tacitus appears to imitate that already ascribed by him to Agricola, 'ii ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, ideoque tamdiu superstites' (Agr. 34, 1).

12. **induerint**. The metaphor is usually that of assuming a character (cp. 1. 69, 2), not necessarily a false one; but it is here meant that mutiny was a mere pretext to get out of service.

procellis fractos artus infensis rursum hostibus, adversis dis obi-
3 ciant, nulla boni spe. classem quippe et avia Oceani quaesita,
ne quis venientibus occurreret, ne pulsos premeret: sed ubi
miscuerint manus, inane victis ventorum remorumve subsidium.
4 meminissent modo avaritiae, crudelitatis, superbiae: aliud sibi
reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitium?
1 **16.** Sic accensos et proelium poscentes in campum, cui Idisia-
2 viso nomen, deducunt. is medius inter Visurgim et colles, ut
ripae fluminis cedunt aut prominentia montium resistunt, in-
3 aequaliter sinuatur. pone tergum insurgebat silva, editis in
altum ramis et pura humo inter arborum truncos. campum et

**terga**: so most modern edd. after Muretus for the MS. 'tergū.' The objection of Walther, that an advancing army could not be said 'terga obicere,' need not be pressed. The point is that as they had fled before they might be expected to fly again: 'some meet the enemy again with wounds on their backs, some with limbs maimed by wave and storm;' alluding to those who had retreated with Caecina (1, 63–68), or with Vitellius (id. 70). The thought is here repeated from H. 5. 16, 3 'superesse, qui fugam animis, qui vulnera tergo ferant.'

4. **miscuerint manus**, a poetical phrase: cp. Prop. 2. 27, 8, as also 'miscere ictus' (Agr. 36, 2); 'praelia,' 'vulnera' (Verg.); 'arma' (Lucan.).

5. **meminissent**: cp. 'meminissent . . . praeliorum' c. 45, 5. The tense is equivalent to an imperf., as 'memini' to a present.

**aliud sibi reliquum.** The omission of an interrogative particle, though not unusual with Tacitus in energetic passages in oratio directa, as 'sequitur, ut omnes,' etc. 12. 37, 3, 'vivere ego . . . poteram' 13. 21, 8, and in other authors (cp. Madvig, § 450), is most unusual in oratio obliqua. No other instance appears to be given but 14. 61, 5 'malle populum Romanum,' etc., where the reading is not unquestioned (see note there).

7. **Idisiaviso.** Halm and Nipp. adopt this correction of the MS. 'Idista viso' from J. Grimm, who explains it to mean 'Nympharum pratum' ('Elfenwiese'), the first part being the plural of the old German 'Idis' ('nympha'); such nymphs being represented in an old poem as controlling destiny like the Valkyries (see the quotation in Orelli's note). Nipp. takes the case here as nom. according to the general usage of Tacitus in respect of substantives: e. g. 1. 45, 1; c. 4, 3; 80, 1; 3. 21, 2; 42, 2; etc. For other instances, see his note; for exceptions, and for the usage with adjectives, see note on 4. 59, 2; Introd. v. § 16.

8. **is medius**, etc. The obscurity of the whole geography of this campaign (see c. 9, 1) must affect all attempts to fix this locality, supposed to lie between the 'porta Westphalica' and Hameln. The description of the position which follows cannot therefore be tested in any detail.

**ut ripae fluminis cedunt**, etc. There is apparently here a double antithesis, between 'ripae fluminis' and 'prominentia montium,' also between 'cedunt' and 'resistunt.' This would be best explained by supposing (with Ernesti and Orelli) that the plain is broad where the river bank recedes from the mountains (i. e. bends westward), and narrow where the mountain spurs resist it (i. e. where it would take a turn to the east and is stopped by them). Nipp. takes 'ripae fluminis,' in a somewhat forced sense, of the whole river-valley, and explains 'cedunt' of the places where it recedes from the river-bed itself into the interior; i. e. widens out. The interpretations of Walther and Doed. appear also open to serious objections.

10. **tergum**, sc. 'Germanorum.' Duebn. observes that the description is that of a pine wood; and the epithet 'pura' ('without brushwood') seems taken from the 'purus campus' of Vergil (Aen. 12, 771), and Livy (24. 14, 6).

11. **campum**, etc. It would seem probable that the German position faced north, with its left near the river, which,

prima silvarum barbara acies tenuit: soli Cherusci iuga inse- 4
dere, ut proeliantibus Romanis desuper incurrerent. noster 5
exercitus sic incessit: auxiliares Galli Germanique in fronte,
post quos pedites sagittarii; dein quattuor legiones et cum
duabus praetoriis cohortibus ac delecto equite Caesar; exim
totidem aliae legiones et levis armatura cum equite sagittario
ceteraeque sociorum cohortes. intentus paratusque miles, ut
ordo agminis in aciem adsisteret.

**17.** Visis Cheruscorum catervis, quae per ferociam proru- 1
perant, validissimos equitum incurrere latus, Stertinium cum
ceteris turmis circumgredi tergaque invadere iubet, ipse in
tempore adfuturus. interea pulcherrimum augurium, octo aqui- 2
lae petere silvas et intrare visae imperatorem advertere. ex-

owing to the bend which it makes between Minden and Rinteln, would be also in the rear of the fugitives (c. 17, 8). The main body would extend from west to east, partly on the plain, partly within the outskirts of the wood immediately behind them (see above). The heights occupied by the Cheruscans appear to have been on the right wing, and to have formed the key of the whole position, enabling them to fall on the flank of the Romans as they advanced.

2. **proeliantibus.** Nipp. takes this to be abl. abs., as Tacitus usually has the accus. with 'incurrere' (e.g. c. 17, 1; 1. 51, 6, etc.).

3. **sic incessit**: compare the marching order in 1. 51, 5, and note there.

5. **praetoriis cohortibus**: these are mentioned again c. 20, 6. Ritter thinks that the personal guards, belonging to the two legati, Silius and Caecina, are intended; and compares Cic. Ep. ad Fam. 10. 30, 1 'Antonius . . eduxit . . cohortes praetorias duas, unam suam, alteram Silani.' But Nipp. appears rightly to argue that the term must at this time naturally refer to the force so well known under the name; and that, as two such cohorts were sent with Drusus to Illyricum (1. 24, 1), two others may have been sent out to Germanicus. It is also possible, that, in recognition of his rank, two such may have originally accompanied him to Germany.

7. **ceteraeque.** Ritt. appears rightly to take these to be troops specially enrolled for this expedition; the auxiliaries regularly belonging to the legions having been already mentioned, as 'levis armatura,' etc.

**intentus paratusque.** Ern. points out that this is a kind of formula, and is used in Sall. Cat. 27, 2; Jug. 49, 3; and often in Livy.

8. **adsisteret.** Tacitus has often this word in a military sense, usually meaning to take up a position, as c. 17, 4; 19, 4; 12. 56, 3; 14. 34, 3; H. 3. 63, 1; 82, 3. Here it is taken with brachylogy, as equivalent to 'consisteret et se explicaret;' 'that the order of march might deploy into line of battle;' i. e. that each should stand next in line to those to whom they had been next in column. The army would appear to have deployed to the left, as those who had marched first were facing the Cherusci (c. 17, 6).

9. **Visis Cheruscorum catervis.** It would seem that the height which they occupied, though prominent, afforded cover; and that they were to have been concealed till the moment of attack (c. 16, 4); but their impetuosity betrayed their position. The attack in flank appears to be directed against them, that in the rear against those within the wood. See § 3.

12. **augurium,** used, like 'auspiciis' (c. 14, 2), of the omen. So in Liv. etc. The verb is adapted to the noun in apposition, as in 3. 21, 2; 13. 37, 4 (where see Nipp.); 14. 27, 2, etc.

**octo aquilae.** Critics have superfluously noted, that eagles are now rarely if ever seen in those parts, and that their nearest representative, the 'vultur albucillus,' is not gregarious. The number,

clamat irent, sequerentur Romanas aves, propria legionum
3 numina. simul pedestris acies infertur et praemissus eques
4 postremos ac latera impulit. mirumque dictu, duo hostium ag-
mina diversa fuga, qui silvam tenuerant, in aperta, qui campis
5 adstiterant, in silvam ruebant. medii inter hos Cherusci colli-
bus detrudebantur, inter quos insignis Arminius manu voce
6 vulnere sustentabat pugnam. incubueratque sagittariis, illa rup-
turus, ni Raetorum Vindelicorumque et Gallicae cohortes signa
7 obiecissent. nisu tamen corporis et impetu equi pervasit, oblitus
faciem suo cruore, ne nosceretur. quidam adgnitum a Chaucis
8 inter auxilia Romana agentibus emissumque tradiderunt. virtus

answering exactly to that of the legions, shows sufficiently the vein of romance. See on c. 9, 1.

**advertere**: see on 1. 41, 1.

2. **numina**: see note on 1. 39, 7. The passages there cited would justify the rhetorical application of this term to the eagles. Nipp. notes that the word has the special meaning of 'guardian' or 'guiding spirits.'

**infertur** = 'immittitur.' The more usual expressions are 'inferre arma,' 'signa,' 'pedem,' etc., as frequently in Liv.

**eques.** The words 'postremos et latera' would show that both divisions of cavalry mentioned above are meant.

3. **impulit**, 'drove from their position:' cp. 'impulsae' 1. 63, 3.

**duo . . . agmina.** The attack of Stertinius in the rear may be supposed to have driven the German left out into the plain; the advance of infantry in front to have driven the centre into the wood, and the flank attack to have dislodged the Cheruscans, who would thus be forced into the space between these two routed masses.

4. **campis**: Nipp. thinks that 'in' is required, as in Agr. 36, 2 'qui in aequo adstiterant,' and 12. 56, 3 'in ratibus adstiterant;' but the text may be defended by the general free use in Tacitus of the local abl. (Introd. v. § 25).

5. **collibus.** On this abl. cp. Introd. v. § 24.

6. **manu voce vulnere.** These asyndeta appear to form a climax (see Introd. v. § 65; also 'vultu voce oculis' 16. 29, 1); so that 'manu' as the weaker word would mean mere gesture, and 'vulnere' by 'displaying his wound,' and as it were demanding the same sacrifice from his men. Nipp. takes 'manu' to mean 'by dealing blows.' He also points out that from the position of the words, the ablatives depend on 'sustentabat,' as in H. 3. 17, 1 ('consilio manu voce insignis hosti') upon 'insignis.'

7. **incubuerat**, 'had thrown the force of his attack:' cp. 'eodem incubuerat' H. 3. 29, 1.

**sagittariis**, i. e. the 'pedites sagittarii,' whose position (see c. 16, 5) would be on the right of the Gaulish and German auxiliaries; who, being in the front of the order of march, would form the left wing in line of battle (cp. 16, 5). Among the German cohorts would be the Chauci; and the Raetian and Vindelician contingents seem to be loosely reckoned with them.

**illa**, sc. parte: cp. 'ne pervium illa foret' H. 3. 8, 3; also H. 5. 18, 3; G. 34, 2.

**rupturus.** The intrans. use of this verb appears to be extremely rare, but to follow a frequent and classical use of 'perrumpere.' On the force of the future participle, cp. 'adfuturus' above, and see Introd. v. § 54 d.

8. **Raetorum Vindelicorumque**: see 1. 44, 6. The service of such cohorts in other provinces than those from which they were raised can be shown abundantly from inscriptions.

**signa obiecissent.** That each auxiliary cohort had its standard, is shown by such passages as Liv. 25. 14, 4; 27. 13, 7; and by mention of their 'signiferi' or 'vexillarii' in inscriptions. By bearing their standards against him they opposed a compact body of resistance (see note on 1. 34, 4).

10. **Chaucis**: see 1. 38, 1; 60, 3.

seu fraus eadem Inguiomero effugium dedit: ceteri passim
trucidati. et plerosque tranare Visurgim conantes iniecta tela
aut vis fluminis, postremo moles ruentium et incidentes ripae
operuere. quidam turpi fuga in summa arborum nisi ramisque 9
se occultantes admotis sagittariis per ludibrium figebantur, alios
prorutae arbores adflixere.

**18**. Magna ea victoria neque cruenta nobis fuit. quinta ab 1
hora diei ad noctem caesi hostes decem milia passuum cadaveribus
atque armis opplevere, repertis inter spolia eorum catenis,
quas in Romanos ut non dubio eventu portaverant. miles in 2
loco proelii Tiberium imperatorem salutavit struxitque aggerem
et in modum tropaeorum arma subscriptis victarum gentium
nominibus imposuit.

**19**. Haud perinde Germanos vulnera, luctus, excidia quam 1
ea species dolore et ira adfecit. qui modo abire sedibus, trans 2
Albim concedere parabant, pugnam volunt, arma rapiunt; plebes
primores, iuventus senes agmen Romanum repente incursant,
turbant. postremo deligunt locum flumine et silvis clausum, 3

1. **Inguiomero**: see 1. 60, 1.

4. **operuere**; used by zeugma with 'tela' and 'vis fluminis.'

**nisi**, 'climbing,' a poetical use: e.g. Verg. G. 2, 428; Aen. 2, 443.

6. **adflixere**, 'dashed to the ground:' so Sall. Jug. 101, 11; Liv. 28. 19, 11, etc.

9. **catenis**, etc. A similar story is told of the expedition of Flaminius against Hannibal (Polyb. 3, 82), and of M. Antonius when invading Crete in 680, B. C. 74 (Florus 3. 7, 2).

10. **in Romanos.** The force of 'in' appears to approach to that noted on 1. 76, 5.

11. **Tiberium imperatorem salutavit.** For the ancient custom, see 3. 74, 6. This passage illustrates the principle of regarding the chief command and 'auspicia' of all the armies, as inherent in the 'proconsulare imperium' of the princeps: cp. 'exercitum Tiberii Caesaris' (c. 22, 1); also c. 41, 1, and the language of Horace (Od. 4. 14, 33) to Augustus on the victories of his stepsons, 'te copias, te consilium et tuos praebente Divos.' Such 'salutatio' was addressed to the effigy of the princeps (see Pl. Pan. 56); and a large proportion of the twenty-one times on which Augustus (1. 9, 2), and of the eight on which Tiberius (Insc. Orell. 691) received this title, were thus vicariously gained. Eckhel (vi. 190) thinks it was not accepted on this occasion, as the title 'Imp. vii' does not change to 'Imp. viii' till 773, A. D. 20.

12. **in modum tropaeorum.** The expression seems to denote that this structure was not in the strict form of a trophy (see Verg. Aen. 11, 5–11). Another such is described below (c. 22, 1). The adoption of this Greek custom by the Romans does not appear to be traceable earlier than 633, B. C. 121 (see Flor. 3. 2, 6; Strab. 4. 1, 11, 185): and such commemoration of victories on the spot seems never to have been as common with them as the erection of triumphal arches or other memorials at Rome or in important provincial towns: see 15. 18, 1, etc.

15. **ea species**, 'that spectacle:' cp. 3. 60, 6; Cic. Phil. 11. 3, 7, etc.

**abire sedibus**: cp. 'abire Suria' c. 69, 3; 'abire incepto' 6. 22, 6; also Plaut. Am. 1. 1, 54; Verg. Ecl. 7, 56; Val. Max. 4. 5, 4; Just. 4. 5, 2; 7. 3, 4. The use is classical in such phrases as 'abire magistratu;' the extension in these passages similar to many noted in Introd. v. § 24.

16. **plebes primores**, etc. The asyndeta here give liveliness to the narrative. See Introd. v. § 65.

18. **deligunt locum**, etc. The geo-

arta intus planitie et umida: silvas quoque profunda palus ambibat, nisi quod latus unum Angrivarii lato aggere extulerant,
4 quo a Cheruscis dirimerentur. hic pedes adstitit: equitem propinquis lucis texere, ut ingressis silvam legionibus a tergo foret.

1 **20**. Nihil ex his Caesari incognitum: consilia locos, prompta occulta noverat astusque hostium in perniciem ipsis vertebat.
2 Seio Tuberoni legato tradit equitem campumque; peditum aciem ita instruxit, ut pars aequo in silvam aditu incederet, pars obiectum aggerem eniteretur; quod arduum sibi, cetera legatis
3 permisit. quibus plana evenerant, facile inrupere: quis inpugnandus agger, ut si murum succederent, gravibus superne
4 ictibus conflictabantur. sensit dux inparem comminus pugnam remotisque paulum legionibus funditores libritoresque excutere

graphy is still wholly vague, and the river might well be supposed to be that hitherto mentioned, the Weser. But Ritter points out that the ostentatious mention of the Elbe (c. 22, 1; 41, 2) must have been supported by some advance in that direction, and that the expressions 'agmen' and 'postremo' imply some progress; so that probably some eastern tributary of the Weser, such as the Leine or Aller, is here to be understood; if not some stream falling into the Elbe. It is probable that Germanicus was marching northwards, as the boundary between the Cheruscans and their northern neighbours the Angrivarii faced him. The topography of the position is extremely obscure; but it would appear that the Roman line of advance had mountains and a river in its rear (c. 20, 7); and that, at the further end of the plain, the German foot fronted them on the embankment; the retreat from which was into a forest, surrounded on other sides by a morass (see here, and c. 20, 7), but penetrable at other points besides those covered by the 'agger' (ld. § 2, 3); and that at some point in advance of their position were the woods in which their cavalry were hid.

2. **Angrivarii.** Ritter connects the name of this people with 'Anger,' as 'lowlanders.' They occupied part of Hanover east of the Weser; and, if the MS. text in c. 8, 4 is correct (see note), extended on the west also of that river.

3. **hic**, sc. 'in aggere.'

6. **prompta** refers to the infantry in sight on the 'agger,' as 'occulta' to the horsemen hidden in the woods. This sense of 'promptus' is rare, but found in Cic., Sall., etc.

8. **Seio Tuberoni**: see 4. 29, 1. He was afterwards cos. suff. (see on c. 53, 1) and is one of the 'consulares fratres' (Vell. 2. 127, 3) of Seianus. Nipp. thinks he had succeeded to L. Apronius, who is noted (c. 32, 4) as in Rome.

10. **eniteretur**; with simple accus. only here and H. 1. 23, 2; Colum. 2. 2, 27; often with 'in,' as c. 80, 7; 1. 65, 9; 70, 6.

**sibi**, sc. 'sumpsit,' supplied by zeugma from 'permisit.'

12. **succederent** = 'scanderent:' cp. c. 81. 2, and several passages in Livy. When it takes the accus. the word has this sense usually, but not invariably (cp. Liv. 38. 9, 7).

**superne**; here an attributive adj. like 'cominus' below: see Introd. v. § 66.

14. **funditores libritoresque.** In 13. 39, 5, these are coupled as different kinds of slingers of 'glandes,' and both distinguished from the engineers of the 'tormenta.' Festus describes as 'librilla,' or 'librilia,' certain 'instrumenta bellica, saxa scilicet ad bracchii crassitudinem in modum flagellorum loris revincta;' and Caes. (B. G. 7. 81, 4) says 'fundis, librilibus, sudibusque . . ., ac glandibus Gallos perterrent' (where some take 'librilibus' as an adj.). In both passages of Tacitus, the Medicean MSS. give this form; in both Ritt. follows Beroald. in reading 'libratores;' but those so mentioned in inscriptions appear to be a special rank

tela et proturbare hostem iubet. missae e tormentis hastae, 5
quantoque conspicui magis propugnatores, tanto pluribus vul-
neribus deiecti. primus Caesar cum praetoriis cohortibus capto 6
vallo dedit impetum in silvas; conlato illic gradu certatum.
hostem a tergo palus, Romanos flumen aut montes claudebant: 7
utrisque necessitas in loco, spes in virtute, salus ex victoria.

**21.** Nec minor Germanis animus, sed genere pugnae et ar- 1
morum superabantur, cum ingens multitudo artis locis prae-
longas hastas non protenderet, non colligeret, neque adsultibus
et velocitate corporum uteretur, coacta stabile ad proelium;
contra miles, cui scutum pectori adpressum et insidens capulo
manus, latos barbarorum artus, nuda ora foderet viamque strage
hostium aperiret, inprompto iam *Arminio* ob continua pericula,
sive illum recens acceptum vulnus tardaverat. quin et In- 2
guiomerum, tota volitantem acie, fortuna magis quam virtus
deserebat. et Germanicus quo magis adgnosceretur, detraxerat 3
tegimen capiti orabatque insisterent caedibus: nil opus captivis,
solam internicionem gentis finem bello fore. iamque sero diei 4
subducit ex acie legionem faciendis castris: ceterae ad noctem
cruore hostium satiatae sunt. equites ambigue certavere.

**22.** Laudatis pro contione victoribus Caesar congeriem ar- 1

in the legions (see Orell. 3493; Wilmanns 785, 1478, 1553), perhaps more akin to the civil engineers known under this name: see Pl. Epp. 10. 41 (50), 3, etc.

3. **praetoriis cohortibus**: see c. 16, 5.

4. **dedit impetum.** Nipp. notices this as a favourite expression of Liv. (e.g. 2. 19, 7; 51, 4; 3. 5, 10; 4. 28, 1, etc.), who also has 'dant impressionem' 4. 28, 4.

**conlato gradu**, 'foot to foot:' so H. 2. 42, 4; cp. Liv. 7. 33, 11; and 'pede conlato' Id. 6. 12, 10, etc.

9. **colligere**, 'to recover.' Nipp. explains the metaphor as grounded on the resemblance of the hand over hand movement to that of gathering in a rope. This particular metaphor is nowhere else found, but Pliny (Epp. 2. 1, 5) has 'librum colligere,' to catch or recover a falling book. Cp. also 'gressum,' 'gradum colligere,' etc.

**adsultibus.** Only found in Verg. Aen. 5, 442 'variis . . . adsultibus . . . urget;' from which Tacitus appears to borrow the word.

11. **adpressum.** The participle appears only here, the verb only in 16. 15, 4, and Pl. mai. The curved form of the Roman scutum is contrasted with the broad flat German shield.

**insidens**, 'firmly grasping.' Lips.

12. **ora foderet**: see c. 14, 4.

13. **inprompto**; only in Liv. 7. 4, 5; and Auson. 'Arminio' is omitted in the MS. but added by a later hand in the margin as a necessary correction,

15. **tota volitantem acie**, local abl. The whole expression is taken from Livy (4. 19, 2), who closely follows Cicero (in Pis. 12, 26) 'cum . . . volitaret tota urbe.'

17. **insisterent**, 'persist in the carnage:' cp. 'perdomandae Campaniae insistere' H. 3. 77, 4. On these extremities of warfare, see 1. 51, 2.

18. **sero diei.** This substantival use of 'serum' originates with Livy (e.g. 7. 8, 5; 26. 3, 1, etc.); so 'medium diei' (11. 21, 2), also from Livy.

20. **ambigue**, 'with doubtful issue:' a virtual admission of their defeat. The successful body, 'quibus plana evenerant' (c. 20, 3), were the second division of infantry.

21. **pro contione**: see on 1. 44, 4.

**congeriem armorum.** This is no doubt the correct reading for the MS.

morum struxit, superbo cum titulo: debellatis inter Rhenum
Albimque nationibus exercitum Tiberii Caesaris ea monimenta
2 Marti et Iovi et Augusto sacravisse. de se nihil addidit, metu
invidiae an ratus conscientiam facti satis esse. mox bellum in
3 Angrivarios Stertinio mandat, ni deditionem properavissent.
atque illi supplices nihil abnuendo veniam omnium accepere.

1 **23.** Sed aestate iam adulta legionum aliae itinere terrestri in
hibernacula remissae; plures Caesar classi inpositas per flumen
2 Amisiam Oceano invexit. ac primo placidum aequor mille
navium remis strepere aut velis inpelli: mox atro nubium globo
effusa grando, simul variis undique procellis incerti fluctus
prospectum adimere, regimen inpedire; milesque pavidus et
casuum maris ignarus dum turbat nautas vel intempestive iuvat,
officia prudentium corrumpebat. omne dehinc caelum et mare
3 omne in austrum cessit, qui umidis Germaniae terris, profundis

'congerie marmorum,' wrongly corrected in the margin to 'congeriem marmorum.' This trophy would resemble that described in c. 18, 2.

2. **Tiberii Caesaris**: see on c. 18, 2.

4. **bellum . . . mandat, ni properavissent.** On the ellipse in this construction, see Introd. v. § 50 a.

5. **Angrivarios.** Germanicus had crossed their frontier at the 'agger' (c. 20, 2), and they are named among the conquered nations (c. 41, 2). Hence Pfitzner (p. 157), who accepts the emendation of Nipp. on c. 8, 4, objects to it here and in c. 24, 5, and believes that Germanicus thus secured the submission of this people through Stertinius, while himself encamped on their frontier. But 'mox' seems to imply an interval of time, and, at the beginning of c. 23, Germanicus is assumed to have returned to the Ems; so that the same people, under whichever name, who are mentioned in c. 8, 4, and whose 'defectio' was then chastised, seem here spoken of as reduced to full submission.

7. **aestate adulta.** Lips. cites Servius, on Verg. G. 1, 43, as stating that each season was divided into periods of a month each, during which it was said to be 'novus,' 'adultus,' or 'praeceps.' The terms answer to the Greek *ἱσταμένου, μεσοῦντος* (or *ἀκμάζοντος*), and *λήγοντος*; and the time here specified would answer to the middle of July. Tacitus has also 'adulto autumno' 11. 31, 4; 'donec ver adolesceret' 13. 36, 1; 'adulta nocte' H. 3. 23, 4; besides many other metaphorical uses.

9. **invexit**; with dat. in Suet. Aug. 41; Curt. 9. 2, 27.

**mille navium**: cp. c. 6, 2.

10. **velis inpelli**, 'was stirred by the sailing.' The sails which move the ship, are said mediately to move the sea: on 'inpelli,' cp. Verg. G. 1, 254 'remis inpellere marmor.'

**globo effusa.** This simple abl. is found in Sall. Jug. 69, 2 ('effusum oppido'), and often in Liv.

12. **regimen**, 'the steering:' used of the rudder itself by Ovid (M. 11, 552), etc. The word, especially frequent in Tacitus, is previously almost confined to poets and Livy.

14. **officia prudentium corrumpebat**: cp. 'officia nautarum impediebant' H. 4. 16, 5. Similar terms are used by Livy (22. 19, 8), in describing a scene of confusion at a sea-fight.

15. **in austrum cessit.** For this expression, cp. 1. 1, 3. Here a contrast is intended to the 'variae procellae' preceding. Nipp. notes that the wind was strictly S. W.

**umidis.** The MS. text 'tumidis' is retained by Orelli, Ritt., and Nipp., and is generally explained to mean 'mountainous;' on the theory that mountains cause or collect storms (see Agr. 10, 6); the mountains here being those of the interior to the south. Nipp. adopts the explanation of Walther, 'swol-

amnibus, immenso nubium tractu validus et rigore vicini sep-
tentrionis horridior rapuit disiecitque naves in aperta Oceani aut
insulas saxis abruptis vel per occulta vada infestas; quibus
paulum aegreque vitatis, postquam mutabat aestus eodemque 4
quo ventus ferebat, non adhaerere ancoris, non exhaurire in-
rumpentis undas poterant: equi, iumenta, sarcinae, etiam arma
praecipitantur, quo levarentur alvei, manantes per latera et fluctu
superurgente.

**24.** Quanto violentior cetero mari Oceanus et truculentia 1
caeli praestat Germania, tantum illa clades novitate et magni-
tudine excessit, hostilibus circum litoribus aut ita vasto et pro-
fundo, ut credatur novissimum ac sine terris mare. pars navium 2
haustae sunt, plures apud insulas longius sitas eiectae; milesque
nullo illic hominum cultu fame absumptus, nisi quos corpora
equorum eodem elisa toleraverant. sola Germanici triremis 3

len with moisture;' such being the description of the country (H. 5. 14, 3; 17, 4), and the expression like 'vere tument terrae' (Verg. G. 2, 324). He takes these ablatives as absol., explaining 'immenso nubium tractu,' which contains the cause: cp. Sen. Nat. Quaest. 5. 12, 5 'facit ergo ventum resoluta nubes.'

2. **disiecit naves**: so also Liv. 30. 24, 7; from Verg. Aen. 1. 43.

3. **insulas.** These appear to be distinct from the distant islands of c. 24, 2, and must be those near the mouth of the Ems or Weser. The quicksands described would perfectly suit the islands bordering on the 'Wadden' shoals, but no rocky island can be found nearer than Heligoland. The rocks appear therefore to be the addition of romance, as in c. 24, 3.

4. **postquam mutabat**, etc. The tide had hitherto offered some resistance to the wind. The sentence shows reminiscence of Livy (26. 45, 8), 'acer . . . Septemtrio . . . inclinatum stagnum eodem quo aestus ferebat.' 'Mūto' is intrans. in 12. 29, 1, and often in Livy; as is also 'fero' in such phrases as 'via,' 'res' (cp. 3. 15, 2), 'animus fert;' and, in Caes. (B. G. 3. 15, 3), in the same expression as here; 'quo ventus ferebat;' also in Livy 1. 7, 6 'si . . . eo vestigia ferrent.'

7. **manantes . . . superurgente.** 'Manantes' is best taken as belonging to both clauses. The ships are dripping, from leakage through the sides (cp. 'laxis laterum compagibus,' etc. Verg. Aen. 1, 122), and from waves breaking over. 'Superurgeo' is otherwise unknown, and perhaps (with Doed.) the word should be written 'divisim.'

9. **truculentia.** One of the words which Tacitus appears to have resuscitated, from Plaut. Truc. 3. 2, 7 (see Introd. v. § 96). The adj. however is used figuratively of the sea in Catull. 63, 16; 64, 179.

10. **praestat . . . excessit.** That which is exceeded is supplied from the context. So 'excessit' c. 33, 2, 'praestitisset' c. 73, 4.

11. **ita vasto et profundo.** It seems better to supply 'mari' from the following 'mare,' than to alter the latter to the former (with J. F. Gron.), or (with Nipp.) to take 'vasto et profundo' as having an indefinite subject, or as substantives. 'Around them were shores peopled with enemies, or (on the other side) a sea so wide and deep that they imagined it to be the end of the world, with no land beyond.' On the use of 'circum,' cp. 4. 55, 8; 'nullis contra terris' (Agr. 10, 2); and the use of 'palam' 11. 22, 1; 16. 5, 3: also Introd. v. § 66.

13. **insulas longius sitas.** These are distinct from those mentioned in c. 23, 3, and may probably have lain off the west coast of Schleswig.

15. **elisa,** 'ad littus eiecta.'

**toleraverant,** 'had maintained,' i.e. up to the time of their discovery. The verb, in this sense, has a personal accus. in Caes. and Plin. mai.

Chaucorum terram adpulit; quem per omnes illos dies noctes-
que apud scopulos et prominentis oras, cum se tanti exitii reum
clamitaret, vix cohibuere amici quo minus eodem mari oppe-
4 teret. tandem relabente aestu et secundante vento claudae
naves raro remigio aut intentis vestibus, et quaedam a validiori-
bus tractae, revertere; quas raptim refectas misit ut scrutarentur
5 insulas. collecti ea cura plerique: multos Angrivarii nuper in
fidem accepti redemptos ab interioribus reddidere: quidam in
6 Britanniam rapti et remissi a regulis. ut quis ex longinquo
revenerat, miracula narrabant, vim turbinum et inauditas volu-
cres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas,
visa sive ex metu credita.

1 **25**. Sed fama classis amissae ut Germanos ad spem belli, ita
2 Caesarem ad coercendum erexit. C. Silio cum triginta peditum,
tribus equitum milibus ire in Chattos imperat; ipse maioribus
copiis Marsos inrumpit, quorum dux Mallovendus nuper in
deditionem acceptus propinquo luco defossam Varianae legionis
3 aquilam modico praesidio servari indicat. missa extemplo

1. **adpulit.** Suet. uses this verb in this sense with the name of a place in the accus. as 'Dertosam adpellere,' 'Regium . . . nave adpellere' (Galb. 10; Tit. 5); and also (Aug. 98) uses the verb, of a ship, absolutely, as in 4. 27, 1. Both constructions are rare.

2. **scopulos.** There are no rocks on this coast: cp. c. 23, 3.

3. **oppeteret.** The use of this verb without 'mortem' is Vergilian (Aen. 1. 96, etc.), but already adopted by Pl. mai.

4. **secundante vento.** With the exception of the occurrence of this same expression in Just. 26. 3, 4, this verb is confined to poets, and takes an accus.

**claudae,** 'crippled;' used of ships in Lucr. 4, 436; Liv. 37. 24, 6; Curt. 9. 9, 13. Vergil (Aen. 5, 271, etc.) compares a shattered ship to a wounded serpent.

5. **intentis vestibus.** Similar contrivances are described in H. 5. 23, 1; Juv. 12, 67.

7. **Angrivarii.** The correctness of the reading here depends on that in c. 22, 3. The contrast 'ab interioribus' would show that they lived near the coast; and it must be supposed that some other coastmen must have sold their prisoners inland. The mention of the British princes here is an evidence of friendly relations then between that country and Rome.

11. **monstra maris.** Pedo Albinovanus (see on 1. 60, 2), though probably an eyewitness, appears to have drawn on imagination in his narrative (see Appendix I at the end of this Book): and this shipwreck and its wonders probably soon passed into the hands of declaimers, with such basis of fact as seals or birds strange to southern navigators may have supplied.

**ambiguas;** used similarly, with genitives of the things between which the doubt lies, in c. 40, 2. The use with a single genitive is noted on 1. 7, 4.

15. **ire . . . imperat:** such an inf. is found in poets and in Sall. On the usage of Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 43.

**in Chattos.** These expeditions appear to be a fresh start after the forces had been collected at head quarters. That against the Chatti may have been merely a demonstration, like that mentioned in c. 7, 1, to keep them from assisting their neighbours; the attack on the Marsi probably took the same direction as that described in 1. 50, and was similarly intended merely to restore the morale of the troops. The recovery of the eagle appears to have been incidental.

18. **aquilam.** One eagle had been regained the year before (1. 60, 4), and the third is stated to have been recovered from the Chatti in the first year of Clau-

manus quae hostem a fronte eliceret, alii qui terga circumgressi
recluderent humum; et utrisque adfuit fortuna. eo promptior 4
Caesar pergit introrsus, populatur, excindit non ausum congredi
hostem aut, sicubi restiterat, statim pulsum nec umquam magis,
ut ex captivis cognitum est, paventem. quippe invictos et nullis 5
casibus superabiles Romanos praedicabant, qui perdita classe,
amissis armis, post constrata equorum virorumque corporibus
litora eadem virtute, pari ferocia et velut aucti numero in-
rupissent.

**26.** Reductus inde in hiberna miles, laetus animi quod ad- 1
versa maris expeditione prospera pensavisset. addidit munifi-
centiam Caesar, quantum quis damni professus erat, exsolvendo.
nec dubium habebatur labare hostes petendaeque pacis con- 2
silia sumere, et si proxima aestas adiceretur, posse bellum
patrari. sed crebris epistulis Tiberius monebat rediret ad de- 3
cretum triumphum: satis iam eventuum, satis casuum. prospera
illi et magna proelia: eorum quoque meminisset quae venti et
fluctus, nulla ducis culpa, gravia tamen et saeva damna in-
tulissent. se noviens a divo Augusto in Germaniam missum
plura consilio quam vi perfecisse. sic Sugambros in deditionem
acceptos, sic Suebos regemque Maroboduum pace obstrictum.
posse et Cheruscos ceterasque rebellium gentes, quoniam Ro-

dius (Dio, 60. 8, 7): so that the story given by Florus (4. 12, 38), of the preservation of one at the time by its bearer, appears to be a fiction.

2. **recluderent**: so 'tellus . . . recluditur' Verg. G. 2, 423. The verb is often used by Tacitus, but otherwise almost exclusively in poets.

3. **excindit**; used of extermination, with 'gentem,' by Vergil (Aen. 9, 137), whom Tacitus appears here, and perhaps in H. 5. 16, 2, to follow: cp. also 12. 39, 4. The language is that of Roman exaggeration, and need not be softened (as by some) into 'destroys the property of.'

4. **restiterat**: cp. 1. 61, 3.

14. **adiceretur**, sc. 'bello' = 'adsumeretur:' cp. 'noctes quoque dedecori adiectas' 14. 20, 8.

15. **patrari**. On this so-called archaism (also in 3. 47, 1; H. 3. 64, 3), see Introd. v. § 96. The possibility alleged is not borne out by facts; for we have no trace of any ground permanently secured, or tribes permanently weakened.

16. **triumphum**: see 1. 55, 1.

**eventuum . . . casuum.** These words come together in H. 1. 4, 1; 5. 10, 3; and the former is used specially of success in Agr. 8, 2; 22, 3; 27, 2, etc. The latter would here ostensibly refer to the storms, etc.; but the words of Tiberius probably suggest the censure which they disclaim; as in 4. 40, 7, etc.

19. **noviens**. Seven campaigns appear to be made out; those of 745, 746, 757, 758, 762, 763, 764 (B.C. 9, 8; A.D. 4, 5, 9, 10, 11). To these Nipp. adds an insignificant mission in 747, B.C. 7 (Dio, 55. 8, 3), and the projected campaign against the Suebi in 759, A.D. 6, frustrated by the revolt of Pannonia.

20. **Sugambros**. These were partly destroyed, partly settled on the Gallic bank (12. 39, 4; Suet. Aug. 21); apparently by Tiberius (Id. Tib. 9), and probably in 746, B. C. 8 (Dio, 55. 6, 2). See Hor. Od. 4. 2, 34; 14, 51; Strab. 7. 1, 4, 291.

21. **Suebos**. On this people see 1. 44, 6; and on Maroboduus, c. 44, 3, etc.

manae ultioni consultum esset, internis discordiis relinqui. pre-
4 cante Germanico annum efficiendis coeptis, acrius modestiam
eius adgreditur alterum consulatum offerendo, cuius munia prae-
5 sens obiret. simul adnectebat, si foret adhuc bellandum, re-
linqueret materiem Drusi fratris gloriae, qui nullo tum alio
hoste non nisi apud Germanias adsequi nomen imperatorium et
6 deportare lauream posset. haud cunctatus est ultra Germanicus,
quamquam fingi ea seque per invidiam parto iam decori abstrahi
intellegeret.

1 **27**. Sub idem tempus e familia Scriboniorum Libo Drusus
defertur moliri res novas. eius negotii initium, ordinem, finem
curatius disseram, quia tum primum reperta sunt quae per tot

1. **consultum esset**: so Halm and Nipp. after Muretus, for the MS. 'est;' which others, with Otto, alter to 'sit.' Pfitzner's defence of 'est' (p. 137) as a quotation of the exact words of Tiberius, appears to contain no sufficient explanation of such an insertion.

**internis discordiis.** As an illustration of this, may be quoted the hostilities between the Cherusci and Suebi in the very next year (c. 44, 2); the plot of the prince of the Chatti against the life of Arminius (c. 88, 1); the massacre of the Chatti by the Hermunduri in 811, A. D. 58 (13. 57); the almost complete destruction of the Bructeri by their neighbours, and subjection of the Cherusci by the Chatti, at the date of the 'Germania' (G. 33, 1; 36, 1).

3. **praesens**, i. e. at Rome. He had the consulship, but in absence (c. 53, 1).

4. **adnectebat.** This verb here, and in 4. 28, 2, has the construction of 'addere.'

6. **nomen imperatorium**: see on 1. 3, 1, etc. Drusus never received this title.

7. **deportare lauream,** 'to earn the laurel wreath:' so 'deportare triumphum' Cic. Off. 1. 26; and other phrases. In Suet. Dom. 6 'lauream modo Capitolino Iovi rettulit' is used in contradistinction to a regular triumph; but no such difference is here implied.

8. **abstrahi**: cp. c. 5, 1.

10. **Sub idem tempus.** The alleged offences are said to have begun from or before the accession of Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 25). Velleius (2. 129, 130) and Suetonius (l. l.) appear to view him as a more formidable conspirator. The kalendar of Amiternum (Inscr. Orell. ii. p. 398; I. R. N. 5750) charges him with 'nefaria consilia de salute Ti. Caes. liberorumque eius et aliorum principum civitatis inita.' Seneca (Ep. 70, 10) describes him as 'adolescens tam stolidus quam nobilis, maiora sperans quam illo seculo quisquam sperare poterat aut ipse ullo.' Dio (57. 15, 4) speaks of him only 'as δόξαντά τι νεωτερίζειν;' and it is in Tacitus alone that any detailed charges are specified, and the whole shown to shrink into mere questions of astrology and magic.

**Libo Drusus.** The kalendar cited above calls him 'M. Libo;' Suet. (l. l.) calls him 'L. Scribonius Libo;' confusing him apparently with the consul of this year (c. 1, 1), supposed to be his brother (c. 29, 2).

11. **defertur moliri.** The infin. with this verb (as 3. 22, 1; 6. 19, 1; 13. 23, 1) and other verbs of accusing is especially common in the Annals: see Introd. v. § 45. Dr. notes as precedents its use with 'convincor' by Liv. (45. 10, 14), and with 'arguor' and 'insimulor' by Cic. (Rosc. Am. 13, 37; Verr. 2. 2, 24, 59, etc.). Cic. does not however say in this sense 'deferre aliquem' (as in 13. 33, 3, etc.), but 'alicuius nomen,' using the verb with a personal object only in the sense of 'recommending' (as Arch. 5, 11).

**res novas**: cp. c. 78, 1; 3. 13, 3; etc. This charge is distinct from, and more specific than that of 'maiestas.'

12. **curatius**: cp. 1. 13, 7.

**reperta sunt.** Delation has already appeared (see on 1. 72, 74), but we here first find persons entrapped by intimate friends, who keep up private communications with Caesar. The expression 'per tot annos' probably dates to the death of Domitian.

annos rem publicam exedere. Firmius Catus senator, ex intima 2
Libonis amicitia, iuvenem inprovidum et facilem inanibus ad Chaldaeorum promissa, magorum sacra, somniorum etiam interpretes impulit, dum proavum Pompeium, amitam Scriboniam, quae quondam Augusti coniunx fuerat, consobrinos Caesares, plenam imaginibus domum ostentat, hortaturque ad luxum et aes alienum, socius libidinum et necessitatum, quo pluribus indiciis inligaret.

**28.** Ut satis testium et qui servi eadem noscerent repperit, 1
aditum ad principem postulat, demonstrato crimine et reo per Flaccum Vescularium equitem Romanum, cui propior cum Ti-

1. **Firmius Catus**: see 4. 31, 7: 'ex intima amicitia' for the concrete 'ex intimis amicis,' as in c. 77, 1.

2. **facilem inanibus**, 'easily led to empty projects:' cp. 5. 11, 1; also 'faciles occupantibus' H. 2. 17, 1; and similar uses in Verg. and Liv.

3. **Chaldaeorum.** The astrologers, known also as 'mathematici' (c. 32, 5; H. 1. 22, 1; etc.) 'periti caelestium' (4. 58, 2), and by other names; who professed to predict a person's destiny from the position of the heavens at his birth. Though sufficiently important as early as 625, B.C. 139, to be expelled by a praetor's edict (Val. Max. 1. 3, 3), their great ascendancy belongs to this age; those who dealt severely by some being themselves the patrons of others, as Augustus (Suet. Aug. 94), Tiberius (6. 21, 5; Suet. Tib. 14), and many following emperors. The prevalence of astrology in the time of Augustus is seen in the allusions in Hor. Od. 1, 11; 2. 17, etc.; its subsequent importance may be illustrated by the full collection of passages from ancient authors given by Prof. Mayor on Juv. 14, 248. See also Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 90–92. That Tacitus himself believed some astrological predictions to be genuine, is seen from 4. 58, 2; 6. 22, 5, etc.; his contempt for the common herd of impostors is shown in H. 1. 22, 1, and elsewhere.

**magorum sacra**, 'the rites of magicians.' These 'magi' also profess an Oriental title, and are sometimes confounded with the 'Chaldaei;' but the name properly belongs to the dealers in philtres and other drugs, spells, and incantations (see c. 28, 3; 69, 5, etc.). The art in some form is so old in Italy as to have fallen under the ban of the Laws of the Twelve Tables (Sen. Q. Nat. 4. 7, 3); and 'venefica' is a term of abuse as early as Plautus and Terence: the witchcraft of the Augustan age may be illustrated from Verg. Ecl. 8; Hor. Od. 1. 27, 21; Epod. 5; Sat. 1. 8; Ov. Am. 1. 8, etc. See Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 106–112.

**somniorum interpretes.** This art belonged of old to the Eastern 'magi' proper (Hdt. 1. 107, etc.); and its professors, known in Italy as early as the time of Ennius (Cic. de Div. 1. 58, 132), are generally called 'coniectores' (Plaut. Curc. 2. 1, 34; Cic. de Div. 1. 22, 45; Quint. 3. 6, 30, etc.). See Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 99; and the full account of the Roman belief in dreams in Friedl. iii. p. 532, foll.

4. **proavum Pompeium.** A full pedigree is given by Nipp. from Borghesi (5, 301), showing that his mother Pompeia was daughter of Sex. Pompeius and of Scribonia, niece of the wife of Augustus, who was thus his great-great-aunt; and whose descendants through Julia were in a wide sense his 'consobrini.' Also the adoption of his father, M. Drusus Libo, by M. Drusus Claudianus, the father of Livia Augusta, connected him with her issue.

6. **plenam imaginibus.** That the 'ius imaginum' was now liberally interpreted, would appear from 3. 5, 2; 76, 4, etc.

7. **necessitatum.** This word, used in a somewhat different sense in 1. 11, 6, appears here, as in Suet. Tib. 47, to denote any pecuniary obligations or difficulties. It thus answers to 'aes alienum,' as 'libidinum' does to 'luxum.'

9. **noscerent**, for 'adgnoscerent,' 'would acknowledge;' cp. 'adgnoscentes servos' c. 30, 3: thus 'an . . . nosceret' 15. 60, 6. The subjunctive here is potential.

11. **Flaccus Vescularius**: on his death,

2 berio usus erat. Caesar indicium haud aspernatus congressus
abnuit: posse enim eodem Flacco internuntio sermones com-
3 meare. atque interim Libonem ornat praetura, convictibus ad-
hibet, non vultu alienatus, non verbis commotior (adeo iram con-
diderat); cunctaque eius dicta factaque, cum prohibere posset,
scire malebat, donec Iunius quidam, temptatus ut infernas
umbras carminibus eliceret, ad Fulcinium Trionem indicium de-
4 tulit. celebre inter accusatores Trionis ingenium erat avidumque
famae malae. statim corripit reum, adit consules, cognitionem
5 senatus poscit. et vocantur patres, addito consultandum super
re magna et atroci.

**29.** Libo interim veste mutata cum primoribus feminis cir-
cumire domos, orare adfines, vocem adversum pericula poscere,
abnuentibus cunctis, cum diversa praetenderent, eadem formi-
2 dine. die senatus metu et aegritudine fessus, sive, ut tradidere
quidam, simulato morbo, lectica delatus ad fores curiae innisus-
que fratri et manus ac supplices voces ad Tiberium tendens im-

see 6. 10, 2. He was perhaps one of the 'consiliarii' of Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 55).

1. **congressus**, personal communication with Catus.

2. **sermones**; generally adopted for the MS. 'sermone,' which Ritt. treats as meant to be 'sermonē' and reads 'sermonem.' 'Sermones' might here mean 'messages' as in the parallel cited 'ministro sermonum' H. 2. 99, 4.

3. **interim**: on the interval of time, see c. 27, 1, and Suet. Tib. 25; where it is stated that Libo was also 'pontifex,' and the precautions taken by Tiberius are described.

**convictibus adhibet.** This honour was so prized that Vespasian is said (Suet. Vesp. 2) to have thanked Gaius in the senate for an invitation: cp. a fulsome epigram of Martial (9, 92), and other passages cited by Friedländer (i. 147).

6. **ut umbras . . . eliceret.** Such evocation, known in some form among Greeks as early as the Odyssey, was at this date a recognised branch of magic. Cp. Verg. Ecl. 8, 98; Aen. 4, 490; Hor. Sat. 1. 8, 29; Tibull. 1. 2, 45, etc.

7. **Fulcinium Trionem.** On this famous delator, subsequently consul at the time of the fall of Seianus, and afterwards forced to suicide, see 3. 10, 1; 19, 1; 5. 11, 1; 6. 4, 3; 38, 2.

8. **Trionis**: on the repetition of the cognomen alone, see Introd. v. § 86.

9. **corripit.** This word is constantly used of accusers; cp. 3. 28, 5; 49, 1; 66, 2, etc.

**adit consules**: see on 1. 73, 3.

**cognitionem**, the technical word for trial by the senate, or by the princeps (3. 10, 3): see Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 925.

13. **domos**, the palaces of the nobility: see 1. 73, 2.

**vocem . . . poscere**, an equivalent expression to 'patronos petenti' (3. 11, 2): so 'vocem praeparare,' 'to study a speech,' Pl. Epp. 2. 1, 5.

15. **aegritudine.** Dio (57. 15, 4) says that he had a mortal disease, and that the trial was purposely brought on in his illness.

16. **lectica delatus.** Even the princeps did not usually thus come to the senate, except in case of illness: see Suet. Tib. 30.

17. **fratri**, supposed to be the consul of this year (c. 1, 1); who would now have been succeeded by a 'suffectus,' and would thus not be noted as consul.

**manus ac . . . voces tendens.** This use of 'tendere' with 'voces' by zeugma seems to be adopted from Verg. (Aen. 2, 688; 3, 176). Tacitus has 'voces . . . manus intentare' 3. 36, 1 (in a different sense), and 'placamenta . . . tendebantur' H. 1. 63, 2.

moto eius vultu excipitur. mox libellos et auctores recitat Caesar
ita moderans, ne lenire neve asperare crimina videretur.

**30**. Accesserant praeter Trionem et Catum accusatores Fon- 1
teius Agrippa et C. Vibius, certabantque cui ius perorandi in
reum daretur, donec Vibius, quia nec ipsi inter se concederent et
Libo sine patrono introisset, singillatim se crimina obiecturum
professus, protulit libellos vaecordes adeo, ut consultaverit Libo,
an habiturus foret opes quis viam Appiam Brundisium usque
pecunia operiret. inerant et alia huiusce modi stolida vana, si 2
mollius acciperes, miseranda. uni tamen libello manu Libonis
nominibus Caesarum aut senatorum additas atroces vel occultas
notas accusator arguebat. negante reo adgnoscentes servos per 3
tormenta interrogari placuit. et quia vetere senatus consulto
quaestio in caput domini prohibebatur, callidus et novi iuris

1. **libellos et auctores**, 'the informations and names of the informers.'

2. **moderans**, 'restraining himself;' so 'moderante' 1. 15, 2: usually a dative is expressed, as c. 70, 4; 6. 2, 6, etc.

3. **Fonteius Agrippa**; mentioned again c. 86, 1. Another, probably his son, is mentioned H. 3. 46, 5.

4. **C. Vibius**; the elder Serenus: see 4. 13, 2; 28, 1, etc.

**perorandi**, 'making the formal oration.' The word often means no more than this (cp. 3. 17, 7, and 'perorare causam' in Cic., etc.). Nipp. notes that the proper place of such oration was at the close of the evidence.

6. **singillatim**, 'one by one;' so that they might be argued separately without a continuous oration on either side. Cicero adopted a somewhat similar course, to expedite the trial of Verres: Nero enforced this practice generally in trials before himself: 'cognoscendi morem eum tenuit, ut continuis actionibus omissis, singillatim quaeque per vices ageret' (Suet. Ner. 15).

7. **libellos**, papers belonging to Libo.

**consultaverit** = 'consultavisse monstraretur.'

10. **uni . . . libello.** 'Nominibus' must be taken as a dative depending on 'additas;' and it is not more difficult to extend the same construction, than to supply any other (such as 'inesse' from 'inerant') for 'libello.' Also the correction 'uno' (Kritz and Nipp.) still leaves an awkwardness in the juxtaposition of two different ablatives, 'libello' and 'manu.' It seems therefore necessary to suppose some negligence in the original composition.

11. **Caesarum aut senatorum**, i.e. some to the one set of names, others to the other: see on 1. 55, 2, and Nipp.'s note here.

**atroces vel occultas notas**, 'deadly, or at least mysterious symbols.' It is meant that, if no meaning could be made out of them, the mystery was itself suspicious. We are to suppose that cabalistic characters were attached to the names, and that it was suggested that these might be a magical 'devotio' (see on c. 69, 5). It is implied by 'tamen' that this document was the only relevant evidence; so that the whole charge appears to have turned on these unintelligible marks.

12. **adgnoscentes**: cp. 'noscerent' c. 28, 1. Nipp. calls attention to this illustration of the rule by which slaves were forced to confirm, under torture, even what they were willing to state without it; their evidence being not otherwise legal.

13. **vetere senatus consulto.** This rule, called 'mos maiorum' by Cicero (pro Deiot. 1, 3), had even in his time exceptions in cases of incest and conspiracy (Mil. 22, 59; Partt. Oratt. 34, 118). Lips. states that the later jurists also make exception in charges of 'maiestas' (without the fiction here introduced), adultery, and 'fraudatio census.'

14. **novi iuris.** Dio (55. 5, 4), represents this as a contrivance of Augustus

repertor Tiberius mancipari singulos actori publico iubet, scilicet
4 ut in Libonem ex servis salvo senatus consulto quaereretur. ob
quae posterum diem reus petivit domumque digressus extremas
preces P. Quirinio propinquo suo ad principem mandavit.

1 **31.** Responsum est ut senatum rogaret. cingebatur interim
milite domus, strepebant etiam in vestibulo, ut audiri, ut aspici
possent, cum Libo ipsis quas in novissimam voluptatem adhi-
buerat epulis excruciatus vocare percussorem, prensare servorum
2 dextras, inserere gladium. atque illis, dum trepidant, dum re-
fugiunt, evertentibus adpositum *in* mensa lumen, feralibus iam
3 sibi tenebris duos ictus in viscera derexit. ad gemitum conla-

as early as 746, B.C. 8. In later times he represents Tiberius (57. 19, 2) as departing more flagrantly, in such trials, from the old custom: *ἐβασανίζοντο οὐχὶ οἰκέται μόνον κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων δεσποτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πολῖται.*

1. **repertor,** 4. 11, 3, etc.: chiefly a poetical word, but in prose from Sall.

**actori publico**; cp. 3. 67, 3: 'the agent of the treasury' (cp. 'publicari,' 'pecunia publica,' etc.), a person generally a slave or at most a freedman. 'Actores' of private persons, apparently much the same as 'villici,' are often mentioned in inscriptions (see Henzen, Ind. p. 181; Wilmanns, Ind. p. 645); also those of municipal towns. Of the latter, one such at least, M. Paquius Aulanus (Henzen 6432), is cited by Nipp. as evidently not a slave. Property intended to be given to the community was in form made over to its 'actor publicus' (Pl. Epp. 7. 17, 2).

3. **domum digressus.** Seneca (ep. 70, 10) describes at some length his desertion by his friends, his hesitation, and the recommendation of suicide by his aunt Scribonia.

4. **P. Quirinio**: cp. 3. 22, 1; 23, 1; and esp. 3. 48; where the chief account of him is given. That the MS. reading (corrected by the old editors to 'Quirino') is right, is shown by its Greek forms **Κυρίνιος** (Strab. 12. 6, 5, 569), and **Κυρήνιος** (St. Luke 2, 2; Jos. Ant. 18. 1, 1), as also by Latin inscriptions (Orell. 3693, etc.). Nipp. notes it as one of the earliest instances of a person bearing two gentile names. That he was not one of the true Sulpicii is stated in 3. 48, 2; and his only connexion with Libo would seem to be through his marriage with Aemilia Lepida, herself a descendant from Pompeius (see 3. 22, 1).

6. **milite.** He appears to have been in his own house in their custody, as was Cn. Piso in the custody of a tribune (3. 14, 7); but they had received or were supposed by him to have received instructions to hasten his end. He would be still treated as free, by another such fiction as that adopted towards the Catilinarian conspirators.

**ut audiri, ut aspici,** rhetorical emphasis, like the repetition of 'dum' below.

7. **cum . . . vocare.** On the historical inf. with a temporal conjunction, see Introd. v. § 46 b.

**ipsis . . . epulis,** 'during the very feast' (see Introd. v. § 26). It is better to take the words thus, and to suppose the cause of torment to have been the sight of the soldiers, than (with Nipp.) to ascribe it to indigestion consequent upon excitement.

9. **inserere,** sc. 'dextris:' cp. 'inseruerunt digitos' 1. 34, 3.

10. **adpositum in mensa.** So Halm and Orell., after Groslot, for the MS. 'adpositum mensa,' which some have endeavoured to defend as an abl. of place (cp. Introd. v. § 25). Other corrections are 'adposita in mensa' (Ritt.) and 'adpositum cum mensa' (Nipp. from Ritt. 1848) which gives a somewhat unnatural order of words.

**feralibus**: cp. 'funestas tenebras' 1. 65, 10. In Libo's case the darkness was more strictly that of the grave, as he never saw light again.

11. **derexit.** Prof. Munro (on Lucr. 6, 823), on the authority of the best MSS. of several great authors, considers this to be probably the only ancient form of this verb. The MSS. of Tacitus are uncer-

bentis adcurrere liberti, et caede visa miles abstitit. accusatio 4
tamen apud patres adseveratione eadem peracta, iuravitque Ti-
berius petiturum se vitam quamvis nocenti, nisi voluntariam
mortem properavisset.

**32.** Bona inter accusatores dividuntur, et praeturae extra or- 1
dinem datae iis qui senatorii ordinis erant. tunc Cotta Messa- 2
linus, ne imago Libonis exsequias posterorum comitaretur, cen-
suit, Cn. Lentulus, ne quis Scribonius cognomentum Drusi
adsumeret. supplicationum dies Pomponii Flacci sententia con- 3

ain, giving 'di-' in 6. 34, 5; H. 2. 34, 3; Dial. 5, 3; 19, 1; and 'de-' here and in c. 45, 3; 4. 40, 1; H. 2. 35, 2; 4. 16, 3; 25, 1; 58, 7; 5. 23, 3. The editors in most instances have followed the MSS.

1. **abstitit.** This is generally read, after Lips., for the MS., 'adstitit,' the death being more a reason why the soldiers should go away than come up. Whether as guards or executioners, they had nothing left to do.

2. **adseveratione**, 'seriousness,' whether assumed (as here and 4. 19, 3; 6. 2, 2) or real (as 3. 35, 3; 4. 42, 2). Sometimes used of a solemn assertion, as 4. 15, 3; 52, 7.

**iuravit.** On this practice, see 1. 74, 5.

3. **petiturum**, sc. 'fuisse:' cp. Introd. v. 39 c.

5. **Bona . . . dividuntur.** By the general rule at this time, the property of those who anticipated condemnation by suicide was not confiscated (6. 29, 2); but their accusers were entitled to a share (4. 30, 3), amounting as a legal minimum to one-fourth, but capable of increase by decree (4. 20, 2). If therefore, as seems here to be implied, the whole was divided among them, the law was certainly strained.

**praeturae extra ordinem.** One praetorship was vacant, if that of Libo belongs to this year (c. 28, 3); and the accusers of senatorial rank appear to be four (c. 30, 1), of whom Vibius (see on 4. 29, 4) seems not to have shared this privilege. The regular number of praetors (1. 14, 6) is stated to have been exceeded, in at least the later years of Tiberius (Dio, 58. 20, 5); so that these may have been added as supernumeraries to those already designated for next year. Nipp. thinks they were allowed to anticipate, each by a similar period, their proper time of becoming candidates; but this would hardly be the natural meaning of the words.

6. **Cotta Messalinus.** This person, who has an evil name in Tacitus (4. 20, 6; 5. 3, 4; 6. 5, 1), is the 'magnae Messalae lippa propago' of Pers. 2, 72; and is noted as a gourmand by Plin. (N. H. 10. 22, 27, 52). Ovid, on the other hand, who often addresses him in the Epistles 'ex Ponto,' gives him a very different character, and his princely munificence to his dependents is celebrated: see Introd. vii. p. 86. His original full name appears to have been (whether from his mother's side or from adoption) 'M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus,' and the cognomen 'Messalinus' to have been inherited later from his brother (Vell. 2. 112, 2), on whom see 1. 8, 5.

7. **ne imago**, etc. Thus those of Brutus and Cassius were not borne (3. 76, 5). Other such forms of 'damnatio memoriae' are the prohibition of the praenomen (cp. 3. 17, 8) or 'cognomen' (as here) of the condemned to his posterity; or the erasion of his name from the Fasti (3. 17, 8).

8. **Cn. Lentulus:** see on 1. 27, 1. Ritt. thinks that the change of expression below to 'constituti' and 'decrevere,' as well as the silence of Dio (57. 15, 5), imply that the proposals of Cotta and Lentulus were not carried.

9. **supplicationum.** According to Dio (l. l.) this was held by Tiberius *οὐχ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἕνεκα ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοῦ τε πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰουλίου.*

**Pomponii Flacci.** He was now cos. design. (c. 41, 2), afterwards legate of Moesia (c. 66, 3), and subsequently of Syria, where he died (6. 27, 3). On his alleged drinking bout with Tiberius, see Introd. iv. p. 24. His brother Pomponius Graecinus, a friend of Ovid (ex P. 4. 9), was cos. suff. this year (Inscr. 6442, and Henzen there).

4 stituti. dona Iovi, Marti, Concordiae, utque iduum Septembrium dies, quo se Libo interfecerat, dies festus haberetur, L. *Piso* et Gallus Asinius et Papius Mutilus et L. Apronius decrevere; quorum auctoritates adulationesque rettuli, ut sciretur vetus id
5 in re publica malum. facta et de mathematicis Italia pellendis senatus consulta; quorum e numero L. Pituanius saxo deiectus est, in P. Marcium consules extra portam Esquilinam, cum classicum canere iussissent, more prisco advertere.

1 **33.** Proximo senatus die multa in luxum civitatis dicta a Q. Haterio consulari, Octavio Frontone praetura functo; decre-

1. **dona**: cp. 3. 71, 1, etc. Some inscriptions (C. I. L. vi. 1, 91–94) record such votive offerings to Concordia for the 'incolumitas' or 'salus' 'Tiberii,' but not as a public act, and perhaps not on this occasion.

**iduum**; 13th of Sept. These 'feriae' are recorded in the Kal. Amitern. already cited: see on c. 27, 1.

2. **L. Piso.** The MS. has 'L. P.,' and the lost name is thus generally supplied. Four persons of that name are mentioned (cp. 4. 21, 1; 45, 1; 62, 1; 6. 10, 3), and their general character (except in 3. 68, 2) is the reverse of servile. The one who was praef. urbi appears (6. 10, 3) to have been sometimes obliged to stoop to servility, and may have done so here. Nipp. prefers to suppose that the one mentioned in c. 34, 1 was here subjected to some such pressure, and that Tacitus notices it the more for his general independence.

3. **Gallus Asinius**: cp. 1. 8, 4, etc.

**Papius Mutilus.** M. Papius M. f. M. n. Mutilus (Fast. Cap.) was cos. suf. in 762, A. D. 9, and, with his colleague, gave his name to the 'Lex Papia Poppaea.'

**L. Apronius**: cp. 1. 56, 1, etc.

4. **auctoritates.** This term is used of decrees, or resolutions not formally such (Cic. Ep. ad Div. 8. 8), but hardly of the 'sententiae' of individuals; so that Nipp. is probably right in taking it to mean 'weighty names,' as 'auctoritates principum coniurationis' (Cic. pro Sull. 13, 37). All those here mentioned are persons of the highest rank.

6. **senatus consulta.** Dio (57. 15, 7) describes stringent measures taken both against citizens and non-citizens. Ulpian, who refers this decree to the following year, cites it as enacting 'ut mathematicis Chaldaeis ariolis et ceteris qui similem artem (v. l. 'quaestum') fecerunt aqua et igni interdicatur,' etc. (see Lips. Exc. vii.). Subsequent, and equally futile, decrees are mentioned 12. 52, 3; H. 2. 62, 3. Cp. H. 1. 22, 1.

**saxo**: cp. 4. 29, 2, and the full expression 'saxo Tarpeio' 6. 19, 1. Tribunes as well as consuls could inflict this sentence (Dio, 58. 15, 3).

7. **extra portam Esquilinam**, i.e. in the 'campus Esquilinus,' the usual place of execution (Suet. Cl. 25, etc.), within the present Porta Maggiore.

**classicum canere.** By old custom, in summoning a citizen to trial on a capital charge (Plut. C. Gracch. 3. 836; Sen. de Ira 1. 16, 5), the trumpet was sounded on the day of the comitia centuriata, in various public places and before the house of the accused (Varr. L. L. 6, 92). Here the summons could be only to witness the execution. From the difference of procedure Ritter concludes that Pituanius was not a citizen and that Marcius was; but Dio (57. 15, 7) says τοὺς μὲν ξένους ἐθανάτωσε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας . . . ὑπερώρισε.

8. **more prisco**: cp. 'more maiorum' (4. 30, 1; 14. 48, 4). Such a sentence was passed on Nero, who is described (Suet. Ner. 49) as ignorant of its meaning, and as having been informed 'nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcae, corpus virgis ad necem caedi.'

**advertere.** The use of this word with the accus. 'in aliquem' (='to punish') appears only here and 5. 9, 1. In 3. 52, 2; 4. 35, 1; 13. 28, 3, it has a sense more approaching that of 'noticing' (as 4. 54, 2, etc.); which is common in Tac. and Pl. mai.

9. **multa in luxum.** On this subject, see 3. 52–55; Suet. Tib. 34; and Introd. to vol. ii.

10. **Q. Haterio**: see on 1. 13, 4.

**praetura functo.** Tacitus often uses this expression (e.g. c. 67, 4; 3. 31,

tumque ne vasa auro solida ministrandis cibis fierent, ne vestis
serica viros foedaret. excessit Fronto ac postulavit modum 2
argento, supellectili, familiae: erat quippe adhuc frequens sena-
toribus, si quid e re publica crederent, loco sententiae promere.
contra Gallus Asinius disseruit: auctu imperii adolevisse etiam 3
privatas opes, idque non novum, sed e vetustissimis moribus:
aliam apud Fabricios, aliam apud Scipiones pecuniam; et
cuncta ad rem publicam referri, qua tenui angustas civium
domos, postquam eo magnificentiae venerit, gliscere singulos. 4
neque in familia et argento quaeque ad usum parentur nimium
aliquid aut modicum nisi ex fortuna possidentis. distinctos 5
senatus et equitum census, non quia diversi natura, sed ut, *sicut*

4; 65, 2, etc.): as also 'praetorius' c. 47, 5; 3. 28, 6; 6. 3, 4, etc.), which is a wider term, and would include those who had received the insignia without having filled the office: cp. 'consulatu functus' 1. 39, 4, etc.

1. **auro solida.** This form of expression, here and in 13. 10, 1, is taken from Verg. Aen. 2, 765. Nipp. notes a similar abl. of material in 12. 16, 3 'moenia non saxo, sed cratibus' etc.

**ministrandis cibis**, i.e. that they should be used only in sacrifice. Dio (57. 15, 1), who assigns these decrees to Tiberius himself, says ἀπεῖπε . . . χρυσῷ σκεύει μηδένα πλὴν πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ νομίζειν. This prohibition would appear to have restricted the use of gold plate at table to the princeps (see Friedl. i. p. 150); but golden drinking cups appear to be in use later among rich private persons (Juv. 5, 39).

2. **viros**, 'the male sex.' Silk was worn by women in the Augustan age, when the same transparent garments called 'sericae' by Seneca (de Ben. 7. 9, 5; Ep. 90, 20) were known as 'Coae' to Horace, Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid. Such dresses, unusual amongst modest women, were worn for summer lightness, even after this decree (cp. 3. 53, 5), by effeminate men (Sen. Ep. 114, 20; Plin. N. H. 11. 23, 27, 78), and formed one of the notable extravagances of Gaius (Suet. Cal. 52; Dio, 59. 12, 2). On the 'Seres,' see Mr. Dyer, in Dict. of Geog.

**excessit**, 'went further;' cp. c. 24, 1. This interpretation would be rather against the genuineness of the words below; but in any case it is not necessary to understand 'relationem,' as some such word as 'ceteros' can be supplied.

**postulavit modum**, 'demanded that limit be set;' cp. H. 4. 9, 1.

3. **erat . . . promere.** These words are bracketed by Nipp. as an interpolation, on the ground that they describe a practice of introducing matter wholly outside the question (see on c. 38, 3), whereas Fronto's proposal was not irrelevant. It was, however, at least, a great extension of the motion, from a restriction dealing with two definite points, to a general attack on ostentation in domestic life. If the passage is genuine, we gather that this privilege of digression was rarely, if ever, used in the writer's own time.

4. **e re publica**, 'for the public good:' so 3. 53, 1, etc., and often in Cic. etc.

**loco sententiae**, 'when their turn to speak came:' see c. 37, 3; 38, 3.

7. **Fabricios**, pl. for sing.: cp. 1. 10, 3, etc.

**pecuniam**, 'wealth,' as in 3. 72, 3; 13. 30, 3, etc.; Cic., Liv.

8. **referri** = ἀναφέρεσθαι, 'are relative to.'

9. **gliscere**; used of increase in number (4. 5, 5; 27, 3), but very rarely of persons in any other sense.

10. **nimium aliquid**, etc., 'could this or that thing be called excessive or moderate.'

11. **ex**, 'in relation to:' cp. 'ex . . . utilitatibus' 1. 58, 2; etc.

**distinctos**, sc. 'a censu plebis' (so Walth. and Nipp.): see below ('diversi natura'). On the senatorial census, see 1. 75, 5; on the equestrian, 4. 63, 2.

12. **diversi**, sc. 'senatores equitesque a plebe.' This meaning seems to be required, as both are evidently subj. of 'antistent.'

**sed ut, sicut locis**: so Orelli and

locis ordinibus dignationibus antistent, ita iis quae ad requiem
animi aut salubritatem corporum parentur, nisi forte clarissimo
cuique plures curas, maiora pericula subeunda, delenimentis
6 curarum et periculorum carendum esse. facilem adsensum Gallo
sub nominibus honestis confessio vitiorum et similitudo audi-
entium dedit. adiecerat et Tiberius non id tempus censurae nec,
si quid in moribus labaret, defuturum corrigendi auctorem.

1 **34.** Inter quae L. Piso ambitum fori, corrupta iudicia, sae-
vitiam oratorum accusationes minitantium increpans, abire se et
cedere urbe, victurum in aliquo abdito et longinquo rure testa-
2 batur; simul curiam relinquebat. commotus est Tiberius, et
quamquam mitibus verbis Pisonem permulsisset, propinquos
quoque eius impulit ut abeuntem auctoritate vel precibus tene-
3 rent. haud minus liberi doloris documentum idem Piso mox
dedit vocata in ius Urgulania, quam supra leges amicitia Au-

Halm, after Urlichs, for the MS. 'sed ut locis;' and below 'ita iis' for the MS. '. Talis.' With this reading, 'antistent' is to be again supplied with 'ita iis.' Nipp. reads 'ut, qui . . . dignationibus, antistent et aliis;' supplying 'antistent' again with 'qui.' For other suggestions, see Halm and Orelli, Comm. Crit. There is force in the objection (Wölfflin, Philol. 26. p. 101), that 'quomodo' (or 'quemadmodum') . . . 'ita' (or 'sic'), not 'sicut' . . . 'ita,' is the form regularly used by Tacitus in such sentences (cp. 3. 55, 6; 4. 35, 3; 6. 24, 3, etc.): so that possibly the corruption may be more deepseated, and the stop before 'Talis' in the MS. may indicate a gap: see Pfitzner, p. 21.

1. **locis ordinibus**; the former refers to the theatre, the latter to their position as orders of aristocracy.

**dignationibus**: see Introd. v. § 1.

2. **nisi forte**, etc. This Greek construction with accus. and infin. in oratio obliqua, though not without parallel in modal and causal clauses, is noted by Dr. (Synt. und Stil, § 147) as without Latin precedent in hypothetical clauses. Cp. Thuc. 4. 98, 4 *εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον δυνηθῆναι . . . κρατῆσαι κ.τ.λ.*; Hdt. 3. 105, 2 *εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ, κ.τ.λ.* For other Graecisms in Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 95.

5. **sub nominibus honestis**: taken closely with 'confessio vitiorum' and referring to the speech: 'his admissions veiled under euphemisms, and the fellow feeling of his audience.' For 'honesta nomina,' cp. 14. 21, 1.

6. **adiecerat**, = 'addiderat:' so used of speakers, with accus. and inf., 4. 21, 3; 70, 7; 14. 50, 2; 15. 16, 2. The usage appears not to be found earlier than Vell. (2. 27, 1, etc.).

7. **corrigendi auctorem**, referring to his own function as 'corrector morum,' the only form in which the 'censura' at present existed: see Introd. vi. p. 71.

8. **Inter quae.** This would be a distinct 'egressio relationis:' cp. 3. 33, 1, etc.

**L. Piso.** His accusation and death are mentioned in 4. 21. He has been taken to be the same mentioned in c. 32, 4 (see note); in 3. 11, 2; and perhaps in 3. 68, 1; and also to have been brother of Cn. Piso, and consul in 753, B.C. 1.

**ambitum**, 'the solicitation used.' As there were no elections, 'fori' must refer to the law-courts; and the words may be distinguished from 'corrupta iudicia' as 'ambitus' from 'pecunia' in 1. 2, 2. That these taints still clung to the courts would appear from 1. 75, 1.

14. **liberi doloris**, 'out-spoken indignation:' cp. 'libera bilis' Hor. Epod. 4, 10.

15. **Urgulania**, grandmother of Plautius Silvanus (4. 22, 3), probably also of Plautia Urgulanilla, wife of Claudius (Suet. Cl. 26, 27). Her family relations are fully discussed by Borghesi (5, 308), cited by Nipp. on 4. 21.

gustae extulerat. nec aut Urgulania optemperavit, in domum 4
Caesaris spreto Pisone vecta, aut ille abscessit, quamquam Augusta
se violari et imminui quereretur. Tiberius hactenus indulgere 5
matri civile ratus, ut se iturum ad praetoris tribunal, adfuturum
Urgulaniae diceret, processit Palatio, procul sequi iussis mili-
tibus. spectabatur occursante populo compositus ore et ser- 6
monibus variis tempus atque iter ducens, donec propinquis
Pisonem frustra coercentibus deferri Augusta pecuniam, quae
petebatur, iuberet. isque finis rei, ex qua neque Piso inglorius 7
et Caesar maiore fama fuit. ceterum Urgulaniae potentia adeo 8
nimia civitati erat, ut testis in causa quadam, quae apud sena-
tum tractabatur, venire dedignaretur: missus est praetor qui
domi interrogaret, cum virgines Vestales in foro et iudicio audiri,
quotiens testimonium dicerent, vetus mos fuerit.

**35.** Res eo anno prolatas haud referrem, ni pretium foret Cn. 1
Pisonis et Asinii Galli super eo negotio diversas sententias

1. **nec . . . optemperavit.** Walther shows that Piso, who claimed some sum of money, must have cited her publicly ('veni mecum in ius'), and, on her disregard, would have dragged her by force, after 'antestatio,' from the house of Tiberius: cp. 'trahere in ius Urgulaniam domoque principis excire ausus' 4. 21, 1. Tiberius offers to appear as her 'advocatus,' and manages to gain time, during which the money is paid into court by Augusta. All this takes place in one day.

2. **abscessit**: so Halm., Or., Nipp. after Jac. Gron.; for the MS. 'abscissit,' which has also been corrected to 'absistit' and 'abstitit.' We have thus 'abscedebat' (6. 36, 1), and the full expression 'abscedere incepto' (Liv. 26. 7, 2).

3. **violari et imminui**, 'was being affronted and lowered.' The latter verb has accus. pers. only here and in 14. 57, 1.

**hactenus . . . ratus**, 'considering that, on the footing of any other citizen (cp. 1. 12, 6, etc.), he could so far gratify his mother, as to say,' etc.

5. **processit Palatio.** On the abl., cp. c. 19, 2, etc.

**militibus**: see 1. 7, 7.

7. **tempus atque iter**, hendiadys. On such in Tacitus, see Introd. v. §. 76.

9. **neque . . . et**='et Piso non inglorius, et,' etc. 'Nec' and 'neque' have, in and after the Augustan age, the force of 'ne . . . quidem,' whether in the sense of 'not either,' as here and in c. 51, 3; 82, 5; 4. 26, 2, etc.; or in that of 'not even,' as 4. 34, 3. For instances from other authors, see Roby 2232: cp. also note on c. 40, 6; 3. 54, 11.

10. **maiore fama**, for his 'civilitas.' On his practice in causes between himself and citizens, see 4. 6, 7.

12. **missus**, etc. This practice seems to have been subsequently more common: cp. 'ad personas egregias, eosque qui valetudine impediuntur, domum mitti oportet ad iurandum' Paul. Dig. 12. 2, 1, 15.

14. **quotiens**, with subjunct. as in c. 2, 5.

15. **Res prolatas.** The regular expression for the vacation, during which the senate and courts were adjourned for the 'villeggiatura' ('ubi res prolatae sunt quum homines rus eunt' Plaut. Capt. 1. 1, 10): cp. Cic. Mur. 13, 28; Att. 14. 5, 2. etc. The question here was whether this was to be arranged to suit the convenience of Caesar, who had professed an intention to be absent at a time when important Italian and provincial business was to have been transacted. It would appear to have been still his frequent habit to be present in the law courts (cp. 1. 75, 1) as well as the senate.

**pretium**: cp. 1. 57, 4.

2 noscere. Piso, quamquam afuturum se dixerat Caesar, ob id magis agendas censebat, ut absente principe senatum et equites 3 posse sua munia sustinere decorum rei publicae foret. Gallus, quia speciem libertatis Piso praeceperat, nihil satis inlustre aut ex dignitate populi Romani nisi coram et sub oculis Caesaris, eoque conventum Italiae et adfluentis provincias praesentiae 4 eius servanda dicebat. audiente haec Tiberio ac silente magnis utrimque contentionibus acta, sed res dilatae.

1 **36.** Et certamen Gallo adversus Caesarem exortum est. nam censuit in quinquennium magistratuum comitia habenda, utque legionum legati, qui ante praeturam ea militia fungebantur, iam

1. **afuturum**, etc. This would seem to have been a pretence (cp. 1. 47, 5; 4, 4), if the statement of Suetonius (Tib. 38) is to be received, 'biennio continuo post adeptum principatum pedem porta non extulit; sequenti tempore, praeterquam in propinqua oppida et, cum longissime, Antio tenus, nusquam afuit, idque perraro et paucos dies.' In describing this as his habit till the final withdrawal from Rome, Suet. ignores the absence mentioned in 3. 31–64.

2. **agendas.** The ellipse seems due to a desire to avoid the repetition of 'res,' and to vary the natural expression 'non proferendas.'

**ut . . . foret**: so most edd. for the MS. 'ut . . . fore,' for which Jac. Gron. suggests 'et . . . fore,' and Weissenborn 'quod . . . foret.'

**equites**, i. e. the 'iudices.' 'Decuriae equitum' and 'iudicum' are often used as synonymous terms: cp. 3. 30, 2; 14. 20, 7; Suet. Tib. 41, etc. See Introd. vii. p. 87, n. 6.

4. **speciem libertatis praeceperat,** 'had forestalled him in a show of independence.' This was the newest form of flattery: cp. 1. 8, 5. On 'praecipere,' cp. 1. 55, 1, etc.

6. **conventum Italiae.** 'Conventus' has usually a provincial application, but is here used of the 'concourse of Italians' coming to Rome at stated times to transact such business as that arising out of 'vectigalia,' 'scripturae,' lawsuits, etc.

**adfluentis provincias,** 'the influx of the provinces;' i. e. of those provincials whose suits, etc. were carried by appeal to Rome.

8. **dilatae**, a variation from the usual 'prolatae.'

10. **in quinquennium,** 'for five years in advance.' Julius Caesar had already thus arranged elections (Suet. Jul. 76) in view of his absence—ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ χρόνιον στρατείαν ἐξιὼν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς ᾕρητο (App. B. C. 2. 128); and afterwards Vitellius 'comitia in decem annos ordinavit, seque perpetuum consulem' (Suet. Vit. 11). The language of Tiberius below, implying that the list would always be full for five years, would show that the proposal was, not for elections to be held once in five years only, but to designate at once magistrates for five years to come, and afterwards, annually, those for the fifth year from the date.

**utque legionum legati**, etc. The former part of the motion applied to all magistracies, perhaps with exception of the consulship, while this is a special rule affecting the praetorship. The use of the indicative 'fungebantur' shows that the twenty-five actual 'legati legionum' alone (see Introd. vii. p. 105) are contemplated; so that this part of the proposal would relate to the immediate election only, which provided for the next five years. As at other times (cp. H. 1. 48, 5; Agr. 7, 4; Suet. Vesp. 2, 4), it is to be supposed that some of these 'legati' had been already praetors; the remainder would be from the date of this motion ('iam tum') destined as such; with them the princeps would nominate others up to sixty, and distribute them in groups of twelve over the five years. The reason for some special provision respecting these 'legati' might be their necessary absence at the time of candidature. The 'nominatio principis' here, as in 1. 14, 6, would be tantamount to 'commendatio,' from its exact correspondence with the number of vacancies: see Introd. vi. p. 80.

tum praetores destinarentur, princeps duodecim candidatos in
annos singulos nominaret. haud dubium erat eam sententiam 2
altius penetrare et arcana imperii temptari. Tiberius tamen,
quasi augeretur potestas eius, disseruit: grave moderationi suae
tot eligere, tot differre. vix per singulos annos offensiones vitari, 3
quamvis repulsam propinqua spes soletur: quantum odii fore
ab iis qui ultra quinquennium proiciantur. unde prospici posse
quae cuique tam longo temporis spatio mens, domus, fortuna?
superbire homines etiam annua designatione: quid si honorem 4
per quinquennium agitent? quinquiplicari prorsus magistratus, 5
subverti leges, quae sua spatia exercendae candidatorum indus-
triae quaerendisque aut potiundis honoribus statuerint. favorabili
in speciem oratione vim imperii tenuit.

**37.** Censusque quorundam senatorum iuvit. quod magis 1
mirum fuit, quod preces Marci Hortali, nobilis iuvenis, in pau-
pertate manifesta superbius accepisset. nepos erat oratoris 2
Hortensii, inlectus a divo Augusto liberalitate deciens sestertii

1. **destinarentur.** This verb appears used less strictly than 'designo,' so as to denote elections arranged but not yet formally promulgated: cp. 1. 3, 2; Agr. 9, 1, etc.; and the inscription cited on 1. 81, 2; also note on 3. 29, 5.

3. **arcana imperii.** Not, as in H. 1. 4, 2 'secrets relating to the constitution,' but 'secret principles of autocracy:' cp. c. 59, 4; 1. 6, 6. Such a scheme really bound the choice of the princeps five years in advance, precluding a change of purpose, and making those chosen more independent and those not chosen more disaffected.

4. **quasi augeretur.** His power would nominally by five years outlast his life, but such posthumous choice was in fact always liable to be set aside.

**moderationi**: cp. 'modestia' 1. 11, 1, etc. Eckhel (vi. p. 187) notes that the inscription 'Moderationi,' with an effigy, appears on one of his coins.

5. **tot eligere,** etc. This refers to the first election of sixty praetors, etc.

8. **domus,** family connexions.

9. **annua,** 'a year in advance.' Probably as a fact the usual period of designation was less (see 1. 14; 15); but the subject is one of some difficulty: see Nipp.'s note here.

10. **agitent,** sc. 'animo,' 'assumed the airs of magistrates;' answering to 'superbire' above. The 'magistratus designati' had a quasi-official position, especially in the senate; and thus magistrates themselves might by a figure of speech be said to be multiplied fivefold.

**quinquiplicari,** *ἅπ. εἰρ.*, coined on the analogy of 'multiplicari,' etc.

12. **favorabili oratione,** 'a popular speech:' so again 12. 6, 1: cp. H. 2. 97, 4; Dial. 7, 1. The word is first found in Vell., also in Quint. and Pl. min.

15. **Censusque . . . iuvit.** Other such gifts are mentioned in 1. 75, 5, and this practice is spoken of as frequent with him by Vell. (2. 129, 3) and Dio (57. 10, 3).

16. **Hortali.** The orator is called Hortalus in Cic. Att. 4. 15, 4.

**in paupertate manifesta.** The habits of the family seem to explain this. The extravagances of the great orator (see Dean Liddell, in Dict. of Biog. p. 527), and the low tastes and profligacy of his son (Cic. Att. 6. 3, 9; 10. 4, 6), are on record; and the remnant of the latter's property must have been lost by his proscription (Plut. Brut. 28, 996). This Hortalus would appear to have got through the gift of Augustus; and Hortensius Corbio, probably his brother, has the most infamous of characters in Val. Max. 3. 5, 4.

17. **accepisset.** This mood and tense are used as giving the view of those whose wonder is mentioned.

18. **inlectus,** 'induced.' The word is

ducere uxorem, suscipere liberos, ne clarissima familia extingue-
3 retur. igitur quattuor filiis ante limen curiae adstantibus, loco
sententiae, cum in Palatio senatus haberetur, modo Hortensii
inter oratores sitam imaginem modo Augusti intuens, ad hunc
4 modum coepit: 'patres conscripti, hos, quorum numerum et
pueritiam videtis, non sponte sustuli, sed quia princeps monebat;
5 simul maiores mei meruerant ut posteros haberent. nam ego,
qui non pecuniam, non studia populi neque eloquentiam, gentile
domus nostrae bonum, varietate temporum accipere vel parare
potuissem, satis habebam, si tenues res meae nec mihi pudori
nec cuiquam oneri forent. iussus ab imperatore uxorem duxi.
6 en stirps et progenies tot consulum, tot dictatorum. nec ad
7 invidiam ista, sed conciliandae misericordiae refero. adsequentur
florente te, Caesar, quos dederis honores: interim Q. Hortensii
pronepotes, divi Augusti alumnos ab inopia defende.'
1 **38.** Inclinatio senatus incitamentum Tiberio fuit quo prom-
2 tius adversaretur, his ferme verbis usus: 'si quantum pauperum

thus used without a bad sense in 13. 37, 4; Vell. 2. 89, 4. On its use with simple inf., see Introd. v. § 43.

**liberalitate**; abst. for concr.: cp. Introd. v. § 1. The word is used especially by Tacitus of imperial gifts to individuals (4. 20, 1; H. 1. 20, 2); as also by Suet. (Tib. 46, etc.).

**deciens sestertii**: see on 1. 75, 5. Suet. (Aug. 41), who seems wrong in stating that the senatorial census was fixed at 1,200,000 H. S., says that Augustus 'supplevit non habentibus.' On the support given by him and Tiberius to aristocratic families, see Introd. vii. p. 85; Friedl. i. p. 233.

2. **loco sententiae**: see c. 33, 2.

3. **in Palatio.** Probably in the library of Apollo, where Augustus in old age often held the senate (Suet. Aug. 29), and where were the medallions ('clipei' c. 83, 4) of orators, etc.

4. **sitam**: cp. c. 7, 3; 1. 39, 4, etc.

8. **gentile . . . bonum.** Nipp. notes that the combination of 'gentile' and 'domus' ('the family gift of our house') strengthens the expression. According to Val. Max. (8. 3, 3), the oratory of Hortensius passed on only to his daughter, who once pleaded before the triumvirs against a 'tributum' laid on matrons.

9. **accipere vel parare potuissem.** His paternal inheritance was, no doubt, lost (see above); but the change of times interposed no such bar to his advancement as is here pleaded. The tenses of 'potuissem' and 'habebam' refer to the time before his marriage, and the mood of the former is causal.

10. **satis habebam, si**: so 4. 38, 1.

12. **stirps.** Nipp. takes this to mean 'the stem' of future consuls, etc., in contrast to 'progenies:' but the words are more probably synonyms; for 'stirps' is used by poets, in this sense, of the 'scion,' and Tacitus seems here to be repeating Ovid, 'stirps haec progeniesque mea est' (Trist. 3. 14, 14).

**tot.** Among the Hortensii, one dictator, the author of the 'Lex Hortensia' (468, B.C. 286), one consul, the orator (685, B.C. 69), and one cos. design. (646, B.C. 108), can alone be found. But this rhetorical flourish may have had further support from the honours of other families connected with them. The orator had married a Lutatia and a Marcia.

**ad invidiam,** etc. On the variation of construction, cp. c. 6, 4.

16. **incitamentum,** etc. Nipp. sees in this mere malignity; but probably Walther is right in laying the stress on 'promptius.' He had made up his mind, and, seeing the sympathy of the senate, spoke at once before it had gone too far.

est venire huc et liberis suis petere pecunias coeperint, singuli
numquam exsatiabuntur, res publica deficiet. nec sane ideo a 3
maioribus concessum est egredi aliquando relationem et quod in
commune conducat loco sententiae proferre, ut privata negotia
et res familiares nostras hic augeamus, cum invidia senatus et
principum, sive indulserint largitionem sive abnuerint. non enim 4
preces sunt istud, sed efflagitatio, intempestiva quidem et in-
provisa, cum aliis de rebus convenerint patres, consurgere et
numero atque aetate liberum suorum urguere modestiam senatus,
eandem vim in me transmittere ac velut perfringere aerarium,
quod si ambitione exhauserimus, per scelera supplendum erit.
dedit tibi, Hortale, divus Augustus pecuniam, sed non conpel- 5
latus nec ea lege ut semper daretur. languescet alioqui industria, 6
intendetur socordia, si nullus ex se metus aut spes, et securi
omnes aliena subsidia exspectabunt, sibi ignavi, nobis graves.'
haec atque talia, quamquam cum adsensu audita ab iis, quibus 7
omnia principum, honesta atque inhonesta, laudare mos est,
plures per silentium aut occultum murmur excepere. sensitque 8
Tiberius; et cum paulum reticuisset, Hortalo se respondisse ait:
ceterum si patribus videretur, daturum liberis eius ducena ses-
tertia singulis, qui sexus virilis essent. egere alii grates: siluit 9

3. **egredi aliquando relationem**, etc.: see c. 33, 2. As earlier instances we have the famous 'sententia' of Cato ('ceterum censeo delendam esse Karthaginem'), and an extant speech of Cicero (Phil. 7), in which the 'relationes,' on wholly different matters, are noticed in a few words at the beginning and end. For later instances, see 3. 33, 1; 4. 74, 3; 13. 26, 1. In 15. 20–22, a speech of this kind is suggested by some matter before the house. In 13. 49, 2, the practice is said to be, after speaking on extraneous matters, 'relationem in ea postulare.'

5. **augeamus**, taken by zeugma with 'negotia:' 'push our own business and increase our means.'

6. **indulserint . . . abnuerint**. These are explained by Nipp. as fut. exact. The MS. has 'abnuerunt;' but the 'u' appears to have been written in an erasure.

7. **istud**: cp. 1. 49, 4.

9. **modestiam**. Orelli explains this as the delicacy which would make them unwilling to refuse a brother senator.

11. **ambitione**, 'by favouritism:' cp. 1. 67, 4, etc.

13. **alioqui**, 'otherwise,' i. e. if it were always to be given: cp. 11. 6, 2; and note on 4. 11, 4. The use of 'intendere' in the sense of 'to magnify,' as in c. 57, 3; 4. 11, 4; 26, 2; 40, 4, etc., is almost wholly Tacitean.

14. **ex se metus**. Nipp. takes this to mean 'selfrespect;' but it appears to answer to 'socordia,' as 'spes' to 'industria.' He also notes instances from Cic. etc., of a reference of 'se' and 'suus' to a subject implied in the context.

16. **quibus . . . est**. Nipp. notes the resemblance to Sallust: cp. 'quis omnia, honesta atque inhonesta, vendere mos est' Jug. 80, 5: see also Cat. 30, 4; Jug. 31, 12.

18 **excepere**. Here, as in several other places (cp. Orell. on c. 2; Pfitzner, p. 50, etc.), an interlineator has altered the hist. inf. originally standing in the MS. to a perfect. In most instances editors have adopted the correction.

20. **ducena sestertia**. The census of the fourth decury of 'iudices' (Suet. Aug. 32). As there were four sons (c. 37, 3), this gift amounts to four fifths of that of Augustus.

Hortalus, pavore an avitae nobilitatis etiam inter angustias for-
tunae retinens. neque miseratus est posthac Tiberius, quamvis
domus Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam delaberetur.

1 **39.** Eodem anno mancipii unius audacia, ni mature sub-
ventum foret, discordiis armisque civilibus rem publicam per-
2 culisset. Postumi Agrippae servus, nomine Clemens, conperto
fine Augusti pergere in insulam Planasiam et fraude aut vi
raptum Agrippam ferre ad exercitus Germanicos non servili
3 animo concepit. ausa eius inpedivit tarditas onerariae navis;
atque interim patrata caede ad maiora et magis praecipitia con-
versus furatur cineres vectusque Cosam Etruriae promunturium
ignotis locis sese abdit, donec crinem barbamque promitteret:
4 nam aetate et forma haud dissimili in dominum erat. tum per
idoneos et secreti eius socios crebrescit vivere Agrippam, occultis

1. **pavore an . . . retinens.** On the construction, see 1. 13, 7. 'Retinens' has a genitive in 5. 11, 2; 6. 42, 1, etc.: also in Cic. ad Q. F. 1. 2, 3, 11. Cp. Introd. v. § 33 d.

4. **Eodem anno.** Dio (57. 16, 3) agrees with Tacitus in assigning this event to this year. The time of the year is not fixed in either author. Suetonius (Tib. 25) confuses the original with the subsequent design, and states that Clemens, at the death of Augustus, 'non contemnendam manum in ultionem domini compararat.'

5. **perculisset**: so 'indicio percellere aliquem' 4. 31, 7; 'crimine percelli' 13. 32, 2; 14. 65, 2. The metaphor is taken from throwing a person down.

8. **Germanicos.** He had no such personal connexion with them as that which recommended this course to Agrippina (4. 67, 6); but this army was known to be ripe for revolt.

9. **concepit.** This verb takes sometimes a simple inf. or accus. and inf., as 'ut mens conciperet fieri oportere' Cic. Off. 3. 29, 107; 'concepit esse homines,' etc., Vell. 2. 117, 3.

**ausa.** This subst. appears first in Vergil, and in prose from Plin. mai.: cp. 3. 66, 4; 13. 47, 4.

10. **patrata caede**: see 1. 6.

**praecipitia**, used of desperate or dangerous courses in 15. 29, 1 'omissis praecipitibus tuta . . . capessentem.'

11. **furatur cineres.** This would destroy the chief evidence of Agrippa's death.

**Cosam.** Cosa or Cosae (Verg. Aen. 10, 167; Strab. etc.) is properly the name of the city, situate on a hill on the mainland (Strab. 5. 2, 8, 225); the peninsular promontory projecting in front of it being known from the fifth century (Rutilius) to the present day by a distinct name as Mons Argentarius. This correction for the MS. 'coram' is from Lips.

**promunturium.** This, the form of the word in the MS., is supported by Inscr. Orelli 3671 (of the time of Trajan), and Henzen 5148.

12. **crinem barbamque promitteret**: 'nam' implies that this was adopted as an additional resemblance. Nipp. notes that such was not the normal Roman mode, but may have been copied from the unkempt state of Agrippa in his banishment.

13. **dissimili in.** The preposition has the force of πρός, and the expression is nearly equivalent to a simple dative: see Introd. v. § 60 b, and note on 1. 76, 5. To this passage the nearest parallels are 'similitudo . . . rei . . . ad . . . rem' Cic. Inv. 1. 44, 82; 'in deae . . . speciem similis' Apul. Met. 10, 30. 738.

**tum**, etc. These few lines describe his action for nearly two years. Tacitus would imply that he merely skulked about Italy and spread rumours; while Dio (57. 16, 3) gives a less probable version, making him collect a large body of followers in Gaul as well as Italy, and almost descend in force on Rome.

14. **secreti**, 'place of retreat:' cp. 4. 54, 4; 57, 2; 14. 53, 3. So used in pl. by Vergil (G. 4, 403, etc.).

primum sermonibus, ut vetita solent, mox vago rumore apud
inperitissimi cuiusque promtas aures aut rursum apud turbidos
eoque nova cupientes. atque ipse adire municipia obscuro diei, 5
neque propalam aspici neque diutius isdem locis, sed quia veritas
visu et mora, falsa festinatione et incertis valescunt, relinquebat
famam aut praeveniebat.

**40.** Vulgabatur interim per Italiam servatum munere deum 1
Agrippam, credebatur Romae; iamque Ostiam invectum multi-
tudo ingens, iam in urbe clandestini coetus celebrabant, cum Tibe-
rium anceps cura distrahere, vine militum servum suum coerceret
an inanem credulitatem tempore ipso vanescere sineret: modo 2
nihil spernendum, modo non omnia metuenda ambiguus pudoris
ac metus reputabat. postremo dat negotium Sallustio Crispo.
ille e clientibus duos (quidam milites fuisse tradunt) deligit atque 3
hortatur, simulata conscientia adeant, offerant pecuniam, fidem
atque pericula polliceantur. exsequuntur ut iussum erat. dein 4
speculati noctem incustoditam, accepta idonea manu, vinctum
clauso ore in Palatium traxere. percontanti Tiberio, quo modo 5
Agrippa factus esset, respondisse fertur 'quo modo tu Caesar.'

**crebrescit,** 'the story grows.' The verb is first found in Verg., and is used by Tacitus in this sense in H. 2. 67, 1; but here alone with acc. and inf. The more ordinary sense is found in 3. 60, 2, etc.

1. **apud . . . rursum**: see note on 1. 31, 5; 80, 3.

3. **obscuro diei**: cp. 'sero diei' c. 21, 4; 'obscuro . . . coeptae lucis' H. 4. 50, 2.

5. **incertis**; in contrast to 'visu,' as 'festinatione' to 'mora.' On such neuter plurals used for abst. nouns, see Introd. v. § 4 c.

**valescunt**: cp. 4. 61, 2; 6. 42, 2; H. 1. 32, 4. The verb appears to be taken from Lucr. 1. 942, etc.

**relinquebat famam aut praeveniebat**; i. e. when he left a place, it was because he was becoming too well known; when he chose another to visit, it was one where the story had not spread. We should rather have expected 'praeveniebat et relinquebat.'

9. **celebrabant** = 'colebant,' as 'obsequio aliquem celebrare' 16. 33, 1: cp. the similar use of 'frequentabatur' of the pseudo-Drusus (5. 10, 3). It is thought by Ritt. and Doed. that Clemens did not venture into Rome; but it is more natural to take 'celebrabant' in the same sense in both clauses, and it seems otherwise to be implied that he was arrested within the city.

10. **suum,** emphatic, as 'libertum suum' H. 2. 65, 3. The establishment of Agrippa, irrespectively of his banishment, vested strictly in Augustus as his adoptive father (see Suet. Tib. 15); and any slaves retained, when his property was made over to the 'aerarium militare' (Dio, 55. 32, 2), would have passed to the heirs of Augustus.

11. **vanescere**: cp. c. 82, 8; 4. 37, 5; 5. 9, 1, etc. The verb is poetical, but in Quint. and Pl. Ep.

12. **ambiguus**: cp. c. 24, 6.

13. **Sallustio Crispo**: see 1. 6, 6.

15. **conscientia,** 'complicity:' cp. 'conscii' 1. 48, 4, etc. Their pretence was not that they believed him to be Agrippa, but that they understood his plot, and would help it.

16. **pericula.** This may possibly mean 'daring deeds,' as perhaps 'eviluissent pericula sua' (H. 3. 53, 1); or the construction may be pregnant (= 'societatem periculorum'), as others noted in Introd. v. § 84.

18. **quo modo Agrippa.** Halm inclines to agree with Wölfflin (Philol. 30, 744),

6 ut ederet socios subigi non potuit. nec Tiberius poenam eius palam ausus, in secreta Palatii parte interfici iussit corpusque clam auferri. et quamquam multi e domo principis equitesque ac senatores sustentasse opibus, iuvisse consiliis dicerentur, haud quaesitum.

1 **41.** Fine anni arcus propter aedem Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii, et aedes Fortis Fortunae Tiberim iuxta in hortis, quos Caesar dictator populo Romano legaverat, sacrarium genti Iuliae effigiesque divo Augusto apud Bovillas dicantur.

2 C. Caelio L. Pomponio consulibus Germanicus Caesar a. d. VII. Kal. Iunias triumphavit de Cheruscis Chattisque et Angri-

that probably 'quonam modo' should be read.

**quo modo tu**, *οὕτως ὡς καὶ σὺ Καῖσαρ* (Dio, l. l.), i. e. by fraud.

1. **nec Tiberius . . . ausus**, for 'et Tiberius non ausus.' 'Nec' is thus used in 12. 7, 3; 59, 3; 14. 58, 2, etc.: see note on c. 34, 7, and Nipp. here.

6. **arcus**. Fragments have been found in this locality, on the inscription of which the words 'RECIP,' possibly 'signis reciperatis,' can be made out. C. I. L. vi. 1, 906.

**aedem Saturni**, in the Forum, near the 'milliarium aureum' (H. 1. 27, 3), at the foot of the Capitoline Hill. The prominent group of eight Ionic columns still standing there has been generally supposed to have formed part of it. It was also used as the aerarium.

**recepta signa**: see 1. 60, 4, and c. 25, 2. A coin is extant, representing Germanicus in a triumphal chariot, holding in each hand an eagle, with the inscription, 'Signis Recept. Devictis Germ. S. C.' Eckhel, vi. 209; Cohen, i. 225, 7.

7. **auspiciis**: cp. c. 18, 2; 22, 1.

8. **Fortis Fortunae**: cp. 'O Fortuna, O Fors Fortuna' Ter. Phorm. 5. 6, 1, where Donatus explains the latter expression to mean 'Fortunae adventus bonus.' The gardens bequeathed by the dictator Caesar (Suet. Jul. 83) were beyond the Tiber (Hor. Sat. 1. 9, 18); so that this temple would be probably on or near the site of the older ones, dedicated in that quarter by Servius Tullius (Varr. L. L. 6, 17), and, in 461, B.C. 293, by Sp. Carvilius (Liv. 10. 46, 14); where the festival of the goddess was held on the 24th of June (Ov. Fast. 6, 771, etc.). See Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 554.

9. **sacrarium**, etc. At Bovillae, about ten 'millia passuum' from Rome on the Via Appia, an altar had stood in the last century of the Republic inscribed 'Vediovei Patrei Genteiles Iuliei. Aara Leege Albana dicata' (Inscr. Orell. 1287 = C. I. L. i. 807. See also a drawing of it in Gell. Rome and Vicin. i. p. 218). The connexion of the Iulii with the place is explained by its claim to have been a daughter city of Alba Longa (cp. 'Albani Longani Bovillenses' Insc. Orell. 119, etc.), and by the well-known claim of this gens to have sprung from Iulus the founder of Alba. Circensian games are also mentioned as held there in their honour (15. 23, 3); and the sanctuary was in charge of the 'sodales Augustales,' fragments of whose register have been found there. See Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 450.

11. **C. Caelio**. This, the MS. reading, and *Καικίλιος*, that of Dio, 57. 17, 1, are both confirmed by fragments of old kalendars. For the first, see Henzen 6442, and 7419 d, $\beta$; and for the latter, 6444. The 'Argumentum' to Dio 57 adds, *Νέπως ἢ Ῥοῦφος*; whence Nipp. thinks it probable that this consul (who is otherwise unknown) bore by adoption or otherwise the names both of 'Caecilius Metellus Nepos,' and of 'Caelius Rufus.' On the other consul L. Pomponius Flaccus, see c. 32, 3.

**a. d. VII. Kal. Iunias**, May 26. Strabo, who may have been an eyewitness, describes this triumph (7. 1, 4, p. 292), mentioning the principal persons led in it (see on 1. 57, 3; 58, 9; 71, 1), and

variis quaeque aliae nationes usque ad Albim colunt. vecta 3
spolia, captivi, simulacra montium, fluminum, proeliorum; bellumque, quia conficere prohibitus erat, pro confecto accipiebatur.
augebat intuentium visus eximia ipsius species currusque quinque 4
liberis onustus. sed suberat occulta formido reputantibus haud 5
prosperum in Druso patre eius favorem vulgi, avunculum eiusdem Marcellum flagrantibus plebis studiis intra iuventam ereptum, breves et infaustos populi Romani amores.

**42.** Ceterum Tiberius nomine Germanici trecenos plebi ses- 1
tertios viritim dedit seque collegam consulatui eius destinavit. nec ideo sincerae caritatis fidem adsecutus amoliri iuvenem specie honoris statuit struxitque causas aut forte oblatas arripuit. rex 2
Archelaus quinquagensimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, in-

the conquered tribes represented in it by captives, some of whom, as the Chattuarii, Landi, etc., have not been mentioned during these campaigns by Tacitus.

**Angrivariis.** He had certainly crossed their frontier (c. 19, 3; 20, 2); so that this does not depend upon the reading in c. 8, 4, etc.

1. **ad Albim**: cp. c. 22, 1.

2. **simulacra.** Thus a plan of Sardinia was exhibited in 577, B.C. 177 (Liv. 41. 28, 10), and many such representations in the triumph of Titus (Jos. B. I. 7. 5, 5).

4. **augebat intuentium visus.** This is generally taken to mean, 'made the sight offered to spectators more splendid;' 'visus' being taken as in 12. 13, 5, etc., and pl. for sing. as in H. 4. 83, 2. But the addition of 'intuentium' seems to show that we are rather to take the words to mean that 'their gaze was made more intense;' i. e. they were riveted by his appearance.

**quinque.** Of the six who survived him, one was yet unborn: see c. 54, 1.

5. **reputantibus.** Nipp. explains this as abl. abs. (see Introd. v. § 31 c), and takes 'suberat' absolutely, as in 3. 30, 5, etc.

6. **in Druso,** 'in the case of Drusus:' cp. Roby 1978; Madv. 230, Obs. 1. Tacitus has usually 'favor in aliquem,' as 1. 33, 4; c. 73, 6; 13. 10, 3, etc.

**avunculum.** Marcellus (see 1. 3, 1) was half-brother to Antonia, the mother of Germanicus. He was twenty, Drusus thirty years old at his death.

9. **trecenos.** The 'congiaria' of Augustus, as enumerated by himself (Mon. Anc. iii. 7–21), are given in shares of from 240 to 400 H. S. to a number usually not less than a quarter of a million. Marquardt (ii. p. 134) estimates the recipients at this time at 200,000.

10. **collegam consulatui**: see c. 53, 1.

11. **amoliri,** 'to get rid of:' so 'Octaviam amoliri' 14. 59, 4; H. 1. 13, 8.

13. **quinquagensimum.** The narrative is shown below to date back to the accession of Tiberius, which was just fifty years after Antonius had set Archelaus on the throne, in 718, B.C. 36 (Dio, 49. 32, 3). He was descended from the famous general of Mithridates (Dio, l. l.). Augustus had confirmed and added to his dominions (Id. 54. 9, 2), and Tiberius had once defended him against the complaint of his subjects (Id. 57. 17, 3). He bears on his coins the title Philopatris.

**Cappadocia.** The inland country properly so called is separated by Mts. Taurus and Amanus from Cilicia and Commagene, by another mountain range from Pontus on the north, by the Euphrates from greater Armenia on the East; and borders west on Lycaonia and Galatia. The chief of its unimportant towns (Strab. 12. 537) were Mazaca and Tyana, and the chief article of commerce appears to have been its slaves (Hor. Epp. 1. 6, 39). See Strab. 12. 534, etc.; and Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 207, etc. Besides this country, Archelaus had Armenia Minor, which was not added to the provincial empire till later (cp. 11. 9, 3; 13. 7, 2), and some districts on the Cilician coast (Dio, 54, 9, 2).

visus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset.
3 nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti
monitus, quia florente Gaio Caesare missoque ad res orientis
4 intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. ut versa Caesarum subole
imperium adeptus est, elicit Archelaum matris literis, quae non
dissimulatis filii offensionibus clementiam offerebat, si ad pre-
5 candum veniret. ille ignarus doli vel, si intellegere crederetur,
vim metuens in urbem properat; exceptusque immiti a principe
et mox accusatus in senatu, non ob crimina quae fingebantur,
set angore, simul fessus senio et quia regibus aequa, nedum
6 infima insolita sunt, finem vitae sponte an fato implevit. regnum
in provinciam redactum est, fructibusque eius levari posse cen-
tesimae vectigal professus Caesar ducentesimam in posterum
7 statuit. per idem tempus Antiocho Commagenorum, Philopa-
tore Cilicum regibus defunctis turbabantur nationes, plerisque
Romanum, aliis regium imperium cupientibus; et provinciae Suria
atque Iudaea, fessae oneribus, deminutionem tributi orabant.

1. **Rhodi agentem**: see Introd. viii. p. 114.

4. **versa.** The use of this verb for 'everto' (as 3. 36, 3; 54, 1; 12. 45, 5) is from poets.

9. **mox accusatus.** This interval brings down the narrative to the date of the current year.

**crimina**: ὡς καὶ νεωτερίζοντά τι Dio, 57. 17, 4; where it is added that he escaped condemnation (ἐσώθη) but died soon after. Philostratus (Vit. Apoll. Ty. 1, 12) states that the governor, probably the procurator (Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 229), of Cilicia was involved in the charge.

10. **aequa,** 'equality:' cp. 'aequi impatiens' 6. 25, 3.

12. **in provinciam.** The decree passed now was carried out next year (c. 56, 4).

**centesimae**: see 1. 78, 2. If Dio is to be trusted, the tax was again raised to its former amount after the fall of Seianus (58. 16, 2) and abolished by Gaius in 791, A. D. 38 (59. 9, 7). But coins of 792, A. D. 39, are inscribed R. C. C. = 'remissa ducentesima' (Eckhel, vi. p 224). Suetonius (Cal. 16) speaks of that remission as if only applying to one kind of sales ('ducentesima auctionum'): see Nipp. on 1. 78.

14. **Antiocho Commagenorum.** Commagene, a strip of land bounded N. by Mt. Amanus, E. by the Euphrates, S. and W. by the provinces of Syria and Cilicia, may be called the last vestige of the domain of the Seleucidae, with whom its kings still claimed affinity. In this dynasty, the Antiochus here mentioned was third of the name. On the establishment of the province, and subsequent restoration of royalty, cp. c. 56, 5. Its most noted city was Samosata: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 240.

14. **Philopatore Cilicum.** This prince, the second of his name, held the petty kingdom ruled by Tarcondimotus in Cicero's time (ad Fam. 15. 1, 2). It lay on the slope of Amanus, adjoining Commagene, and appears to have shared from this time the fortune of that country: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 228; and Walther here.

15. **regibus.** Nipp. collects many instances of this use of the plural, as 'pulsis' 3. 62, 1; 'dominantibus' 6. 28, 4, etc; and shows that Tacitus generally uses the plural of a finite verb with more than one singular subject, as 'deseruere' 1. 68, 6;' 'erant' c. 53, 3; 'censuissent' 3. 18, 3, etc.

**plerisque Romanum,** etc. As regards Commagene, Josephus (Ant. 18. 2, 5) states that the nobles were for Roman, the people for kingly, rule.

16. **Suria.** On this, the greatest and most important eastern province, see

**43.** Igitur haec et de Armenia quae supra memoravi apud 1
patres disseruit, nec posse motum orientem nisi Germanici sapientia conponi: nam suam aetatem vergere, Drusi nondum
satis adolevisse. tunc decreto patrum permissae Germanico 2
provinciae quae mari dividuntur, maiusque imperium, quoquo
adisset, quam iis qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent. sed 3
Tiberius demoverat Suria Creticum Silanum, per adfinitatem connexum Germanico, quia Silani filia Neroni vetustissimo liberorum eius pacta erat, praefeceratque Cn. Pisonem, ingenio violentum et obsequii ignarum, insita ferocia a patre Pisone, qui civili bello resurgentes in Africa partes acerrimo ministerio adversus Caesarem iuvit, mox Brutum et Cassium secutus, concesso reditu petitione honorum abstinuit, donec ultro ambiretur

Introd. vii. p. 100; Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 234. Its legatus at this time also governed Cilicia (see c. 78, 3; 80, 1), and was also the immediate superior of the procurators of Judaea, etc.

**Iudaea.** This country was then under the procurator Valerius Gratus (Jos. Ant. 18. 2, 2). This petition for reduction of tribute appears to be not otherwise known to us.

1. **supra**: see c. 4.

3. **vergere**, 'was declining.' This verb is used of time (as 4. 8, 5; 11. 4, 4; 12. 44, 5; 13. 38, 7), or inclination (Sen., etc.), by writers of this age only. Tiberius was fifty-nine, Germanicus thirty-one, Drusus about twenty-nine. See Introd. ix.

5. **quae mari dividuntur.** In the parallel expression 'quicquid armorum mari dirimitur' (H. 1. 76, 5), the Asiatic and African provinces are meant. Macedonia and Achaia would also fall within such a definition, and the latter was visited by Germanicus (c. 53), though probably not officially. Egypt, though seemingly within the terms of the decree, was not meant to be included (c. 59, 3).

**maiusque imperium.** This appears, though not distinctly stated as such, to have been an extension to the East of the 'proconsulare imperium' held by Germanicus in the West (see 1. 14, 4). It would thus naturally be an 'imperium maius,' not only to that of 'legati pro-praetore,' but also, as was that of Caesar (Introd. vi. p. 69), to that of ordinary proconsuls. Gaius Caesar, whose mission was the most natural precedent to have been followed, is stated to have held this rank (Zon. 10. 36, 1539 c); and such may also be supposed to have been the position of Agrippa in the δεκαετὴς διοίκησις stated (Jos. Ant. 16. 3, 3) to have been held by him in the East (see Momms. on Mon. Anc. p. 113): also Corbulo subsequently had a power which is compared to that formerly given to Cn. Pompeius (cp. 15. 25, 6).

6. **sorte . . . obtinerent.** A general designation of the proconsuls of senatorial provinces: see on 3. 32, 2, etc.

7. **Creticum Silanum.** Q. Caecilius Q. f. M. n. Metellus Creticus Silanus had been consul in 760, A.D. 7, and legate of Syria certainly since 764, A.D. 11. For the evidence, and further particulars respecting him, see Momms. on Mon. Anc. p. 115; and Nipp. here.

8. **filia.** For the inscription recording this betrothal, see Introd. ii. p. 8. She must have died in or before 773, A.D. 21 (see 3. 29, 4).

9. **Cn. Pisonem.** On the probable motive for selecting him, see Introd. viii. p. 120.

10. **violentum**: 'cui placebat pro constantia rigor' is the character given to him by Seneca (de Ira, 1. 18, 3–6), who illustrates it by his unjust and passionate execution of three soldiers as proconsul. Hence Nipp. argues that his proconsulate must have been that of Africa, where the proconsul had a legion under him.

**ferocia**: cp. 1. 12, 6, etc.

11. **in Africa**, in 707, 708, B.C. 47, 46. Cn. Piso is mentioned as a leader of Numidian auxiliaries in Bell. Afr. 3, 1; 18, 1.

13. **ambiretur**, 'was solicited.' On the inf. with such verbs, see Introd. v. § 43. Piso was cos. in 731, B.C. 23, the year of

4 delatum ab Augusto consulatum accipere. sed praeter paternos
spiritus uxoris quoque Plancinae nobilitate et opibus accende-
batur; vix Tiberio concedere, liberos eius ut multum infra de-
spectare. nec dubium habebat se delectum, qui Suriae impone-
5 retur ad spes Germanici coercendas. credidere quidam data et
a Tiberio occulta mandata; et Plancinam haud dubie Augusta
monuit aemulatione muliebri Agrippinam insectandi. divisa
namque et discors aula erat tacitis in Drusum aut Germanicum
6 studiis. Tiberius ut proprium et sui sanguinis Drusum fovebat:
Germanico alienatio patrui amorem apud ceteros auxerat, et
quia claritudine materni generis anteibat, avum M. Antonium,
7 avunculum Augustum ferens. contra Druso proavus eques Ro-
manus Pomponius Atticus dedecere Claudiorum imagines vide-
batur: et coniunx Germanici Agrippina fecunditate ac fama
Liviam uxorem Drusi praecellebat. sed fratres egregie con-
cordes et proximorum certaminibus inconcussi.

the eleventh consulship of Augustus. The Arg. to Dio 55 appears to confuse the father and son and imply this to have the first consulship of the latter, by styling him cos. II, in 747, B.C. 7.

2. **Plancinae.** Her full name was Munatia Plancina (Dio, 58. 22, 5), so that she would appear to have been sister of the person mentioned in 1. 39, 4, and daughter or granddaughter of the famous Plancus, whose honours are collected on his tombstone at Gaeta (I. R. N. 4089, Insc. Orell. 590), 'L. Munatius, L. f., L. n., L. pron., Plancus, cos., cens., imp., iter., vii vir epulon., triump. ex Raetis, aedem Saturni fecit de manibis, agros divisit in Italia Beneventi, in Gallia colonias deduxit Lugudunum et Rauricam.' His censorship, in 732, B.C. 22, was, to this date, the last tenure of that office.

3. **infra.** Nipp. notes the rarity of this metaphorical use of the word as adverb: cp. Plin. N. H. 28. 8, 28, 108 'multum infra magnitudine;' and the use of 'super' in 1. 68, 2.

**despectare**: so in H. 2. 30, 2; not in earlier prose: cp. Introd. v. § 70. Tacitus often uses, and sometimes (Id. § 69) coins such frequentatives. On the family pride still retained by old houses under the early principate, see Introd. vii. p. 85, and further illustrations in Friedl. i. p. 215.

7. **insectandi.** I have here, with Nipp., retained the MS. text, for which Orelli and Halm (who had at one time suggested 'insectari') follow Madvig and Bezzenb. in reading 'insectans.' See Halm's Comm. Crit. We should certainly expect 'monuit' to be accompanied by some explanation of the nature of the hints given, nor can it well be explained, like 'mandata,' by the context 'ad spes . . . coercendas.' Such explanation would naturally be put in an infinitive; but a gerundial gen., besides being consistent with the general usage of 'admoneo,' is found with that verb in late Latin ('admonitus abeundi' Donat. Praef. Ter. Ad.); and 'moneo' takes a gen. on the analogy of its compound in 1. 67, 1. It seems better thus to take the genitive, than to class it (with Roth, and Zumpt, § 663) with such instances as those in 15. 5, 3; 21, 3; or (with Nipp.) with the genitives of purpose, as those in c. 59, 1, etc.

8. **namque.** This explanation is to make it probable that such instructions were given.

10. **patrui.** On the terms of relationship used, see note on 1. 42, 1, and on the relationships here mentioned, see Introd. ix.

12. **avunculum,** 'great uncle:' cp. c. 53, 3, etc., and 'amita' c. 27, 2.

13. **imagines,** 'the ancestry.'

15. **praecellebat.** The accus. with this verb is noted only in Dig. 2. 6, § 5 ('ceteros . . . praecellit'), and (acc. to Nipp.) in a doubtful reading in Sil. 9, 478. Elsewhere, Tacitus uses the verb absolutely: perhaps with dat. in 12. 15, 2.

**egregie concordes.** On a Sardian

**44.** Nec multo post Drusus in Illyricum missus est, ut sues- 1
ceret militiae studiaque exercitus pararet; simul iuvenem urbano
luxu lascivientem melius in castris haberi Tiberius seque tuti-
orem rebatur utroque filio legiones obtinente. sed Suebi prae- 2
tendebantur auxilium adversus Cheruscos orantes; nam discessu
Romanorum ac vacui externo metu gentis adsuetudine et tum
aemulatione gloriae arma in se verterant. vis nationum, virtus 3
ducum in aequo; set Maroboduum regis nomen invisum apud
populares, Arminium pro libertate bellantem favor habebat.

**45.** Igitur non modo Cherusci sociique eorum, vetus Arminii 1
miles, sumpsere bellum, sed e regno etiam Marobodui Suebae
gentes, Semnones ac Langobardi, defecere ad eum. quibus ad- 2

coin, the brothers are styled *νέοι θεοὶ φιλάδελφοι* (Eckh. vi. 211). 'Inconcussus' appears to originate with Sen. and Luc.

1. **Illyricum.** This must here be taken to include the frontier province of Pannonia (cp. 1. 16, 1; 46, 1, etc.), probably also Rhaetia and Noricum (c. 63, 1). Drusus would appear to have been sent with 'imperium maius,' and therefore, like Germanicus, to have had 'imperium proconsulare:' see note on 3. 19, 4. Moesia may also have been within the terms, but must have been outside the practical scope of his commission.

**suesceret,** with dat. as 1. 31, 4, etc.

3. **luxu.** This trait in him is noted in 3. 37, 3.

**seque tutiorem rebatur.** This thought would qualify, without wholly removing, his suspicions of Germanicus. See Introd. viii. p. 120.

4. **Suebi.** On this people, see note on 1. 44, 6.

6. **ac vacui.** The conj. might be taken, with Walther, as explanatory, or, with Nipp., as implying that not only were the Romans gone, but that the Germans were free from all fear of any foreigner; and 'discessu' might be, like 'visu' (3. 14, 3), an abl. of circumstance, closely akin to an abl. absol. But there is much ground for treating 'ac,' with Orelli, as an error arising from the first syllable of 'vacui.'

**gentis adsuetudine:** see note on c. 26, 3.

8. **Maroboduum.** The position, power, and character of this prince are noticed below (c. 63), and more fully described in Vell. 2. 108, 109; where he is shown to have consolidated under a royal title (cp. 'regis nomen' here) in Bohemia, the most powerful combination that had yet been seen among the Germans, with a standing force of 70,000 foot and 4000 horse, in alarming proximity to the Roman frontier.

9. **habebat.** Dräger appears rightly to explain this harsh zeugma by resolving the verb in the first clause, into 'reddebat,' and in the last, into 'sequebatur.' Nipp. takes it, in the second clause, to mean 'held him to be a champion of freedom,' supposing the historian to imply (see c. 88, 3) that he was not really so. But this explanation seems to make the zeugma still harsher, and the word wholly ambiguous.

11. **sumpsere bellum.** This expression, frequent in Sall. and Liv., appears to be taken from Greek: cp. *πόλεμον ἤραντο* Thuc. 3. 39, 3.

12. **Semnones.** These lived beyond the Elbe (Vell. 2. 106, 2), between that river and the Oder; and were reached by Tiberius in 758, A.D. 5, and made terms with Rome (Mon. Anc. v. 17; Vell. l. l.). Strabo (7. 1, 3, 290) notes them as a Suebic race and subject to Maroboduus. In G. 39, 4, they are stated to be numerically the most important subdivision of that race.

**Langobardi.** This famous people, 'gens etiam Germana feritate ferocior' (Vell. l. l.), are first heard of on the south side of the Lower Elbe, next to the Chauci; and are thought to have been among those driven across that river, probably by Tiberius (Suet. Aug. 21). Strabo (l. l.) calls them *Λαγκόβαρδοι*, and places them beyond the Elbe. In the time of Tacitus they were distinguished, though not numerous (G. 40, 1).

ditis praepollebat, ni Inguiomerus cum manu clientium ad Maroboduum perfugisset, non aliam ob causam quam quia fratris filio iuveni patruus senex parere dedignabatur. deri-
3 guntur acies, pari utrimque spe, nec, ut olim apud Germanos, vagis incursibus aut disiectas per catervas: quippe longa adversum nos militia insueverant sequi signa, subsidiis firmari,
4 dicta imperatorum accipere. ac tunc Arminius equo conlustrans cuncta, ut quosque advectus erat, reciperatam libertatem, trucidatas legiones, spolia adhuc et tela Romanis derepta in manibus multorum ostentabat; contra fugacem Maroboduum appellans, proeliorum expertem, Hercyniae latebris defensum; ac mox per dona et legationes petivisse foedus, proditorem patriae, satellitem Caesaris, haud minus infensis animis exturbandum
5 quam Varum Quintilium interfecerint. meminissent modo tot proeliorum, quorum eventu et ad postremum eiectis Romanis satis probatum, penes utros summa belli fuerit.

1 **46.** Neque Maroboduus iactantia sui aut probris in hostem abstinebat, sed Inguiomerum tenens illo in corpore decus omne

1. **Inguiomerus**: see 1. 60, 1, etc., and, on the 'clientes' of a German prince, 1. 57, 4.

3. **iuveni**: see c. 88, 4.

5. **vagis incursibus.** The case appears to be a modal abl. (Introd. v. § 28) answering in the next clause to the accus. with 'per,' and denoting strictly the mode of attack, so closely connected with the mode of arrangement as to be equivalent to it. It seems better to take the words thus, with Nipp., than as abl. abs., with Orelli, or as a dative, with Doed.

8. **ut quosque advectus erat,** 'as he rode up to each division:' the expression is repeated from H. 5. 16, 2, and similar to 'ut quosque accesserat' H. 3. 24, 2: cp. 14. 35, 1. 'Advehor' has acc. pers. elsewhere only in Vergil (Aen. 8. 136), and an accusative of place rarely except in poets (cp. 3. 1, 1).

9. **derepta**; apparently from Hor. Od. 3. 5, 19.

10. **ostentaba**; taken by zeugma with 'libertatem' and 'legiones,' in some such sense as 'memorabat.'

**fugacem.** Under him the Marcomani are described as retreating before the Romans into the Hercynian forest (Vell. 2. 108, 2). He might thus be called 'praeliorum expers,' in spite of his warfare (Vell. l. l.) against other Germans.

11. **Hercyniae.** This term is applied to a very wide tract: see G. 28, 30. Bohemia is here specially intended. Cp. Strab. 7. 1, 3, p. 290 *ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Ἑρκύνιος δρυμὸς καὶ τὰ τῶν Σοήβων ἔθνη, τὰ μὲν οἰκοῦντα ἐντὸς τοῦ δρυμοῦ, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν* Κοαδούων· *ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ* Βουίαιμον, *τὸ τοῦ* Μαροβόδου *βασίλειον*: also Vell. 2. 109, 3 'Boiohaemum, id regioni quam incolebat Maroboduus nomen est' (cp. c. 62, 3).

12. **per dona,** etc. According to Velleius, the general tone of his embassies ranged from that of a suppliant to that of an equal. He claims (c. 46, 2) to have made peace 'aequis condicionibus;' which is probably true, as the Illyrian revolt forced the Romans to make terms with him.

16. **penes utros summa belli fuerit,** 'who were masters in the war as a whole:' cp. 'de summa belli iudicium' Caes. B. G. 1. 41, 3, etc.; 'summa pacis' 13. 38, 1. 'Utros' does not compare the Cherusci with the Suebi, but with the Romans; and this boast is virtually endorsed by Tacitus himself, who speaks of Arminius (c. 88, 3) as 'praeliis ambiguus, bello non victus.'

18. **in illo corpore,** 'in that person:' so 'in illo corpore (Dario) posita est victoria

Cheruscorum, illius consiliis gesta quae prospere ceciderint testa-
batur: vaecordem Arminium et rerum nescium alienam gloriam
in se trahere, quoniam tres vagas legiones et ducem fraudis
ignarum perfidia deceperit, magna cum clade Germaniae et
ignominia sua, cum coniunx, cum filius eius servitium adhuc
tolerent. at se duodecim legionibus petitum duce Tiberio in- 2
libatam Germanorum gloriam servavisse, mox condicionibus
aequis discessum; neque paenitere quod ipsorum in manu sit,
integrum adversum Romanos bellum an pacem incruentam
malint. his vocibus instinctos exercitus propriae quoque causae 3
stimulabant, cum a Cheruscis Langobardisque pro antiquo de-
core aut recenti libertate et contra augendae dominationi cer-
taretur. non alias maiore mole concursum neque ambiguo magis 4
eventu, fusis utrimque dextris cornibus; sperabaturque rursum
pugna, ni Maroboduus castra in colles subduxisset. id signum 5
perculsi fuit; et transfugiis paulatim nudatus in Marcomanos
concessit misitque legatos ad Tiberium oraturos auxilia. re- 6
sponsum est non iure eum adversus Cheruscos arma Romana
invocare, qui pugnantis in eundem hostem Romanos nulla ope
iuvisset. missus tamen Drusus, ut rettulimus, paci firmator.

nostra' Curt. 5. 35, 4. The 'consilia' of Inguiomerus are not represented as successful in 1. 68, 1.

3. **vagas**: so Halm and Nipp. after Dräger. Nipp. explains it of their ignorance of the country, Dräger of their want of concentration. The MS. text 'vacuas' can hardly mean 'duce destitutas,' as 'et ducem' follows it, but might be taken to mean 'off their guard,' as in Agr. 37, 1: cp. ὡς διὰ φιλίας διίων (Dio, 56. 19, 4).

5. **coniunx . . . filius**: see 1. 57, 5; 58, 9.

6. **duce Tiberio**: cp. Vell. 2. 109, 110. The Illyrian revolt is here wholly ignored.

9. **integrum bellum**. This expression is used in 15. 18, 1; H. 2. 57, 1, of a war still undecided. Here it is either war 'ex integro' (cp. 'pugna integra' Liv. 8. 9, 13), or 'with unimpaired strength' (cp. 'integrum victorem' Hor. Od. 4. 4, 66). Cp. c. 5, 4; 15. 26, 1, etc.

11. **antiquo decore**. This refers to the Cherusci, as 'recenti libertate' to the Langobardi, with whom the Semnones are to be understood (as the Andecavi with the Turoni 3. 46, 3); their new-won freedom being their revolt from Maroboduus.

13. **maiore mole**, 'with harder struggle:' cp. 'haud parva mole certatum foret' H. 3. 77, 5; 'plus molis' 13. 35, 1: 'tantae molis erat' Verg. Aen. 1. 33.

16. **perculsi**, sc. Marobodui, 'of his disheartenment:' cp. 'fama occisi' 6. 35, 5.

**Marcomanos**. The MS., which here has 'Marcomannos,' has this form in c. 62, 3, as also have the MSS. in G. 42, 1; cp. Mon. Anc. vi. 3. This powerful tribe, who had invaded Gaul with Ariovistus (Caes. B. G. 1. 51, 2), appear to have retired before Domitius (Dio, 55. 10. a, 2) and other Roman invaders into Bohemia. Their subsequent extension to the Danube made them formidable in the time of Domitian and Marcus Aurelius. The name appears to mean 'marchmen,' and may not always have been used of the same people.

20. **rettulimus**: c. 44, 1.

**paci**: on the dative, see Introd. v. § 19.

**firmator**, only here and in Pl. Epp. 10. 38, 1. Nipp. points out that he was to secure peace, not between the parties, but on the Roman frontier. On his further action, see c. 62.

1 **47.** Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiae urbes conlapsae nocturno motu terrae, quo inprovisior graviorque pestis fuit.
2 neque solitum in tali casu effugium subveniebat, in aperta prorumpendi, quia diductis terris hauriebantur. sedisse inmensos montes, visa in arduo quae plana fuerint, effulsisse inter ruinam
3 ignes memorant. asperrima in Sardianos lues plurimum in eosdem misericordiae traxit: nam centiens sestertium pollicitus Caesar, et quantum aerario aut fisco pendebant, in quinquennium
4 remisit. Magnetes a Sipylo proximi damno ac remedio habiti.

1. **duodecim.** In giving this number, Tacitus may have followed Pliny, who says (N. H. 2. 84, 86, 200) 'maximus terrae memoria mortalium exstitit motus, Tiberii Caesaris principatu, duodecim urbibus Asiae una nocte prostratis.' In Hieron. Chron. (Opera, vol. viii. p. 566, Migne) thirteen names are given, Ephesus being added to those here mentioned: and a well-known pedestal preserved at Naples, copied from that of the colossus erected to Tiberius at Rome by the cities, and dating from 783, A.D. 30, has the names and symbolical effigies of fourteen, the additional one being that of Cibrya, which suffered at a later date (see 4. 13, 1); as may also have been the case with Ephesus. See the inscription I. R. N. 2486, Orelli 687; cp. Henzen, p. 66. The earthquake is also mentioned by Strabo (12. 8, 18, p. 576), and is one of the latest events (see also on c. 67, 4) recorded in his work. On the frequent earthquakes recorded in those parts, see Friedl. iii. p. 178.

2. **quo,** i.e. because at night. The comparative 'inprovisior' is noted by Dräger as *ἅπ. εἰρ.*

3. **prorumpendi,** genitive of definition: see Madv. 286; Roby 1302.

4. **sedisse,** from 'sido:' cp. 'sidebant campi' Lucr. 5, 493; and the description of a similar scene in Sallust (H. 2. 43 D, 52 K, 77 G) 'rupti aliquot montes tumulique sedere.'

5. **in arduo,** 'on an elevation:' 'in plano' would have been the natural antithesis to this; but such changes of expression are so habitual to Tacitus, that we need not, with Heins. and Nipp., introduce such a correction as 'enisa in arduum.'

6. **asperrima in Sardianos lues . . . traxit.** 'Belli lues' is found in H. 3. 15, 3: and the subject of 'traxit' is not really 'lues,' but the idea contained in the sentence (cp. 1. 19, 5; 3. 9, 3, etc.). With 'in Sardianos' a participial notion like 'cadens' is to be supplied, as perhaps also in 12. 5, 5; 25, 1.

**Sardianos.** The disaster of this city is described in an epigram of Bianor (Anth. Pal. 9, 423) *ὅλαι δύστηνοι ἐς ἓν κακὸν ἁρπασθεῖσαι, ἐς βυθὸν ἐξ ἀχανοῦς χάσματος ἠρίπετε.* This ancient capital of the Lydian kings and Persian satraps was still a considerable city, and would appear to have rapidly recovered from this disaster (see 4. 55, 6). Its site still retains the name Sart.

7. **centiens sestertium,** etc. This whole passage is important, as showing a considerateness to the provinces which is not found in the time of the Republic: see note on 1. 2, 2. We have similar instances under Tiberius in 4. 13, 1; under Claudius in 12. 58, 2; 63, 3; under Nero in 16. 13, 5; the term of remission being so often for five years as to suggest that the provincial census was taken at quinquennial intervals. See Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 236.

8. **aerario aut fisco.** On the fiscal revenue and fiscal procurator in senatorial provinces, see on 4. 6, 5; 15, 3. The remission of tribute due to the senatorial treasury, here described as granted by Caesar, was no doubt so granted by a 'senatus-consultum' originated by him, as is expressly stated in 4. 13, 1. 'Aut' is to be taken as in 1. 64, 6; c. 30, 2; 43, 5, etc.

9. **Magnetes a Sipylo.** This addition, given also in Livy (37. 44, 4) and on coins (*ἀπὸ Σιπύλου*), appears, as Ritter suggests, to indicate the direction in which the town is usually approached. Strabo (13. 3, 5, p. 621) calls it *ὑπὸ Σιπύλῳ*. It lay on the north-western slope of that mountain, on the south bank of the Hermus, and needs to be distinguished from Magnesia on the Maeander (see 3. 62, 1; 4. 55, 3). According to Strabo (l.l.) and others, it was a free city; nor is

Temnios, Philadelphenos, Aegeatas, Apollonidenses, quique Mosteni aut Macedones Hyrcani vocantur, et Hierocaesariam, Myrinam, Cymen, Tmolum levari idem in tempus tributis mittique ex senatu placuit qui praesentia spectaret refoveretque. de- 5
lectus est M. Ateius e praetoriis, ne consulari obtinente Asiam aemulatio inter pares et ex eo impedimentum oreretur.

**48**. Magnificam in publicum largitionem auxit Caesar haud 1
minus grata liberalitate, quod bona Aemiliae Musae, locupletis intestatae, petita in fiscum Aemilio Lepido, cuius e domo videbatur, et Patulei divitis equitis Romani hereditatem, quamquam ipse heres in parte legeretur, tradidit M. Servilio, quem prioribus neque suspectis tabulis scriptum compererat, nobilitatem utriusque pecunia iuvandam praefatus. neque hereditatem cuius- 2

it necessarily implied here that they paid tribute.

**habiti**, 'were considered to be next in suffering and treated as next in their relief.' The zeugma may be compared with that in c. 44, 3.

1. **Temnios**, etc. These are mostly small cities. Temnos, Aegeae, Myrina, and Cyme, had formed part of the old Aeolic confederation (Hdt. 1. 149, 1); the remainder are in Lydia: of these Philadelphia alone is well known, and stood on the site now occupied by Allascher.

2. **aut Macedones Hyrcani**; so called also in Pl. N. H. 5. 29, 31, 120. This town, inhabited by an older race of Hyrcano-Persians, who had given their name to the 'Hyrcanian plain' (Strab. 13. 4, 13, 629), mixed with Macedonian settlers, is not the same with, though near to, Mosteni. The use of 'aut' might no doubt be explained as in the sentence a few lines above, but the word is at least misleading. Nipp., with Freinsh., reads 'et qui.' The change from names of people to those of places is merely for the sake of variety: cp. c. 60, 4, etc.

4. **refoveret**; a word chiefly post-Augustan, frequent in Tacitus, as c. 54, 2, etc.

5. **Ateius**. This name is adopted by Halm and Nipp., from Mommsen, and 'Aletius' by Orelli, for the MS. 'Aletus,' which is no Roman name. We find from Dio (57. 17, 7) that he had the five fasces which would mark his position as temporarily that of a 'legatus Augusti pro-praetore:' see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 1037. On the consular proconsuls of Asia, and this province generally, see Introd. vii. pp. 95, 97.

7. **in publicum**. This depends on 'magnificam,' and is similarly used with 'exitiosi' and 'laetum' (11. 17, 4; 12. 3, 3): cp. 'laeta in rempublicam' 11. 25, 4; and note on 1. 76, 5; also 'petita in fiscum' here.

**auxit**, 'enhanced.'

8. **liberalitate**: see note on c 37, 2.

**Aemiliae Musae**. Doed. notes that she was probably a freed-woman (as Antonius Musa the physician of Augustus appears to have been a freedman), and that the family of her patronus was not clearly traceable, whence her property was claimed as an escheat, by the 'procuratores hereditatum' appointed for that purpose (see Orelli's note). The use of 'videbatur' below implies that the proof was not plain.

9. **Aemilio Lepido**; evidently the same M. Lepidus, who is called 'inops' (3. 32, 2) and 'pecuniae modicus' (3. 72, 3).

10. **Patulei**. This name, or 'Pantuleius,' is found with the cognomen 'Parra' in Varr. R. R. 3, 5, and with that of 'Graptiacus' and 'Anatellon' in later inscriptions (Grut. 126, 895; C. I. L. iii. 2, 6121). Nipp. It is possible that a praenomen is lost, as Tacitus generally, in a single mention of persons of rank, gives more than one name.

11. **in parte**, 'to half the property.' Later, such legacies to the princeps were frequently given to save the rest (cp. 14. 31, 1; 16. 11, 2; Agr. 43, 4; Plin. Pan. 43), and even insisted on (cp. Suet. Cal. 38; Ner. 32).

**M. Servilio**; cp. 3. 22, 4: consul in 756, A.D. 3, and father of the historian, who was consul in 788, A.D. 35 (6. 31, 1).

12. **scriptum**, sc. 'heredem ex asse.'

quam adiit nisi cum amicitia meruisset: ignotos et aliis infensos
3 eoque principem nuncupantes procul arcebat. ceterum ut hones-
tam innocentium paupertatem levavit, ita prodigos et ob flagitia
egentes, Vibidium Varronem, Marium Nepotem, Appium Ap-
pianum, Cornelium Sullam, Q. Vitellium movit senatu aut sponte
cedere passus est.

1 **49.** Isdem temporibus deum aedes vetustate aut igni abolitas
coeptasque ab Augusto dedicavit, Libero Liberaeque et Cereri
iuxta circum maximum, quam A. Postumius dictator voverat,
eodemque in loco aedem Florae ab Lucio et Marco Publiciis
aedilibus constitutam, et Iano templum, quod apud forum holi-
torium C. Duilius struxerat, qui primus rem Romanam prospere
2 mari gessit triumphumque navalem de Poenis meruit. Spei
aedes a Germanico sacratur: hanc A. Atilius voverat eodem bello.

1. **meruisset**, sc. 'heres scribi.' The subjunctive is that of cases of constant occurrence (Introd. v. § 52).

4. **Varronem.** Nipp. reads 'Virronem,' the name of a Vibidius Virro being found in a Greek inscription: see note on 11. 32, 5.

**Marium Nepotem.** According to Seneca (de Ben. 2. 7, 2), Tiberius had once paid his debts on request: 'Tiberius Caesar rogatus a Nepote Mario praetorio, ut aeri alieno eius succurreret, edere illum sibi nomina creditorum iussit . . .: cum edita essent, scripsit Nepoti iussisse se pecuniam solvi.'

**Appianum.** This cognomen suggests that he was probably a near relation of M. Valerius Barbatus Appianus; on whom see note on 4. 52, 1.

5. **Q. Vitellium**, an uncle of the emperor Vitellius (Suet. Vit. 2), and formerly quaestor of Augustus (Id. 1). On his two brothers, see 1. 70, 1; 6. 28, 1, etc.

**movit senatu.** The expulsion of senators by the princeps (cp. 4. 42, 3; 6. 3, 3, etc.) was an exercise of his censorial power (cp. 12. 4. 4; Introd. vi. p. 71). The senate also could expel its own members by judicial sentence (cp. 3. 17, 8; 6. 48, 7, etc.).

7. **igni.** A fire which destroyed *αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου πολὺ τό τε Δημήτριον καὶ ἕτερον ναὸν* Ἐλπίδος had taken place in 723, B.C. 31 (Dio, 50. 10, 3). It is alluded to by Strabo (8. 6, 23, 380).

8. **Libero Liberaeque et Cereri.** Dion. Hal. gives (6. 17) the tradition that this temple (*Δήμητρι καὶ Διονύσῳ καὶ Κόρῃ*) was vowed by Postumius out of the spoils of the battle at the lake Regillus, A.U.C. 258, B.C. 496; also (Id. 94) that it was dedicated by Sp. Cassius during his second consulship, in 261, B.C. 493. On the worship of these associated deities, see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 347.

10. **Publiciis.** These brothers, surnamed Malleoli, are called curule aediles by Festus (s.v. 'Publicius clivus'), and plebeian by Varro (L. L. 5, 158) and Ovid (Fast. 5. 287). The latter states that they inflicted fines for illegal occupation of public land, and from the proceeds instituted the Floralia (Apl. 28–May 3), on which see Id. Fast. 5, 183, etc. The date of institution is either 514, B.C. 240 (Vell. 1. 14, 7), or 516, B.C. 238 (Plin. N. H. 18. 29, 69, 286). The worship is of Sabine origin: see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 363.

11. **forum holitorium.** This was between the Capitol and the river, outside the porta Carmentalis. Much of its space had been occupied by the theatre of Marcellus. The temple of Janus here is thus distinguished from the more famous Janus 'ad infimum Argiletum' (Liv. 1. 19, 2).

12. **C. Duilius.** The date of his naval victory is 494, B.C. 260. It was commemorated by the 'columna rostrata,' to the inscription of which an existing fragment preserved in the Capitol purports to belong: cp. C. I. L. i. 195, and annotations there.

13. **Spei aedes.** This was probably that mentioned by Livy (21. 62, 4), as also in the 'forum holitorium.'

14. **a Germanico.** This would imply

**50.** Adolescebat interea lex maiestatis. et Appuleiam Varil- 1
lam, sororis Augusti neptem, quia probrosis sermonibus divum
Augustum ac Tiberium et matrem eius inlusisset Caesarique
conexa adulterio teneretur, maiestatis delator arcessebat. de 2
adulterio satis caveri lege Iulia visum: maiestatis crimen dis-
tingui Caesar postulavit damnarique, si qua de Augusto in-
religiose dixisset: in se iacta nolle ad cognitionem vocari.
interrogatus a consule, quid de iis censeret quae de matre eius 3
locuta secus argueretur, reticuit; dein proximo senatus die illius
quoque nomine oravit, ne cui verba in eam quoquo modo habita
crimini forent. liberavitque Appuleiam lege maiestatis: adul- 4
terii graviorem poenam deprecatus, ut exemplo maiorum pro- 5

that Tiberius had dedicated the others personally, not 'per alium.' From the statement of Dio (57. 10, 1) τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς καθιέρου, τὰ δὲ τῶν ποντιφίκων τινὶ προσέτασσε, we should gather that when he thus acted (cp. 4. 57, 1; 67, 1), it was as pontifex maximus, and Germanicus may have acted as augur. On the old custom of dedication by the chief magistrates, or by 'duoviri,' see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 601, etc. The MS. has 'in germanico,' for which Orelli reads 'Germanico' as a dative.

**A. Atilius.** The MS. has 'iatillius,' showing traces of a praenomen, and the passage in Cic. Legg. 2. 11, 28 ('a Calatino Spes consecrata est'), shows that the person is A. Atilius A. f. C. n. Calatinus, cos. 496 and 500, B.C. 258, 254; dict. 505, B.C. 249; who gained a triumph in his first consulship.

1. **et.** This seems to instance a case, and to imply others not mentioned: cp. 3. 38, 1. Nipp.'s reference to 11. 35, 6 ('et Titium Proculum') is to a very corrupt and doubtful passage.

**Appuleiam Varillam.** This reading is generally adopted, after Borghesi, for the MS. 'Varilliam.' Her relationship to Augustus is best explained by supposing her mother to have been a Marcella (see Introd. ix. note 18); or that, as Nipp. thinks, she may have descended from Octavia maior, who was only on the father's side sister to Augustus (Suet. Aug. 4). Sex. Appuleius, cos. 725, B.C. 29, may have been her father, and the consul of 767, A.D. 14 (see note on 1. 7, 3), her brother.

4. **conexa,** 'being related:' so 4. 66, 2, and (with 'per adfinitatem') c. 43, 3. Augustus strained the law in treating adultery among members of his family as treason: cp. 3. 24, 3.

**teneretur,** 'was implicated in:' so in 3. 13, 2; 11. 6, 5; and (with ell. gen.) 3. 67, 2; cp. 'criminibus haerere' 4. 19, 5.

**arcessebat,** 'was summoning:' so, with gen. criminis, in 4. 29, 1; Cic. and Sall.

5. **lege Iulia,** the law of Augustus, 'de adulteriis et stupris,' passed in 737, B.C. 17. On its penalties, see below (on § 4). In referring the charge to this law, it is implied that it was not to be dealt with as one of 'maiestas.'

**distingui.** The distinction to be drawn is implied in the context.

9. **locuta secus argueretur.** 'Arguor' is used with an inf. clause in Cic., and 'secus' is also used by him in the sense of 'otherwise than as should be:' cp. c. 80, 1, etc.

12. **graviorem:** the full penalty of the lex Iulia imposed on both parties 'relegatio' to different islands; the man to forfeit half his property, the woman one third of her property and half her dowry (Paul. Sent. Recept. 2. 26, 14).

**exemplo maiorum:** this refers not to the penalty, which in old times would have been more severe, but to its infliction through the relations. Such a trial of the wife before her husband and other relatives is mentioned in 13. 32, 4; also in the case of the Bacchanalia (A. U. C. 566, B. C. 186), by Livy (39. 18, 6). This marital jurisdiction would be a survival of primitive law (cp. G. 19, 2), and as such is ascribed to Romulus by Dion. Hal. (2. 25); cp. Gell. 10. 23.

**propinquis.** On this dative, see

pinquis suis ultra ducentesimum lapidem removeretur suasit.
adultero Manlio Italia atque Africa interdictum est.
1 **51**. De praetore in locum Vipstani Galli, quem mors abstu-
2 lerat, subrogando certamen incessit. Germanicus atque Drusus
(nam etiam tum Romae erant) Haterium Agrippam propinquum
Germanici fovebant: contra plerique nitebantur, ut numerus
3 liberorum in candidatis praepolleret, quod lex iubebat. laeta-
batur Tiberius, cum inter filios eius et leges senatus disceptaret.
victa est sine dubio lex, sed neque statim et paucis suffragiis,
quo modo etiam cum valerent leges vincebantur.
1 **52**. Eodem anno coeptum in Africa bellum, duce hostium
2 Tacfarinate. is natione Numida, in castris Romanis auxiliaria
stipendia meritus, mox desertor, vagos primum et latrociniis
suetos ad praedam et raptus congregare, dein more militiae per
vexilla et turmas componere, postremo non inconditae turbae
3 sed Musulamiorum dux haberi. valida ea gens et solitudinibus
Africae propinqua, nullo etiam tum urbium cultu, cepit arma
Maurosque accolas in bellum traxit: dux et his, Mazippa.

Introd. v. § 18, and other references given here by Nipp.

1. **ducentesimum lapidem.** On such limited banishment, see 13. 26, 3, and other passages cited by Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 1028, n. 4.

3. **Vipstani.** This name is found with the cognomen 'Gallus,' in C. I. L. iii. 1, 4591, and is to be read for the MS. text in 11. 23, 1; 14. 1, 1.

5. **etiam tum.** This must thus have taken place before Drusus went to Illyricum (c. 43; 44). On the departure of Germanicus, cp. c. 53.

**Haterium Agrippam**: see 1. 77, 3, etc. On his relationship, see Introd. ix. note 19. His father was probably the Quintus Haterius of 1. 13, 4, etc.

7. **lex**, the 'lex Papia Poppaea,' cap. viii: see Appendix to Book iii. The municipal ordinance of Malaca (Henzen 7421, c. 56) contains a similar clause, to decide between candidates who had received equal votes: see also on 15. 19, 1.

**laetabatur.** This insinuation must be understood to mean that all such triumphs over law were in the interest of autocracy.

9. **sine dubio**: this weakens the assertion, as in 1. 6, 3, etc. 'The law certainly was defeated; but (as laws used to be defeated when they had real force) not at once, or by many votes.' On the force of 'neque,' cp. c. 34, 7.

11. **Africa.** On this province and its proconsuls, see Introd. vii. p. 96.

12. **Tacfarinate.** On his subsequent incursions, see 3, 20; 32; 73; 4, 23.

**Numida.** Numidia was not at this time a distinct province: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 307.

15. **vexilla.** As applied to cavalry, this term would be synonymous with 'turmae.' The Numidians had been always a nation of horsemen, and this force must have been mainly of that description; but may have included some bodies of light-armed foot, organized like Roman auxiliaries.

16. **Musulamiorum.** The MS. has the corrupt 'musula maiorum.' The name can be restored from 4. 24, 2, and from a mention of them in the rising against Claudius (Aur. Vict. Caes. 4). In the account of their subjection in 753, B.C. 1, given by Florus (4. 12, 40), 'Musulami' and other forms (see Ritt.) are found, and Ptolemy (4. 3, 24) calls them Μισουλανοί. He describes them as living south of the Cirtenses and Numidia under Mount Audos (Aurez), a situation fairly coinciding with that here given by Tacitus.

18. **Mauros accolas**, i. e. such of the Mauri as bordered on them. Some of

divisusque exercitus, ut Tacfarinas lectos viros et Romanum in 4
modum armatos castris attineret, disciplinae et imperiis sues-
ceret, Mazippa levi cum copia incendia et caedes et terrorem
circumferret. conpulerantque Cinithios, haud spernendam na- 5
tionem, in eadem, cum Furius Camillus pro consule Africae
legionem et quod sub signis sociorum in unum conductos ad
hostem duxit, modicam manum, si multitudinem Numidarum
atque Maurorum spectares; sed nihil aeque cavebatur quam ne
bellum metu eluderent: spe victoriae inducti sunt ut vinceren-
tur. igitur legio medio, leves cohortes duaeque alae in cornibus 6
locantur. nec Tacfarinas pugnam detrectavit. fusi Numidae, 7
multosque post annos Furio nomini partum decus militiae. nam 8
post illum reciperatorem urbis filiumque eius Camillum penes

the tribes dwelling in what was afterwards called 'Mauretania Sitifensis,' west of the Ampsagas, appear to be meant. 'Mauri' and 'Maurusii' are general names for the inhabitants of Mauretania, whose modern representatives appear to be the Berbers.

1. **Romanum in modum armatos.** Those who are described above as organized 'per vexilla et turmas,' i.e. like similar forces under Roman standards.

2. **disciplinae . . . suesceret.** The simple verb is nowhere else transitive, though such use is implied in that of 'suetus.' The MS. has 'disciplina,' which Ritt. and Nipp. retain; the latter noting the use of such an abl. with 'adsuefacio,' and, occasionally, with 'adsuesco.' Horace has (Sat. 1. 4, 105) 'insuevit . . . hoc me;' which is apparently a double accusative.

3. **copia**: so 4. 4, 6; 27, 2; 47, 1; 56, 1, etc. The singular, though far more rarely found in this sense than the plural, is so used in Cic., Caes., and Sall.

4. **Cinithios.** This people, according to Ptolemy (4. 3, 22), lived near the lesser Syrtis: *ὑπ' αὐτὴν Κινίθιοι, καὶ ἀνατολικώτεροι μέχρι τοῦ Κινύφου ποταμοῦ Νιγίτιμοι.* The Cinyps is nearly equi-distant from the two Syrtes, and the Cinithii, though considerably westward of that river, must have lived far from the apparent seat of this war.

5. **Camillus.** M. Furius P. f. P. n. Camillus, cos. 761, A.D. 8: cp. C. I. L. i. p. 548. Nipp. notes that he was one of the 'Arvales,' and probably died in 790, A.D. 37. His son was consul in 785, A.D. 32 (6. 1, 1).

**pro consule.** This, and 'pro praetore,' are the regular forms used in Tacitus for 'proconsul' and 'propraetor' (e.g. c. 66, 1; 3. 32, 1; 35, 1; 38, 1; 66, 2; 72, 6, etc.).

6. **legionem.** The one legion ('tertia Augusta'), usually stationed here: see Introd. vii. p. 103.

**quod sub signis**, i.e. the standing auxiliary force usually attached to the legion.

**conductos**, 'concentrated:' so 'conduceret' 4. 47, 1. The gender is adapted not only to 'socios' but to the soldiers of the legion: cp. 14. 20, 7.

7. **Numidarum.** The Musulamii as distinct from the Mauri.

8. **aeque quam.** Tacitus often (e.g. c. 65, 1; 4. 49, 2; 71, 4; 14. 38, 3, etc.) adopts, from Plaut. and Liv., this construction with a negative, using once only (H. 4. 5, 4) the Ciceronian 'aeque ac.'

**ne bellum . . . eluderent**; i.e. if a larger force was brought against them. 'Metu' is explained by 4. 24, 2, as their fear both of the Roman name, and of the attack of regular infantry.

10. **medio.** On this abl. of place, see Introd. v. § 25.

13. **filiumque eius.** The great man's son, L. Furius Camillus, though consul (405, B.C. 349) and twice dictator, and not without the reputation of victories (Liv. 7. 28), is of less note than the grandson of the same name, who gained a triumph in 416, B.C. 338, and was again consul in 429, B.C. 345 (Liv. 8. 13; 29). Tacitus appears to confound these together.

alias familias imperatoria laus fuerat; atque hic quem memo-
9 ramus bellorum expers habebatur. eo pronior Tiberius res gestas
apud senatum celebravit; et decrevere patres triumphalia in-
signia, quod Camillo ob modestiam vitae impune fuit.
1 **53**. Sequens annus Tiberium tertio, Germanicum iterum con-
sules habuit. sed eum honorem Germanicus iniit apud urbem
Achaiae Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram, viso fratre
Druso in Delmatia agente, Hadriatici ac mox Ionii maris ad-
2 versam navigationem perpessus. igitur paucos dies insumpsit
reficiendae classi; simul sinus Actiaca victoria inclutos et sacra-
tas ab Augusto manubias castraque Antonii cum recordatione
3 maiorum suorum adiit. namque ei, ut memoravi, avunculus
Augustus, avus Antonius erant, magnaque illic imago tristium
laetorumque. hinc ventum Athenas, foederique sociae et vetus-
4 tae urbis datum ut uno lictore uteretur. excepere Graeci quae-

1. **alias familias.** The explanation of Orelli and others, that this means 'other families of the Furian gens,' can hardly stand, as Tacitus had implied above that the whole 'Furium nomen' had been during this time without military renown: we must therefore suppose him to have overlooked the not very famous triumphs of P. Furius Philus in 531, B.C. 223 (C. I. L. i. p. 458), and L. Furius Purpureo in 554, B.C. 200 (Liv. 31. 49, 2). 'Familia' is used for 'gens' in 1. 4, 3; 3. 48, 2; 76, 4; 12. 12, 2.

3. **triumphalia insignia**: cp. 1. 72, 1.

4. **modestiam**: cp. 1. 11, 1; 4. 7, 4; 5. 11, 2.

**impune**: cp. 1. 72, 3.

5. **tertio.** Nipp. thinks it necessary to read 'tertium,' on the authority of Varro (ap. Gell. 10. 1. 6), that 'tertio praetor' could only mean 'praetor in the third place,' i. e. with two elected above him. But there could be no such ambiguity in 'tertio consul;' the same passage in Gellius shows that Cicero considered the question between the two expressions an open one; 'tertio consul' is found in Vell. 2. 40, 5; Pl. Pan. 20; and a writer would naturally avoid the use of four consecutive words ending in '-um.' Tiberius held this consulship only for a few days (Suet. Tib. 26), and was succeeded in it by L. Seius Tubero (Insc. Orell. 1495 = Wilm. 1713; Henzen 6442), on whom see c. 20, 2.

7. **Achaiae.** On the limits of this province at this time, see note on 1. 76, 4. Later, perhaps from the time of Vespasian, Epirus with Acarnania formed a separate province under a procurator. See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 174.

**Nicopolim.** This city, called a colony in 5. 10, 4, was founded by Augustus, opposite to Actium, on the north or Epirot side of the Ambracian gulf, where his camp had stood before the battle. Here were held the revived quinquennial games to the Actian Apollo. See Suet. Aug. 18; Dio, 50. 12, 3; 51. 1, 3; Strab. 7. 7, 6, 325.

8. **in Delmatia**: see c. 44, 1.

10. **reficiendae classi.** Dräger notes that this gerundive dat. (on which see Introd. v. § 22 b) is used with 'insumo' only here and 3. 1, 1; with 'adsumo' in Pl. N. H. 35. 17, 197.

12. **ut memoravi**, c. 43, 6.

14. **foederi.** Athens, Sparta, and perhaps Sicyon, were 'civitates liberae,' and removed from the jurisdiction of the proconsul: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 170. 'Civitates foederatae' were always more or less 'liberae;' some independence, though variable in different cases, being implied in the existence of a 'foedus:' see Id. p. 347.

15. **uno lictore.** As holding 'proconsulare imperium,' Germanicus would be attended by twelve lictors. It was usual for the Roman magistrate, visiting a sovereign or confederate state, to take none with him; but the single lictor, such as priests or women might have, is, in the case of a magistrate, equivalent to none,

sitissimis honoribus, vetera suorum facta dictaque praeferentes, quo plus dignationis adulatio haberet.

**54.** Petita inde Euboea tramisit Lesbum, ubi Agrippina no- 1
vissimo partu Iuliam edidit. tum extrema Asiae Perinthumque 2
ac Byzantium, Thraecias urbes, mox Propontidis angustias et
os Ponticum intrat, cupidine veteres locos et fama celebratos
noscendi; pariterque provincias internis certaminibus aut magis-
tratuum iniuriis fessas refovebat. atque illum in regressu sacra 3
Samothracum visere nitentem obvii aquilones depulere. igitur
adito Ilio quaeque ibi varietate fortunae et nostri origine vene-

and merely in the place of an 'accensus:' see Mommsen, Staatsr. i. p. 357, n. 4. Antonius, out of compliment or from indolence, acted similarly at Athens: see App. B. C. 5. 76.

**Graeci.** The general term may be used to speak of his reception at other cities besides Athens.

1. **vetera suorum facta dictaque.** The Greeks are called 'laetum antiquitatibus genus' in H. 2. 4, 1; and Sulla, during the siege of Athens, was incensed by a deputation which talked to him 'of Theseus, Eumolpus, and the Persian war' (Plut. Sull. 13, 460). The expression 'facta dictaque' is used as a formula in c. 28, 3; 3. 65, 1; 4. 37, 4; 6. 24, 1, etc.

**praeferentes,** 'making a display of:' so 'modestiam,' 'imitamenta,' 'libertatem,' 'auctoritatem praeferre' (13. 45, 2; 14. 57, 5; 16. 22, 8; 32, 3); also 'aviam,' 'avunculum praeferebat' 4. 75, 2.

2. **quo plus dignationis,** etc., 'to add to the honour of their obsequiousness,' by dignifying those from whom it came. Tacitus gives much the same estimate of the Greek character as Juvenal (3, 74–108). 'Dignatio' is used by Tacitus elsewhere in this sense (cp. 4. 52, 2; 6. 27, 2; 13. 42, 8; H. 3. 80, 3); oftener in that of political dignity or rank (c. 33, 5; 3. 75, 2; 4. 16, 6, etc. The word is rare in earlier writers.

3. **tramisit Lesbum.** The verb in this sense does not usually take an accus. without prep., but Livy has 'Uticam . . . transmisit' (25. 31, 12).

4. **Iuliam:** see Introd. ix. note 16. Eckhel (vi. 214) mentions Mytilenaean coins inscribed ΘΕΑΝ ΑΙΟΛΙΝ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑΝ. There is also an inscription (see Orelli's note) to young Nero, as son *θεοῦ νέου* Γερμανίκου *καίσαρος καὶ θεᾶς* Αἰολίδος *καρποφόρας* Ἀγριππείνας.

**Perinthum;** on a promontory projecting into the Propontis; an old and famous city, which in or after the fourth century took the name of Heraclea, whence the modern name 'Eregli' or 'Erekli.'

5. **Byzantium.** On the relations of this city to Rome to this date, see 12. 62, 1.

**Thraecias:** so Halm, wherever the word occurs; this being the prevalent reading in the MS., which has also the form in 'a' and 'e'; of which the latter (3. 38, 3; 4. 48, 5) is rejected by Ritter (1864), who otherwise follows the MS. in its variations. On Thrace at this time, see c. 64, 3, etc.

**angustias,** the Bosporus.

7. **magistratuum.** In this neighbourhood, Bithynia had certainly recently suffered from its governor (1. 74, 1); but probably the local magistrates who had pillaged their own treasuries (cp. 4. 45, 5) are chiefly meant. Thus Cicero speaks of communities in Cilicia 'perditas . . . per magistratus suos' (ad Fam. 3. 8, 5; cp. ad Att. 6. 2, 5), and Pliny found a similar state of things in Bithynia (Epp. ad Trai. 17, 3).

8. **sacra Samothracum,** the worship of the 'Kabeiri:' see Hdt. 2. 51, 3; 3. 37, 3; Ar. Pax 278; Juv. 3, 144, etc. Its nature has been discussed by Lobeck, Aglaoph. B. iii. ch. 5, p. 1202–1295. The turn of mind of Germanicus is illustrated by the places he visited (cp. c. 59); the Greek oracles had however a special attraction for a Roman, as appears shown by the tour of Aemilius Paullus (Liv. 45. 27). Samothrace belonged to the Thracian kingdom, and became a free state in the subsequent province (Marquardt, i. p. 158).

10. **adito Ilio.** This name must evidently be contained in the corrupt MS. text 'alio.' The Ilium here spoken of, to which the most recent remains at His-

randa, relegit Asiam adpellitque Colophona, ut Clarii Apollinis
4 oraculo uteretur. non femina illic, ut apud Delphos, sed certis
e familiis et ferme Mileto accitus sacerdos numerum modo consultantium et nomina audit; tum in specum degressus, hausta fontis arcani aqua, ignarus plerumque literarum et carminum edit responsa versibus compositis super rebus quas quis mente
5 concepit. et ferebatur Germanico per ambages, ut mos oraculis, maturum exitium cecinisse.

1 **55.** At Cn. Piso, quo properantius destinata inciperet, civitatem Atheniensium turbido incessu exterritam oratione saeva increpat, oblique Germanicum perstringens, quod contra decus Romani nominis non Athenienses tot cladibus exstinctos, sed conluviem illam nationum comitate nimia coluisset: hos enim esse Mithridatis adversus Sullam, Antonii adversus divum Au-

sarlik belong, dates only from the restoration of Sulla, consequent on an almost complete destruction by Fimbria in 669, B.C. 85 (App. Mithr. 53). But that it was on the site of, and represented, Homeric Troy, was an article of national faith with Romans; though the theory of Demetrius of Skepsis (see Grote, i. ch. 15, p. 444) must have been known through its adoption by Strabo (13. 1, 35, 598). Lucan indeed (9, 961–979), possibly also Horace (Od. 3. 3, 40–60), speak as if the site of Troy was a wilderness; but such rhetorical language may be explained by supposing that the last restoration was partial, and that the ancient sites were conceived as extending over an ampler space (see Friedl. ii. p. 121). Ilium, though a favoured city, and subsequently freed from all tribute (12. 58, 1; Pl. N. H. 5. 30, 33, 124) was in itself insignificant: cp. 4. 55, 4.

**nostri.** On this genitive, see Introd. v. § 33 a.

1. **relegit,** 'again coasted along.' This sense is rare, and the word mostly poetical: also 'lego' is often thus used in Vergil (G. 2. 44, etc.).

**Colophona,** one of the Ionian cities. Its oracle of Clarian Apollo is spoken of by Strabo (14. 1, 27, 642) as a thing of the past; but it was again in repute in Pliny's time (N. H. 2. 103, 106, 232): see also note on 12. 22, 1. Several later notices of the oracle are referred to by Marquardt (iii. 96, note 4).

3. **Mileto.** The oracle appears to have been an offshoot from that of Apollo Didymaeus (on which see on 3. 63, 5).

5. **literarum et carminum,** 'of writing and metre.'

9. **properantius:** cp. 3. 74, 5, etc.; Sall. Jug. 8, 2; 96, 2. Tacitus has the positive in 16. 24, 2; elsewhere both forms are poetical.

10. **incessu.** The use of this word to denote an entrance upon a place or country, especially by way of hostile invasion (cp. 3. 33, 2; 4. 24, 2; 12. 50. 2), appears to be wholly Tacitean: in 6. 35, 5, probably also in 4. 74, 1, it is used of approaches or means of access.

11. **oblique perstringens:** from 5. 2, 2 (cp. also 5. 11, 1), this would appear to mean that he made allusion without mentioning his name.

12. **tot cladibus.** Attica had suffered severely from the last Philip of Macedon in B.C. 200 (Liv. 31. 26), and Athens itself still more from its siege and storm by Sulla in 668, B.C. 86 (App. Mithr. 30–40); after which its long walls and fortifications had never been restored: its last fleet was lost at Actium.

13. **conluviem . . . nationum.** The easy acquisition of its citizenship by purchase, formerly denounced by Demosthenes (*περὶ συντάξ*, § 24), had been forbidden by Augustus in 733, B.C. 21 (*ἀπηγόρευσε σφίσι μηδένα πολίτην ἀργυρίου ποιεῖσθαι* Dio, 54. 7, 2).

**hos enim.** Velleius (2. 23, 4) excuses the Athenians as having been forced, in the Mithridatic war, to act against their sympathies.

gustum socios. etiam vetera obiectabat, quae in Macedones 2
inprospere, violenter in suos fecissent, offensus urbi propria
quoque ira, quia Theophilum quendam Areo iudicio falsi dam-
natum precibus suis non concederent. exim navigatione celeri 3
per Cycladas et compendia maris adsequitur Germanicum apud
insulam Rhodum, haud nescium quibus insectationibus petitus
foret: sed tanta mansuetudine agebat, ut, cum orta tempestas
raperet in abrupta possetque interitus inimici ad casum referri,
miserit triremis quarum subsidio discrimini eximeretur. neque 4
tamen mitigatus Piso, et vix diei moram perpessus linquit Ger-
manicum praevenitque. et postquam Suriam ac legiones attigit,
largitione, ambitu, infimos manipularium iuvando, cum veteres
centuriones, severos tribunos demoveret locaque eorum clienti-
bus suis vel deterrimo cuique attribueret, desidiam in castris,
licentiam in urbibus, vagum ac lascivientem per agros militem
sineret, eo usque corruptionis provectus est, ut sermone vulgi
parens legionum haberetur. nec Plancina se intra decora feminis 5
tenebat, sed exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium interesse,
in Agrippinam, in Germanicum contumelias iacere, quibusdam
etiam bonorum militum ad mala obsequia promptis, quod haud
invito imperatore ea fieri occultus rumor incedebat. nota haec 6
Germanico, sed praeverti ad Armenios instantior cura fuit.

2. **violenter in suos**, their many instances of ingratitude to their own public men, throughout their history.

3. **Areo iudicio**, ἅπ. εἰρ. for 'Arei pagi iudicio.' Nipp. shows, by several references, that in Roman writers, though the orthography of 'Areus' varies, the best MSS. always follow the Greek usage, and do not give 'Areopagus' as one word. Athens, as a free state, had still its own courts.

**falsi damnatum**, 'convicted of forgery;' so also H. 2. 86, 2: cp. Prof. Mayor on Juv. 1. 67.

4. **concederent**, = 'condonarent:' cp. 4. 31, 1; 16. 33, 3; Cic. pro Marc. 1, 3.

6. **petitus foret**. The tense refers to the past speech at Athens.

8. **raperet in abrupta**, 'was driving him on a reef:' cp. 'insulae saxis abruptis' c. 23, 3; also 15. 42, 3; and the metaphorical uses in 4. 20, 5; H. 1. 48, 7; Agr. 42, 5. The object of 'raperet' is supplied from 'inimici' below. On the dat. with 'eximere,' cp. 1. 48, 2, etc.; 'eximere discrimini' is repeated in 6. 9, 6.

13. **centuriones . . . tribunos demoveret**. This passage illustrates the discretion of appointment left by Caesar to his legati. See also that left to the 'praefectus praetorio' (which seems exceptional), 4. 2. 3.

17. **haberetur**. Nipp. notes that the simple verb is here used for 'perhibeor:' cp. 'qui nunc Albanus habetur' Verg. Aen. 12, 134.

18. **exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium**. Nipp. cites the parallel passage (3. 33, 3), to show that 'exercitium' and 'decursus' are used indifferently for 'manœuvres;' the 'cohortes' being here foot as opposed to horse, there the auxiliaries as opposed to the legions.

22. **praeverti ad**: so 'praevertere ad' 4. 32, 2. As a deponent, the verb has often this sense, more usually with dat.

**instantior**, 'more urgent:' cp. 'species instantior' H. 4. 83, 4. The participle is used in this sense by Nep. and Quint.

**cura fuit**. Dräger compares 'erit mihi curae explorare provinciae volunta-

1 **56.** Ambigua gens ea antiquitus hominum ingeniis et situ
terrarum, quoniam nostris provinciis late praetenta penitus ad
Medos porrigitur; maximisque imperiis interiecti et saepius dis-
cordes sunt, adversus Romanos odio et in Parthum invidia.
2 regem illa tempestate non habebant, amoto Vonone: sed favor
nationis inclinabat in Zenonem, Polemonis regis Pontici filium,
quod is prima ab infantia instituta et cultum Armeniorum aemu-
latus, venatu epulis et quae alia barbari celebrant, proceres
3 plebemque iuxta devinxerat. igitur Germanicus in urbe Ar-
taxata, adprobantibus nobilibus, circumfusa multitudine, insigne
regium capiti eius imposuit. ceteri venerantes regem Artaxiam
consalutavere, quod illi vocabulum indiderant ex nomine urbis.

tem' Plin. Epp. 7. 10, 2. Tacitus thus uses an inf. with 'cupido erat' (14. 14, 1); 'ratio fuit' (H. 3. 22, 1), etc.: see Introd. v. § 43.

1. **Ambigua**, 'fickle;' cp. c. 67, 1. On the circumstances of Parthia and Armenia at this time, see c. 1-4.

2. **late praetenta**, 'bordering far along.' The expression is Vergilian (Aen. 3, 692; 6, 60), and suits the time of Tacitus rather than that of Tiberius, when Armenia touched only the new provincial frontier of Cappadocia and Commagene on the Euphrates. Its other limits, varying at different epochs, may be taken at this time to be those given by Strabo (11. 14, 1, 527), i.e. on the south, Mt. Taurus (Masius and Niphates), and on the east, Media (the Araxes); while, on the north, Armenia Minor separated it from Pontus, Iberia and Albania (see c. 68, 1) from Caucasus. It will thus mainly coincide with the Transcaucasian dominion of Russia and the Turkish province of Erzeroum.

**ad Medos.** The independent Media Atropatene (see c. 4, etc.) is here meant, described by Strabo (11. 13, 2, 523) as east of Armenia and Matiene, and west (or rather north-west) of Greater Media. It will be seen mainly to answer to the present Persian province of Azerbaijan.

3. **discordes**, 'hostile to them.' The word in this sense is used with a dative in 3. 42, 3; 11. 6, 1; 4. 38, 4, and in Ovid and Velleius.

5. **amoto Vonone**: see c. 4, 4.

6. **Zenonem, Polemonis . . . filium.** Polemo I., who had received Pontus and Lesser Armenia from Antonius, and Bosporus from Augustus, had lost his life cir. B.C. 1; but Pontus was still governed by his widow Pythodoris (who had afterwards married Archelaus of Cappadocia) assisted by her son and successor Polemo II. (Strab. 12. 3, 29, 555, 556). This other son Zeno is mentioned by Strabo (l. l.), and an inscription in his honour has been found at Smyrna, which states that his maternal grandmother was Antonia, apparently a daughter of M. Antonius by Fadia: see Mommsen in Eph. Epig. i. 270.

8. **celebrant**, 'use constantly:' so in 15. 44, 4; H. 2. 49, 7; Dial. 24, 2.

9. **Artaxata.** Here, and in 6. 33, 2, this appears not to be indecl., but to be abl. sing., in apposition with 'urbe;' elsewhere it is a plural (as in 14. 23, 1). Similar variations in the form of words are noted in Introd. v. § 85. The city, which was burnt by Corbulo in 811, A.D. 58 (13. 41, 3), was situate on the Araxes, at some point near the modern Erivan.

10. **insigne regium**, the tiara and diadem. A coin, struck apparently in the East, bearing on one side the head of Germanicus and the title 'Germanicus Caesar Ti. Aug. f.,' and on the reverse the coronation of Artaxias and the inscription 'Germanic. Artaxias' (Cohen, i. 225, 6), is noted by Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. p. 803) as probably struck without authority, and not in accordance with the usual limits of right of representation on coins at this time.

12. **ex nomine urbis**, his name was really, no doubt, taken from that of two of his predecessors; the city itself having been named after Artaxias I., who founded it under the superintendence of Hannibal (Strab. 11. 14, 6, 528; Plut. Luc. 31, 513).

at Cappadoces in formam provinciae redacti Q. Veranium lega- 4
tum accepere; et quaedam ex regiis tributis deminuta, quo
mitius Romanum imperium speraretur. Commagenis Q. Ser- 5
vaeus praeponitur, tum primum ad ius praetoris translatis.

**57.** Cunctaque socialia prospere composita non ideo laetum 1
Germanicum habebant ob superbiam Pisonis, qui iussus partem
legionum ipse aut per filium in Armeniam ducere utrumque
neglexerat. Cyrri demum apud hiberna decumae legionis con- 2
venere, firmato vultu, Piso adversus metum, Germanicus, ne
minari crederetur; et erat, ut rettuli, clementior. sed amici 3
accendendis offensionibus callidi intendere vera, adgerere falsa
ipsumque et Plancinam et filios variis modis criminari. post- 4
remo paucis familiarium adhibitis sermo coeptus a Caesare,
qualem ira et dissimulatio gignit, responsum a Pisone precibus
contumacibus; discesseruntque apertis odiis. post quae rarus

1. **Cappadoces**: cp. c. 42, 6.

**Q. Veranium.** He was legatus of Germanicus and one of the accusers of Piso (3. 10, 2; 13, 3; 19, 1). Some identify him with the consul of 802, A.D. 49 (12. 5, 1), afterwards legatus of Britain (14. 29, 1; Agr. 14, 3), who may more probably have been his son.

**legatum accepere.** He appears only to have organized the province and at once returned (c. 74, 2). Cappadocia became a Caesarian province under a procurator (ἱππεῖ ἐπετράπη), Dio, 57. 17, 7: cp. 12. 49, 1; Suet. Vesp. 8.

3. **speraretur**, sc. 'fore:' cp. 3. 8, 1; 6. 41, 2, where Nipp. cites 'superos sperare secundos' (Luc. 7, 349); 'quem ... adiutorem speraverat' (Suet. Aug. 10).

**Commagenis**: see on c. 42: νῦν δ' ἐπαρχία γέγονε (Strab. 16. 2, 3, p. 749).

**Q. Servaeus.** This name is restored by Lips. from 3. 13, 3; 6. 7, 2; for the MS. 'serva eius.' The first of these passages shows that he also was not a permanent governor.

4. **ad ius praetoris**, i.e. to the jurisdiction of the 'legatus Augusti propraetore' of Syria. In 791, A.D. 38, Gaius again set up a king of Commagene, Antiochus III. (Dio, 59. 8, 2); and it was again taken under Roman government, apparently united with Syria, by Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 8): see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 240. The dominion of Philopator of Cilicia (cp. c. 42, 7), which is not here mentioned, was also probably annexed to Syria.

5. **socialia.** This neuter appears to be here alone used for 'res sociales.' The idea contained in the whole sentence is subject of 'habebant:' cp. Introd. v. § 65 b, 2.

**laetum . . . habebant**, 'did not keep him pleased:' cp. c. 65, 1; also 'sollicitum habere aliquem' Plaut. Men. 4. 2, 21; Cic. Fam. 7. 3, 1, etc.

7. **filium**, M. Piso: see c. 76, 2, etc.

**utrumque**, i.e. he had sent only a legatus of lower rank in charge of them.

8. **Cyrri.** Cyrrus, now Choros, gave its name to Cyrrestica, the northern division of Syria. It lay on the chief road connecting Antioch with the bridge over the Euphrates at Zeugma.

**decumae legionis**: see Introd. vii. p. 104.

10. **ut rettuli**: cp. c. 55, 3.

11. **intendere**: cp. c. 38, 6.

12. **filios.** One of the sons had remained in Rome (3. 16, 5), but may have been accused of intriguing there. That the proceedings of Germanicus were watched and reported at home, would appear from c. 59.

13. **paucis familiarium adhibitis.** The same expression is repeated in 3. 10, 6, of an informal board of assessors. Here they are only witnesses.

14. **ira et dissimulatio**, 'resentment struggling against disguise,' i.e. partially, but not wholly dissembled: cp. 'amore et ira' 13. 44, 6.

15. **contumacibus**, 'insolent,' i.e. 'ironical entreaties.'

**discesserunt.** The MS. has 'disces-

in tribunali Caesaris Piso, et si quando adsideret, atrox ac dis-
5 sentire manifestus. vox quoque eius audita est in convivio, cum
apud regem Nabataeorum coronae aureae magno pondere Cae-
sari et Agrippinae, leves Pisoni et ceteris offerrentur, principis
Romani, non Parthi regis filio eas epulas dari; abiecitque simul
coronam et multa in luxum addidit, quae Germanico quamquam
acerba tolerabantur tamen.
1 **58.** Inter quae ab rege Parthorum Artabano legati venere.
miserat amicitiam ac foedus memoraturos, et cupere renovari
dextras, daturumque honori Germanici ut ripam Euphratis
accederet: petere interim ne Vonones in Suria haberetur neu
2 proceres gentium propinquis nuntiis ad discordias traheret. ad
ea Germanicus de societate Romanorum Parthorumque magni-
fice, de adventu regis et cultu sui cum decore ac modestia re-
3 spondit. Vonones Pompeiopolim Ciliciae maritimam urbem

serant,' as if the event was regarded from a subsequent time; but it seems more probable that the same tense is carried through the narration in the chapter.

**apertis odiis**: so in most edd. after Lipsius. The MS. 'opertis' has found defenders, who would explain it by laying the stress on 'odiis,' and by pointing out that outward courtesies of dining with each other, etc. (cp. 3. 14, 2), were still maintained. But there was certainly little concealment in the language or conduct of Piso (cp. below, and c. 69), and 'undisguised enmity' is quite distinct from formal 'renuntiatio amicitiae' (c. 70, 3).

**post quae.** Most edd. adopt this from Muretus; but the MS. 'postque' is retained by Nipp. and others. Madvig's rule (§ 435 a, Obs. 1), that, except in double relative clauses, 'que' . . . 'que' would in prose be used only to connect two words, of which the former is a pronoun (e.g. 'seque regnumque' c. 3, 3), appears certainly to find exceptions in Tacitus, who has 'levavitque . . . multaque usurpavit' (c. 59, 2), and 'meque . . . cepisset aliorumque . . . expectarem' (16. 16, 1). But here the sentences are less closely joined, and 'post quae' is a common form of expression with Tacitus, as in c. 86, 1; 1. 13, 1; 3. 11, 2; 17, 1, etc.

2. **manifestus.** Dräger notes the use of this word with inf., as found only here and Dial. 16, 2; Stat. Theb. 10, 759; and the Digests.

3. **Nabataeorum.** This people held at this time the greater part of North west Arabia, and had displaced the Idumaeans from their ancient capital, Petra.

**coronae.** Such gifts are mentioned in 14. 24, 6, and Just. 18, 2.

4. **principis . . . regis.** These are emphatically opposed, and show the difference of the idea of the principate from that of a sultanate. On the combination 'Parthus rex,' see Introd. v. § 3.

6. **luxum.** He charges Germanicus with this (c. 78, 1).

9. **memoraturos,** 'to call to mind:' so in 4. 46, 4. The friendship is that between Augustus and Phraates (c. 1).

**renovari dextras.** The metaphor is a bold one, and seems to be used to avoid a repetition of 'amicitia' or 'foedus.' The MS. has 'cuperere novari,' whence Nipp. prefers to read 'cupere novari.' Both verbs are found in Tacitus.

10. **daturum**: cp. 'datum id' below, and 1. 7, 10, etc.

11. **accederet**: so used with simple acc. 12. 31, 3; H. 2. 27, 3, etc.; also in poets, and Sall.

**Vonones**: see c. 4, 4.

**haberetur,** 'be kept in custody:' so c. 63, 5; 11. 16, 1, etc.

**neu . . . traheret**: see note on 1. 79, 1.

14. **cultu sui.** The compliment offered above.

**decore,** 'gracefully.'

15. **Pompeiopolim.** This town, formerly Σόλοι, took its name from Cn. Pompeius its restorer: it is now Mezetlu. On the end of Vonones, cp. c. 68.

amotus est. datum id non modo precibus Artabani sed contumeliae Pisonis, cui gratissimus erat ob plurima officia et dona, quibus Plancinam devinxerat.

**59.** M. Silano L. Norbano consulibus Germanicus Aegyptum 1
proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis. sed cura provinciae 2
praetendebatur, levavitque apertis horreis pretia frugum multaque
in vulgus grata usurpavit: sine milite incedere, pedibus intectis
et pari cum Graecis amictu, P. Scipionis aemulatione, quem
eadem factitavisse apud Siciliam, quamvis flagrante adhuc Poe-
norum bello, accepimus. Tiberius cultu habituque eius lenibus 3
verbis perstricto, acerrime increpuit quod contra instituta Augusti
non sponte principis Alexandriam introisset. nam Augustus 4
inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu ingredi sena-
toribus aut equitibus Romanis inlustribus, seposuit Aegyptum,

1. **datum**; by zeugma with 'contumeliae.'

4. **M. Silano L. Norbano coss.**: on the order of events here, see note on c. 62. From several inscriptions (e.g. I. R. N. 2898) the full names of these consuls can be given, 'M. Iunius Silanus, L. Norbanus Balbus.' The former, not identical with the better known M. Silanus (cp. 3. 24, 5), is identified by Henzen with the Arvalis of 793–804, A.D. 40–54 (C.I.L. vi. 1, 2030, 2032, 2035) and the procos. of Africa (Introd. vii. p. 96); and is also probably the Silanus who married Aemilia Lepida (Introd. ix. note 10). These consuls give their names to the Lex Iunia Norbana, on which see note on 13. 27, 4.

**Aegyptum proficiscitur**: on the whole subject of Roman travel in Egypt, see Friedl. ii. pp. 123–152.

5. **cognoscendae antiquitatis**: on this gen., see Introd. v. § 37 d.

**cura provinciae praetendebatur.** Tacitus appears to consider the famine there not so pressing as Suetonius makes it, who speaks (Tib. 52) of 'immensa et repentina fames.' Josephus (c. Ap. 2, 5) mentions a distribution of corn by Germanicus at Alexandria, which is implied to have been necessarily meagre in amount. Egypt (see below) is hardly in strictness a 'provincia' (Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 826).

6. **horreis.** Such public granaries, though especially important here, appear to have existed in all provinces, to assist the local, and, if possible, the Roman corn-market: see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 131. It is possible that the action of Germanicus seriously affected the supply of Rome for this year: see c. 87, 1.

7. **in vulgus**: cp. 1. 76, 5.

**intectis**, i.e. 'with only sandals on them.' The word is first found in Sall. and common in Tacitus: cp. 3. 41, 4; 4. 1. 3, etc.

8. **P. Scipionis.** Africanus is described by Livy (29. 19, 11) as going about at Syracuse 'cum pallio crepidisque;' these are the Greek ἱμάτιον and ὑποδήματα, as distinct from the Roman 'toga' and 'calcei:' see also Suet. Tib. 13.

10. **cultu habituque**: see on 1. 10, 7.

11. **increpuit.** According to Suet. Tib. 52, this complaint was made publicly in the senate.

12. **non sponte**, 'without leave of.' The word is used with gen. some ten or more times in the Hist. and Ann. (e.g. 4. 7, 3; 51, 5; 6. 31, 4, etc.), and, earlier, in Lucan and Pl. mai.

13. **arcana**: see on c. 36, 2.

14. **equitibus . . . inlustribus**: cp. 4. 58, 1; 6. 18, 4, etc. They are also called 'insignes' (11. 5, 2), 'primores' (H. 1. 4. 3), 'equites dignitate senatoria' (16. 17, 1), 'splendidi' (Pl. Epp. 6. 15, 1; 25, 1). On the distinction between these and such as are no more than 'equites modici' (1. 73, 1), see Introd. vii. p. 87.

**seposuit**, 'kept to himself:' so (with 'sibi') 6. 19, 1; 13. 19, 2. Elsewhere (H. 1. 11, 1) Egypt is said 'domi retineri,' i.e. to be reserved to the 'house,' or 'personal government' of the 'princeps;' who here

ne fame urgueret Italiam, quisquis eam provinciam claustraque
terrae ac maris quamvis levi praesidio adversum ingentes exer-
citus insedisset.
1 **60.** Sed Germanicus nondum comperto profectionem eam
2 incusari Nilo subvehebatur, orsus oppido a Canopo. condidere
id Spartani ob sepultum illic rectorem navis Canopum, qua
tempestate Menelaus Graeciam repetens diversum ad mare
3 terramque Libyam deiectus *est*. inde proximum amnis os di-
catum Herculi, quem indigenae ortum apud se et antiquissimum
perhibent eosque qui postea pari virtute fuerint in cognomentum
4 eius adscitos; mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia. et
manebant structis molibus literae Aegyptiae, priorem opulentiam
complexae; iussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermo-
nem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam septingenta milia

in reality represented its ancient kings, and appointed no legatus, but governed it through an equestrian 'praefectus' as viceroy ('equites Romani obtinent vice regum' (H. 1. 11, 1): see Strab. 16. 1, 12, 797; and further particulars in Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 826, 912; Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 284.

1. **fame urgueret Italiam.** Vespasian occupied Alexandria with this object (H. 3. 48, 4). On the inability of Italy to feed itself, see 3. 54, 6, etc.

**claustra.** According to Hirtius (B. Alex. c. 26) 'tota Aegyptos maritumo accessu Pharo, pedestri Pelusio velut claustris munita existimatur:' cp. H. 2. 82, 4, and 'claustrum pelagi Pharon' Luc. 10, 509.

5. **oppido a Canopo**: on the position of the prep., see Introd. v. § 77, 5. Canopus, or Canobus, gave its name to the western branch of the Nile (Hdt. 2. 17, etc.), and was an important city until the foundation of Alexandria. Its ruins are traced about three miles west of Abukir.

6. **ob sepultum . . . rectorem.** This does not appear in the old story of the voyage of Menelaus (see Hdt. 2. 113), but was a tradition known to Strabo (17. 1, 17, 801), and Pliny (N. H. 5. 31, 34, 128).

7. **diversum**: cp. 1. 17, 5, etc.

8. **deiectus est.** The MS. has 'delectus' without 'est.' The former error is noted again in 4. 25, 6, and a similar one ('prolectae') in 3. 65, 4. The insertion of 'est' is questioned (cp. Walther and Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 36), but defended by Nipp., who maintains that Tacitus would not omit the verb in such a position with a masc. or fem. subject.

**inde**, sc. 'visit,' supplied from below.

**proximum . . . os.** The mouth itself is called the 'Kanobic' by Hdt. (2. 17, 4) and Strabo (17. 1, 18, 802).

9. **Herculi**: on the temple near Canopus see Hdt. 2. 113, 3; and on the deity (apparently one of the forms of the sun-god) so called by the Egyptian Greeks, Id. c. 43–45, and the commentators there. Strabo (l. l.) also mentions the temple.

11. **mox.** Tacitus omits a story given by Pliny (N. H. 8. 46, 71, 185), that Germanicus visited Memphis, where the bull Apis refused food at his hand, a presage of his death.

**veterum Thebarum.** The epithet appears to be used to mark it as the oldest city of that name. It was known to Greeks in Homeric times (Il. 9, 383), apparently as the richest and most populous in the world.

12. **structis molibus**, 'on piles of masonry,' i. e. those of Karnak and Luxor.

**literae**, the hieroglyphics, more accurately described in 11. 14, 1.

12. **opulentiam complexae**, 'giving a summary of its ancient might:' so 'complecti oratione,' etc. (Cic.). 'Opulentia,' like 'opes,' is sometimes used of resources in general: cp. 4. 55, 7; Sall. Cat. 6, 3: so perhaps 'opulentior' 3. 43, 1.

14. **septingenta.** We can hardly suppose this sentence to mean that such was the number in Thebes alone or its district.

aetate militari, atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libya Aethiopia Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scytha potitum quasque terras Suri Armeniique et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. lege- 5
bantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equorumque et dona templis ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quaeque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana iubentur.

**61.** Ceterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit ani- 1
mum, quorum praecipua fuere Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi

If it be taken to mean those of that age in all Egypt, it may be compared with other estimates of the population, on which see Mr. Donne, in Dict. of Geog. p. 38. Hdt. (2. 165, 166) reckons the Egyptian force (i.e. that of its military caste) at a maximum of about 400,000.

1. **Rhamsen.** Rameses II. or Rameses Meriamen ('beloved of Ammon'), the great king of the nineteenth dynasty, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. The conquests ascribed to him here and in the monuments are those assigned to Sesostris by Hdt. (2. 102) and others, including even Strabo (15. 1, 6, 686; 17. 1, 5, 789). He is the king represented in the great colossi at Abu-Simbel.

**Libya.** This, as in Hdt. and elsewhere, denotes the north coast of Africa; and 'Aethiopia' especially Nubia and Abyssinia. The monuments appear to confirm this claim of conquest as regards these countries and Syria and Mesopotamia. Hdt. (2. 102–106) follows a tradition nearly agreeing with that here given, and includes Thrace as well as Scythia in the list of Egyptian conquests. On the monumental evidence, see Rawlinson, Egypt, ii. p. 302, etc.

2. **Medisque . . . et Bactriano.** The expressions are changed from names of countries to names of people, plural to singular, and again to plural, to avoid the monotony of a long list: so 'Samnis Pelignus et Marsi' H. 3. 59, 2; and other instances given in Introd. v. § 2; Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 5.

4. **Bithynum . . . Lycium mare.** The former of these would appear to be taken to mean the Euxine and Propontis, the latter the northern part of the Levant. The whole expression would include Asia Minor, but not Thrace, in the conquests of Rameses.

7. **utensilium:** cp. 1. 70, 6. Corn would not here be excepted from the term, but rather mentioned for prominence.

8. **vi Parthorum.** This appears here invidiously contrasted with 'potentia Romana,' though 'vis Romana' is used of the Roman government in 3. 60, 6.

11. **Memnonis saxea effigies.** One of two sitting colossi of Amunoph III. (eighteenth dynasty), still remaining among the ruins of Thebes, had been partially overthrown by an earthquake (probably in 728, B.C. 26); and the sound proceeding at sunrise from its remaining part is first mentioned by Strabo (17. 1, 46, p. 816), and described as ψόφος ὡς ἂν πληγῆς οὐ μεγαλῆς. Pausanias (1. 42, 3) describes it as like the breaking of a harp-string. The Greek belief, that the statue was that of Memnon, appears to have arisen between the time of Strabo and that of Pliny (N. H. 36. 7, 11, 58). A number of inscriptions, dating A.D. 65–196, are written on the legs and base, by persons who heard the sound; among them by Hadrian and Sabina. See C. I. G. 4719–4761; and Add. iii. p. 1200, foll.; C. I. L. iii. 1, 30–66: specimens of these are given in Wilmanns 2731–2733; Orelli 517–524; Henzen 5304–5306, 6864. From a comparison of similar sounds heard now in the buildings of Thebes and elsewhere, it is suggested that these may have been due to the effect of a sudden increase of heat on the chilled air in crevices. The cessation of the sounds since the restoration of the statue (probably by Septimius Severus) and consequent alteration of its structure, confirms this. For the literature of the subject, see Mommsen on C. I. L. l.l., and Prof. Mayor on Juv. 15, 5.

radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens, disiectasque inter
et vix pervias arenas instar montium eductae pyramides certa-
mine et opibus regum, lacusque effossa humo, superfluentis Nili
receptacula; atque alibi angustiae et profunda altitudo, nullis
2 inquirentium spatiis penetrabilis. exim ventum Elephantinen
ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii, quod nunc rubrum ad
mare patescit.

1 **62.** Dum ea aestas Germanico plures per provincias transigitur,
haud leve decus Drusus quaesivit inliciens Germanos ad discordias
2 utque fracto iam Maroboduo usque in exitium insisteretur. erat
inter Gotones nobilis iuvenis nomine Catualda, profugus olim vi
3 Marobodui et tunc dubiis rebus eius ultionem ausus. is valida
manu fines Marcomanorum ingreditur corruptisque primoribus ad

1. **disiectas**, 'drifted.' The general idea of the verb is that of dispersion (1. 32, 7; 61, 3; c. 23, 3, etc.); though the result in some cases, as here, may be the formation of almost impassable drifts in places. Attention seems intended to be drawn to the difficulty of building pyramids on such foundation. They stand in reality on a plateau of rock.

2. **eductae**: cp. 12. 16, 3, etc. This sense of the word is Vergilian, and apparently not found in earlier prose.

3. **lacus**, the lake Moeris of Hdt. (2. 14, 9), near Memphis. Tacitus appears to have thought that this and the pyramids lay above Thebes.

4. **altitudo**, sc. 'Nili.'

5. **inquirentium spatiis**, 'lengths of line used by those who would sound it.' Hdt. (2. 28, 6) mentions such a story, himself believing that the lines were carried away by the current; as appears to be the case near the cataract of Syene.

**Elephantinen ac Syenen.** The former is an island opposite the latter (Essouan); and these still form the boundary between Egypt and Nubia. Neither Hdt. (2. 28, 29), nor Pliny (N. H. 5. 9, 10, 59), appear aware of the close proximity of the two places.

6. **claustra**, not used as in c. 59, 4, but = 'fines;' so 'claustra imperii' (Cic. Flacc. 13, 30); 'Etruriae' (Liv. 9. 32, 1). According to Strabo (17. 1. 12, 797), three Roman cohorts were stationed here.

**nunc**; at the height of the conquests of Trajan in 868, A. D. 115: see on 4. 4, 6, and Introd. i. p. 4.

**rubrum mare.** Here, as in 14. 25, 3, the Persian gulf appears to be meant (the Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα of Hdt. 1. 180, 2, etc.); where Trajan had formed a fleet to operate against India (Eutr. 8, 3).

8. **Dum ea aestas**, etc. Though I have not followed Nipp. in the actual transposition, it must be admitted that there is great force in the arguments cited from Steup (Rhein. Mus. 24. 72) to show that ch. 62–67 belong to the narrative of the preceding year, and should be placed before ch. 59–61. That year, rather than this, is recorded as 'spent by Germanicus in many provinces;' Drusus had left for Illyricum before the end of 770, A. D. 17 (cp. c. 44, 1; 53, 1), and is hardly likely to have done nothing all the next year; and again, the news of his success (c. 64, 1) reached Rome simultaneously with that of the coronation of Artaxias (cp. c. 56, 3). The narrative is taken up from c. 46.

9. **inliciens Germanos**, etc. This should be repeated with 'ut . . . insisteretur;' such a construction with 'inlicere' being in the manner of Livy (10. 17, 6, etc.) and others.

11. **Gotones**, the 'Gothi' of later history. The earliest notices of this people, from Pytheas of Massilia, cir. B. C. 300 (cited in Pl. N. H. 37. 2, 11, 35), to Tacitus (G. 44, 1) and Ptolemy (3. 5, § 20), place them at the furthest limit of Germany on the coast east of the Vistula. It would be more natural to suppose the Celtic Gothini (G. 43, 1) who lived in Silesia, to be here meant; but a tribe called in the MSS. of Strabo (7. 1, 2, 290) Βούτωνες, possibly a corruption of Γότωνες, is specified by him among the subjects of Maroboduus.

societatem inrumpit regiam castellumque iuxta situm. veteres 4
illic Sueborum praedae et nostris e provinciis lixae ac negotia-
tores reperti, quos ius commercii, dein cupido augendi pecuniam,
postremum oblivio patriae suis quemque ab sedibus hostilem in
agrum transtulerat.

**63**. Maroboduo undique deserto non aliud subsidium quam 1
misericordia Caesaris fuit. transgressus Danuvium, qua Noricam
provinciam praefluit, scripsit Tiberio non ut profugus aut sup-
plex, sed ex memoria prioris fortunae: nam multis nationibus
clarissimum quondam regem ad se vocantibus Romanam ami-
citiam praetulisse. responsum a Caesare tutam ei honoratamque 2
sedem in Italia fore, si maneret: sin rebus eius aliud conduceret,
abiturum fide qua venisset. ceterum apud senatum disseruit 3
non Philippum Atheniensibus, non Pyrrum aut Antiochum
populo Romano perinde metuendos fuisse. extat oratio, qua 4
magnitudinem viri, violentiam subiectarum ei gentium et quam
propinquus Italiae hostis, suaque in destruendo eo consilia ex-
tulit. et Maroboduus quidem Ravennae habitus, si quando in- 5

**Marcomanorum**: see c. 46, 5.

**ad societatem**, sc. 'ineundam:' so 'corrupta ad scelus' (4. 10, 2), and similar constructions, with gerund or gerundive, after 'exterritus' (3. 49, 3; 6. 8, 1). Walther notes the similar Greek constr. with εἰς, as κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν (Hdt. 1. 27, 1).

1. **regiam**, the βασίλειον of Strabo (see on c. 45, 4) in Bohemia; where Ptolemy (2. 11, § 29) mentions a place called Μαρόβουδον, probably at or near Budweis.

3. **ius commercii**. It is to be inferred that this was given in the treaty between him and the Romans (c. 45, 4). On the commerce on the German frontier, cp. H. 4. 65, 4, etc.

**augendi pecuniam**, sc. 'fenore.' Such dealings carried on by the negotiatores often made them liable to sudden attack: cp. 3. 42, 1; Vell. 2. 110, 6.

4. **oblivio patriae**: on the tendencies operating at this time to break down the barriers of nationality, see Introd. vii. p. 109.

7. **Danuvium**. This is the form in the MS. here and in 4. 5, 5, and in inscriptions (Orelli 648, etc.); and is held to be the proper Latin form, '-ubius' being a later corruption.

**Noricam**. This province, formed soon after 738, B.C. 16, extended along the Danube from the junction of the Inn to a little above Vienna, and thus intervened between Rhaetia and Pannonia (see notes on 1. 16, 1; 44, 6); and would correspond mainly with the present Austria, Styria, and Carinthia. It was at this time an 'inermis provincia' under a 'procurator:' see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 135.

8. **praefluit** = 'praeterfluit:' so in 15. 15, 1, etc.; Liv. 1. 45, 6; Hor.; Pl. mai, etc.: see note on c. 6, 5.

9. **nam**, explaining 'ex memoria.' Such elliptical uses (cp. 15. 1, 5; 16. 18, 1, etc.) follow a very common use of γάρ in Greek.

13. **fide qua**. The full expression, 'eadem fide, qua,' occurs in c. 78, 1: such an ellipse (as in c. 67, 4; 12. 24, 4; 16. 17, 3) is noted by Dräger as not found earlier than in the Annals.

15. **oratio**. This may have been cited from the 'acta senatus:' see Introd. iii. p. 14.

16. **magnitudinem . . . et quam**, etc.: see Introd. v. § 91, 8. On the power of Maroboduus, see note on c. 44, 3.

17. **destruendo eo**. Dräger notes that the use of this verb with a personal object (as here and in H. 1. 6, 1) is confined to Tacitus and Pl. min.

18. **si quando**. The MS. text 'nesi

solescerent Suebi, quasi rediturus in regnum ostentabatur: sed
non excessit Italia per duodeviginti annos consenuitque multum
6 imminuta claritate ob nimiam vivendi cupidinem. idem Ca-
tualdae casus neque aliud perfugium. pulsus haud multo post
7 Hermundurorum opibus et Vibilio duce receptusque, Forum Iu-
lium, Narbonensis Galliae coloniam, mittitur. barbari utrumque
comitati ne quietas provincias immixti turbarent, Danuvium
ultra inter flumina Marum et Cusum locantur, dato rege Vannio
gentis Quadorum.

1 **64.** Simul nuntiato regem Artaxian Armeniis a Germanico
datum, decrevere patres ut Germanicus atque Drusus ovantes
2 urbem introirent. structi et arcus circum latera templi Martis
Ultoris cum effigie Caesarum, laetiore Tiberio, quia pacem

quando' (read as 'ne, si quando') seems incapable of satisfactory explanation (see the attempts of Walth., Duebn., and Doed.); but it is possible that 'ne' may represent 'inde' (Weissenborn) or 'unde' (Ritt.), which would be taken with 'ostentabatur.'

**insolescerent**: cp. c. 75, 3; H. 2. 7, 2. The verb is rare, and mostly of late use.

2. **duodeviginti.** This would show him to have died in 789, A.D. 36. Velleius (2. 129, 4) alludes to him as detained 'honorate nec secure.'

3. **vivendi cupidinem**: cp. the sentiment in Juv. 8, 84; 15, 106; quoted as part of the Stoic morality.

5. **Hermundurorum.** These are described as a friendly and privileged people bordering on Rhaetia (G. 41, 1), between the Marcomani and Chatti (Id. 42, 1; Ann. 13. 57, 1). They must therefore have inhabited Northern Bavaria; and Tacitus (G. l.l.) must have been in error in placing them at the sources of the Elbe. Their position is different at various times.

**Vibilio.** He was still their leader thirty-two years later (12. 29, 2), unless Ruperti is right in thinking that the word may be a general name, 'Weibel,' = 'dux.' The abl. is instrumental, corresponding to 'opibus' (cp. Introd. v. § 27).

**Forum Iulium**, Frejus. This, like Ravenna, was a naval station (4. 5, 1).

6. **barbari . . . comitati**, the 'clientela:' cp. 1. 57, 4, etc. The precaution here taken shows their numbers.

8. **Marum et Cusum.** The first of these, separating the Suebi from the Daci (Pl. N. H. 4. 12, 25, 81), is the March or Morava, joining the Danube at Pressburg; the latter probably is the Waag, whose junction with the Danube is at Komorn; though some have identified it with the Gran and other rivers: see Orelli.

**Vannio**, also mentioned in 12. 29, 1.

9. **gentis.** This kind of genit. is used with similar brachylogy to that observed in the genit. of quality (Introd. v. § 34). Nipp. compares 'Piraeum Atticae orae' (5. 10, 4); 'Albigaunum . . . Liguriae' (H. 2. 15, 4); 'fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae' (Caes. B. G. 1. 10, 5).

**Quadorum.** This powerful people adjoined the Marcomani (G. 42, 1), inhabiting the present Moravia and part of Hungary; and were formidable enemies in the time of Marcus Aurelius.

10. **regem Artaxian**: cp. c. 56, 3, and note on c. 62, 1.

11. **ovantes.** The ovation, like the full triumph (cp. c. 41, 2), was at that time reserved to the imperial family. As the general celebrating it then rode on horseback instead of, as formerly, marching on foot, it is distinguished by Dio as the triumph ἐπὶ κέλητος (54. 33, 5, etc.).

12. **Martis Ultoris.** This temple, in the centre of the Forum of Augustus, was built by him to commemorate his vengeance on his father's murderers, and appropriated as the place where insignia of victories, etc., should be deposited. Some remains of it still exist. The arch of Drusus on the Appian way is commemorative of the elder Drusus (Suet. Cl. 1).

13. **Caesarum**, 'Germanici et Drusi.'

sapientia firmaverat, quam si bellum per acies confecisset. igitur Rhescuporim quoque, Thraeciae regem, astu adgreditur. omnem 3 eam nationem Rhoemetalces tenuerat; quo defuncto Augustus partem Thraecum Rhescuporidi fratri eius, partem filio Cotyi permisit. in ea divisione arva et urbes et vicina Graecis Cotyi, 4 quod incultum, ferox, adnexum hostibus, Rhescuporidi cessit: ipsorumque regum ingenia, illi mite et amoenum, huic atrox, avidum et societatis inpatiens erat. sed primo subdola con- 5 cordia egere: mox Rhescuporis egredi fines, vertere in se Cotyi data et resistenti vim facere, cunctanter sub Augusto, quem auctorem utriusque regni, si sperneretur, vindicem metuebat. enimvero audita mutatione principis inmittere latronum globos, 6 excindere castella, causas bello.

**65.** Nihil aeque Tiberium anxium habebat quam ne conposita 1

2. **Rhescuporim.** The orthography of this name varies even on coins, and still more so in the MSS. of various authors: see Lips. and Walther.

**Thraeciae.** On the form, cp. c. 54, 2. In Roman times the boundary between this country and Macedonia was the Nestus (Karasu). Thrace had been fully subject to Rome for some time, the last rising having been crushed in 743, B.C. 11 (see note on 6. 10, 4), but remained under native princes until Claudius made it a province in 799, A.D. 46: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 156, and a dissertation on this dynasty by Mommsen (Eph. Epig. ii. pp. 250-263).

3. **Rhoemetalces,** the first of that name, son of Sadala and Polemocratia (Momms.). He bears the head of Augustus on the obverse of his coins, in token of suzerainty, and his own on the reverse only, a practice followed by others of this dynasty: see Mr. Donne, in Dict. of Biog. Mommsen (l. l. p. 254) dates his death about 765, A.D. 12, before the composition of Ov. ex P. 2. 9.

5. **arva et urbes,** i.e. the south-eastern part.

6. **adnexum.** Dräger notes that this word is nowhere else used in the sense of 'vicinum,' for which it is here a mere variation. The 'hostes' would be the wild and unsubdued tribes of the Balkan: see 3. 38, 5; 4. 46, 1.

7. **ingenia . . . erat.** The sentence appears to be so condensed as to have no construction; the sense being that their temperament answered to the nature of the country under their rule, the one being gentle, the other fierce: see note on 1. 8, 5; 6. 48, 7.

**mite et amoenum:** so 'ingenium amoenum,' used of Seneca (13. 3, 2); the sense being that of 'attractiveness.' Ovid, who addresses Cotys as a brother poet (ex P. 2. 9), calls him 'iuvenum mitissime' (v. 19).

8. **societatis,** 'of partnership in power.'

9. **vertere in se,** 'appropriates:' so 'occasio in se unum vertendae gloriae' (Liv. 21. 53, 6): cp. 'trahere in se' (1. 2, 1, etc.).

12. **enimvero.** Hildebrand (on Apul. Met. 4. 12, 263) cites this as an adversative use of the word, and Dräger here notes that such use is confined to Tacitus, Florus (2. 7, 10), and Apuleius. Among the twelve instances of this word in Tacitus (see Gerber and Greef, Lex.), this does perhaps approach nearest to an adversative use; but really here, as elsewhere (e.g. 1. 17, 6; 4. 60, 3; 6. 25, 2; 35, 1; 12. 64, 6), it marks the transition from the less to the more important: Rhescuporis, who had been timidly aggressive in the lifetime of Augustus, now becomes boldly and openly so: see Zumpt, Gr. 348, note; Hand, Turs. ii. 407.

**inmittere latronum globos,** repeated in 12. 54, 4.

13. **causas bello.** On the apposition, cp. 1. 27, 1, etc.; Introd. v. § 12 a.

14. **anxium habebat:** cp. c. 57, 1.

**conposita,** 'a settlement,' such as that made by Augustus: cp. c. 57, 1.

turbarentur. deligit centurionem, qui nuntiaret regibus ne armis disceptarent; statimque a Cotye dimissa sunt quae paraverat
2 auxilia. Rhescuporis ficta modestia postulat eundem in locum
3 coiretur: posse de controversiis conloquio transigi. nec diu dubitatum de tempore, loco, dein condicionibus, cum alter facilitate, alter fraude cuncta inter se concederent acciperentque.
4 Rhescuporis sanciendo, ut dictitabat, foederi convivium adicit, tractaque in multam noctem laetitia per epulas ac vinolentiam incautum Cotyn et, postquam dolum intellexerat, sacra regni, eiusdem familiae deos et hospitalis mensas obtestantem catenis
5 onerat. Thraeciaque omni potitus scripsit ad Tiberium structas sibi insidias, praeventum insidiatorem; simul bellum adversus Bastarnas Scythasque praetendens novis peditum et equitum
6 copiis sese firmabat. molliter rescriptum, si fraus abesset, posse eum innocentiae fidere; ceterum neque se neque senatum nisi cognita causa ius et iniuriam discreturos: proinde tradito Cotye veniret transferretque invidiam criminis.

1 **66.** Eas literas Latinius Pandusa pro praetore Moesiae cum
2 militibus, quis Cotys traderetur, in Thraeciam misit. Rhescu-

9. **sacra regni,** 'the sanctity of royalty,' oftener called 'sanctitas regum' (as Suet. Jul. 6). The expression is analogous to 'sacra legationis' (1. 42, 4); 'mensae' (13. 17, 3; 15. 52, 2); 'studiorum' (Dial. 11, 2).

10. **hospitalis mensas.** In a similar thought (15. 52, 2), the 'di hospitales' are mentioned: thus the Greeks appeal to Ζεὺς Ξένιος and Φίλιος.

13. **Bastarnas.** The MS. form 'Basternas' can be supported from the MSS. texts of other authors, as Ov. and Pl. mai. The correction is however confirmed by Mon. Anc. v. 52, and Inscr. Or. 750. This people are regarded as German (G. 46, 1), and were known to the Romans as early as the Macedonian wars (Liv. 40. 57, 2). A section of them called Peucini (G. l. l.) inhabited the Delta of the Danube; and Ovid looks on these frontier races as the dangerous neighbours of his place of exile, 'Proxima Basternae Sauromataeque tenent' (Trist. 2. 198). Nipp. considers that the frontier of Thrace must have now extended to the Danube along the Euxine, probably so as to include the Thracians mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 3. 26, 29, 149) as within Moesia, which certainly in his time extended to the sea. But the language of Ovid (Trist. 2. 197–200) seems clearly to show that at Tomi he was living in a Roman province. Rhescuporis cannot therefore have pleaded that these tribes were enemies on his frontier, but may have professed to be raising troops to aid the legatus of Moesia.

15. **se,** used as if, for 'rescriptum,' 'Tiberius rescripsit' had been written: cp. 'a Caesare . . . invitor sibi ut sim legatus' Cic. Att. 2. 18, 3; Madv. 490 c, Obs. 1.

17. **transferret,** sc. 'in Cotyn.' It is implied that he was himself 'prima facie' the aggressor, and that the burden of proving his countercharge lay with him.

18. **Latinius Pandusa.** The MS. has here 'Pandus,' and, below, 'Padusa,' whence 'Pandusa' is restored by Nipp., who cites in evidence of such a name App. Ill. 10 (Τιβέριος Πανδούσας), C. I. G. 1336 (Μάρκον Λατίνιον Πανδούσαν), and Inscr. Giorn. Arcad. 3. 59 ('permissu T. Latin. Pandusae').

**pro praetore Moesiae.** On the question as to the continuous tenure of this province by Poppaeus Sabinus, see on 1. 80, 1.

poris inter metum et iram cunctatus maluit patrati quam incepti
facinoris reus esse: occidi Cotyn iubet mortemque sponte
sumptam ementitur. nec tamen Caesar placitas semel artes 3
mutavit, sed defuncto Pandusa, quem sibi infensum Rhescuporis
arguebat, Pomponium Flaccum, veterem stipendiis et arta cum
rege amicitia eoque accommodatiorem ad fallendum, ob id
maxime Moesiae praefecit.

**67.** Flaccus in Thraeciam transgressus per ingentia promissa 1
quamvis ambiguum et scelera sua reputantem perpulit ut prae-
sidia Romana intraret. circumdata hinc regi specie honoris 2
valida manus, tribunique et centuriones monendo, suadendo, et
quanto longius abscedebatur, apertiore custodia, postremo gna-
rum necessitatis in urbem traxere. accusatus in senatu ab 3
uxore Cotyis damnatur, ut procul regno teneretur. Thraecia in 4
Rhoemetalcen filium, quem paternis consiliis adversatum con-
stabat, inque liberos Cotyis dividitur; iisque nondum adultis
Trebellienus Rufus praetura functus datur, qui regnum interim
tractaret, exemplo quo maiores M. Lepidum Ptolemaei liberis

1. **inter metum et iram cunctatus**, 'after a struggle between,' etc.; repeated (with 'pudorem' for 'metum') 14. 49, 3.

3. **placitas**, adjectively, as 3. 69, 6; 4. 37, 4; Sall. Jug. 81, 1. The use is mostly poetical.

5. **Pomponium Flaccum**: see on c. 32, 3. That he had already held a command in Moesia appears from an allusion in Ovid (ex P. 4. 9, 75), 'praefuit his, Graecine, locis modo Flaccus.' The death of Ovid is placed in this or the preceding year.

**veterem stipendiis.** This must be distinguished from the use of 'vetus' with the genitive (1. 20, 2, etc.), with the force of 'experienced in.'

9. **ambiguum**, used of persons, as in 1. 7, 4; c. 40, 2; 56, 1, etc.

**praesidia**, 'outposts:' cp. 1. 56, 1; 3. 21, 2; 4. 49, 2, etc.

14. **uxore Cotyis.** According to Strabo (12. 3, 29, 555) she was the daughter of Polemo and Pythodoris (see on c. 56, 2). An inscription (Mommsen, l. l. p. 255) gives her name as Antonia Tryphaena.

15. **Rhoemetalcen.** This prince has been confused with the son of Cotys of the same name (see next note), but is evidently the one mentioned in 3. 38, 4; 4. 5, 5; 47, 1 (where see note).

16. **liberos Cotyis.** These were named Rhoemetalces, Cotys, and Polemo. Mommsen shows (l. l. p. 257) that till the death of Tiberius they were kept at Rome and brought up with Gaius; the 'tutela' here mentioned being in fact an occupation of the country: and that it was to this Rhoemetalces that Gaius gave the kingdom of Thrace, at the same time at which he gave Cotys the kingdom of lesser Armenia (Dio, 59. 12, 2, where Cotys the father and the son appear to be confused): whence Rhoemetalces places the head of Gaius on the obverse of his coins (see Dict. of Biog.).

17. **Trebellienus Rufus.** The name is thus elsewhere four times written (3. 38, 4; 6. 39, 1), and thence usually so read here for the MS. form 'Trebellenus;' which Nipp. retains, and which, whether written by Tacitus or not, appears to be the correct form; as shown by an inscription found at Concordia: 'T. Trebelleno L. f. Cla(udia sc. tribu), Rufo, q. tr. pl. legato Caesaris Aug. plebs' (C. I. L. v. 1, 1878, where Mommsen also maintains that the name should be thus read here). On another inscription at Samothrace, probably belonging to him, see Friedl. ii. p. 78, n. 7.

18. **exemplo quo**: cp. 'fide qua' c. 63, 2.

**M. Lepidum.** This Lepidus, cos. 567, 579, B.C. 187, 175, and Pont. Max., was

5 tutorem in Aegyptum miserant. Rhescuporis Alexandriam devectus atque illic fugam temptans an ficto crimine interficitur.

1 **68**. Per idem tempus Vonones, quem amotum in Ciliciam memoravi, corruptis custodibus effugere ad Armenios, inde Albanos Heniochosque et consanguineum sibi regem Scytharum
2 conatus est. specie venandi omissis maritimis locis avia saltuum petiit, mox pernicitate equi ad amnem Pyramum contendit, cuius pontes accolae ruperant audita regis fuga; neque
3 vado penetrari poterat. igitur in ripa fluminis a Vibio Frontone praefecto equitum vincitur, mox Remmius evocatus, priori custodiae regis adpositus, quasi per iram gladio eum transigit.
4 unde maior fides conscientia sceleris et metu indicii mortem Vononi inlatam.

sent on the death of Ptolemaeus Epiphanes (573, B.C. 181) as guardian of his sons, Philometor and Physcon: a coin having on the obverse a female head inscribed 'Alexandria,' represents him on the reverse crowning a youth, with the legend M. Lepidus, Pont. Max., Tut. Reg., s. c. It is engraved in Dict. of Biog. ii. p. 763.

4. **memoravi,** c. 58, 3.

**inde.** The MS. has 'inde in,' from which Haase elicits 'dein;' most others follow Wopk. in simply omitting 'in.' That it is the habit of Tacitus thus to extend the force of a single preposition over more than one clause, is shown in many instances given by Nipp., in the case of 'per' (3. 9, 1), 'de' (4. 16, 1), 'in' (6. 51, 1, etc.), 'ad' (12. 24, 3), and others.

5. **Albanos:** cp. 6. 34, 2; 12. 45, 2, etc. This people occupied a tract separated on the south by the Cyrus from Armenia maior, bordering west on the Iberians, and extending to the Caspian on both sides, but chiefly on the south, of the Caucasus. (Strab. 11. 4, 501; Pl. N. H. 6. 13, 15, 38). The tract would answer mainly to Daghestan and the eastern part of Georgia.

**Heniochos.** These were one of the Colchian tribes, and appear to have occupied a narrow strip between Caucasus and the Euxine (Strab. 11. 2, 12, etc. 496; Pl. N. H. 6. 4, 4, 12, 14). The country would answer to part of Mingrelia and Abbasia.

**regem Scytharum.** Some Scythic people north of the Caucasus must be meant. The Scythic Dahae, to whom Artabanus was related (c. 3, 1), are east of the Caspian.

6. **avia saltuum:** so 'avia Oceani' (c. 15, 3), 'Armeniae' (13. 37, 4), etc.: cp. Introd. v. § 32 b.

7. **Pyramum.** This river, mentioned by Xen., Strab., Plin., etc., is the most easterly river of Cilicia, and flows from Cappadocia, entering the sea at Mallus. The modern name appears to be Jukoon or Jechun. As the Sarus, an equally considerable stream, would have to be crossed first in this route, it is possible that the two rivers may be confused.

10. **praefecto equitum.** The more usual term, in inscriptions, etc., is 'praefectus alae.'

**evocatus.** These were formerly veterans cited 'nominatim' for special service (cp. Caes. B. G. 3. 20, 2; B. C. 1. 39, 2, etc.). At this time there was a special class, termed 'evocati Augusti,' the ἀνάκλητοι of Dio, who (45. 12, 3) supposes them to have originated with the veterans 'called out' in 710, B.C. 44. They had the position and insignia of centurions (Dio, 55. 24, 8), and appear at this time to have been chosen chiefly out of the ranks of the praetorian cohorts. See Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 375.

**custodiae adpositus:** see note on 1. 6, 2.

12. **unde maior fides,** 'this increased the belief.' The expression is repeated from H. 4. 34, 3; G. 10, 5.

**conscientia sceleris,** i.e. that the officer had connived at his escape and feared betrayal. To illustrate the difference between Tacitus and Suetonius, it may be noted that this murder is made by the latter a personal charge against Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 49).

**69.** At Germanicus Aegypto remeans cuncta, quae apud le- 1
giones aut urbes iusserat, abolita vel in contrarium versa cog-
noscit. hinc graves in Pisonem contumeliae, nec minus acerba 2
quae ab illo in Caesarem intentabantur. dein Piso abire Suria 3
statuit. mox adversa Germanici valetudine detentus, ubi re-
creatum accepit votaque pro incolumitate solvebantur, admotas
hostias, sacrificalem apparatum, festam Antiochensium plebem
per lictores proturbat. tum Seleuciam degreditur, opperiens 4
aegritudinem, quae rursum Germanico acciderat. saevam vim 5
morbi augebat persuasio veneni a Pisone accepti; et reperie-
bantur solo ac parietibus erutae humanorum corporum reliquiae,
carmina et devotiones et nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis in-

1. **Aegypto remeans.** Quintilian (1. 5, 38) ranks 'Aegypto venio' among solecisms; but it is admitted that in good prose the Latinized Greek names of countries in '-us' may be used, like names of towns, in the corresponding accusative without a prep. (cp. c. 59, 1; and Madv. 233, Obs. 4); and the usage of Tacitus, in respect of names of places to which and from which motion takes place, is marked by peculiar freedom: see Introd. v. § 24, and many more instances cited here by Nipp.

4. **intentabantur**: so Halm, after Wurm, for the MS. 'temptabantur,' which is retained by Orelli and Nipp. The correction is supported by many analogous passages (e. g. 1. 27, 1; 3. 28, 6; 36, 1; 12. 47, 5, etc.); and 'temptare contumelias in aliquem' appears to give no satisfactory meaning here.

**abire Suria**: cp. c. 19, 2, and Nipp. here.

6. **admotas**, sc. 'altaribus.' The full expression is given in Suet. Cal. 32.

7. **sacrificalem**, one of the new words in Tacitus: see Introd. v. § 69.

**festam.** The use of this word, otherwise than with expressions of time, is chiefly poetical: cp. 3. 9, 3; 14. 13, 2, etc.

**Antiochensium.** Germanicus was lying ill at its suburb Epidaphna (c. 83, 3). This great city and Alexandria were at this time second only to Rome in population, and probably exceeded it in area. It has been noticed by Friedländer (Sitteng. ii. p. 124) that Antioch is far less celebrated than Alexandria in the literature of the first and second century A. D.

8. **Seleuciam**, Seleucia Pieria, a well known coast city near the mouth of the Orontes, described by Polybius (5. 59, 3, etc.), Strabo (14. 5, 20, 676), and others. It was the usual port of embarkation from Antioch: cp. Acts 13, 4.

**degreditur**, the MS. text, retained by Nipp. and Halm. Most others have followed Lips. in reading 'digreditur.' The two forms seem to be confused in both Med. MSS., and have often been altered by editors (see Gerber and Greef, Lex.). But 'degredior' seems to be naturally used of a person (as here) going down to the coast, or (as in 4. 74, 4; 6. 1, 2) landing from sea. It may also mean 'to set forth;' and Nipp. so renders it here.

**opperiens**, 'awaiting the issue of:' so 'opperiri senectam' 11. 26, 2: cp. also 3. 45, 2, and (v. l.) 4. 71, 5.

10. **persuasio veneni.** Tacitus, as elsewhere, does not affirm this charge of poisoning (cp. c. 73, 5; 3. 14, 2); but here says only that the belief aggravated the illness.

**et reperiebantur**; i. e. these were not merely imagined, but actually found.

11. **erutae.** The simple abl. with this verb appears elsewhere to be confined to poets.

**humanorum corporum reliquiae.** Of the use of these in magic we have frequent evidence (e. g. Hor. Epod. 17, 47; Sat. 1. 8, 22; Lucan, 6, 533, etc.). On the magic of the age, see notes on c. 27, 2; 30, 2.

12. **carmina et devotiones**, hendiadys, ='incantations,' 'devotiones carminibus scriptae.' The following words describe them more particularly.

**nomen Germanici**, etc. The 'defixio magica' consisted properly in transfixing the name or effigy with a needle (Ov. Her. 6, 91; Am. 3. 7, 29). Otherwise the

sculptum, semusti cineres ac tabo obliti aliaque malefica, quis
creditur animas numinibus infernis sacrari. simul missi a Pisone
incusabantur ut valetudinis adversa rimantes.
1 **70.** Ea Germanico haud minus ira quam per metum accepta.
2 si limen obsideretur, si effundendus spiritus sub oculis inimi-
corum foret, quid deinde miserrimae coniugi, quid infantibus
liberis eventurum? lenta videri veneficia: festinare et urguere,
3 ut provinciam, ut legiones solus habeat. sed non usque eo de-
fectum Germanicum, neque praemia caedis apud interfectorem
mansura. componit epistulas, quis amicitiam ei renuntiabat:
4 addunt plerique iussum provincia decedere. nec Piso moratus

name was written on a tablet, with solemn imprecations to the infernal deities. Several such leaden or bronze tablets have been found, especially a number, with Greek inscriptions, in the 'temenos' of Demeter and other deities at Cnidus, (see Newton, 'Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae,' ii. pt. 2, pp. 719–745). A full list of references is given in Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 109: for specimens in Latin, see Henzen, p. 219; Wilmanns 2747–2750. Among the formulae used are 'Dite pater tibei commendo;' 'hanc hostiam acceptam habeas et consumas;' 'hunc ego aput vostrum numen demando devoveo desacrificio,' etc.

1. **semusti,** i.e. human remains snatched from the pile (cp. Luc. l. l.). This would explain their being 'tabo obliti.' Doed. less probably takes it to mean ashes of the cypress or figtree, burnt in spells (Hor. Sat. 1. 8, 24).

**tabo**: so most edd., after Lips., for the MS. 'tabe;' which Orelli retains, and which may be shown to bear the sense required in other writers (see Orelli's note); but Tacitus appears to be elsewhere careful to distinguish the words, and to use 'tabes' only of disease or decay (1. 53, 3; 11. 6, 3; 12. 50, 3; H. 1. 26, 1; 4. 81, 2; 5. 3, 1), 'tabum' of putrified animal matter (H. 2. 70, 2; 3. 35, 1).

**malefica** = 'res maleficae.' The word does not seem to be elsewhere used substantively for 'charms,' and 'maleficia' has the sense in Apul. (de Mag. c. 42, 495, etc.); but the adjective is sufficiently used of magical arts and magicians to make the correction of Beroald. (adopted by Nipp.) needless.

2. **creditur.** The acc. with inf. after this passive (14. 48, 3, etc.) is frequently used in Livy (see Nipp.); but Tacitus generally prefers the construction with nom. and infin. (e.g. c. 72. 2; 1. 52, 2, etc.): cp. Introd. v. § 45. The expression appears to imply that Tacitus himself was not a sharer in this belief.

3. **valetudinis adversa rimantes,** 'prying into the bad symptoms of the disease.' The expression is somewhat varied from 'valetudine adversa' above, and 'valetudo,' as often (cp. c. 82, 1), here means sickness. Such insidious visits ('sive cura illud sive inquisitio erat') were paid by emissaries of Domitian in the last illness of Agricola (Agr. 43, 2).

4. **ira quam per metum.** On this variation of construction, cp. Introd. v. § 62.

7. **liberis.** The two with him (3. 1, 5) were Gaius (Suet. Cal. 10) and the infant Julia (c. 54, 1).

8. **defectum,** 'enfeebled:' so 'defecto corpore' (4. 29, 1). The participle is not ante-Aug., and chiefly poetical: cp. Ov. Met. 10, 194; Tibull. 2. 5, 75.

10. **amicitiam renuntiabat.** This was a formal act, part of ancient custom, not only between individuals (cp. 6. 29, 3; Suet. Cal. 3), but as one of the formalities of declaring war against states which had been friendly (Liv. 36. 3, 8; 42. 25. 1). When the princeps thus acted, some form of sentence of banishment generally accompanied the renunciation (cp. 'domo et provinciis suis interdixit' Suet. Aug. 66), or was sometimes taken as tacitly implied (3. 24, 5): see Lips. Excursus xi.

11. **iussum.** It is the contention of Piso and his friends (cp. c. 76, 1; 77, 1; 80, 3), that Tiberius alone could supersede his own legatus. But the subsequent position of Piso seems to show that he was no longer 'de iure' the legatus of Syria (cp. c. 74, 1, etc.), so that we must

ultra navis solvit, moderabaturque cursui, quo propius regrederetur, si mors Germanici Suriam aperuisset.

**71.** Caesar paulisper ad spem erectus, dein fesso corpore, ubi 1
finis aderat, adsistentes amicos in hunc modum adloquitur: 'si 2
fato concederem, iustus mihi dolor etiam adversus deos esset,
quod me parentibus liberis patriae intra iuventam praematuro
exitu raperent: nunc scelere Pisonis et Plancinae interceptus 3
ultimas preces pectoribus vestris relinquo: referatis patri ac
fratri, quibus acerbitatibus dilaceratus, quibus insidiis circum-
ventus miserrimam vitam pessima morte finierim. si quos spes 4
meae, si quos propinquus sanguis, etiam quos invidia erga vi-
ventem movebat, inlacrimabunt quondam florentem et tot bel-
lorum superstitem muliebri fraude cecidisse. erit vobis locus
querendi apud senatum, invocandi leges. non hoc praecipuum 5
amicorum munus est, prosequi defunctum ignavo questu, sed
quae voluerit meminisse, quae mandaverit exsequi. flebunt 6
Germanicum etiam ignoti: vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam
fortunam meam fovebatis. ostendite populo Romano divi Au-
gusti neptem eandemque coniugem meam, numerate sex liberos.
misericordia cum accusantibus erit, fingentibusque scelesta man- 7

suppose that Germanicus by his 'imperium maius' (c. 43, 2) was competent to depose him. In 3. 12, 4, he is called his 'imperator.'

1. **propius**, 'from a shorter distance,' μᾶλλον ἔγγυθεν: so in 6. 26, 3; 13. 57, 1; and 'procul', (= 'from a distance') in 4. 5, 5; also in Caes., Cic., Sall., and Livy: see Nipp.

4. **in hunc modum.** This speech is evidently a rhetorical composition; but Tacitus may probably have followed some traditional version.

5. **fato concederem.** It would be simplest to take 'fato' as a dative; but as 'concedo,' apparently shortened from 'vita concedo' (1. 3, 3, etc.), stands by itself in the sense of 'morior' (4. 38, 3, etc.), it is perhaps best to take the case, with Nipp., as an abl. answering to 'scelere.'

6. **parentibus**: cp. 'nos parentes' (3. 12, 5), The term seems to include Antonia, Tiberius, and Augusta.

7. **interceptus**, used especially by post-Augustan writers of persons whose years are cut short by a death not according to the course of nature: cp. c. 82, 3; 3. 12, 7; Agr. 43, 2.

9. **fratri**: as in 3. 5, 5, Drusus is meant, and Claudius (cp. 3. 18, 4) ignored.

10. **spes meae**, 'my prospects.' Those of heirship to the principate are meant: cp. 'in spem secundam' 1. 8, 2.

11. **propinquus sanguis**, repeated in 3. 12, 9; 4. 75, 2. The expression is too weak to be used of very near relations; but Germanicus had several more distant relatives on his mother's side: see Introd. ix.

**quos invidia . . . movebat**; i.e. even these would now experience a reaction of feeling.

12. **bellorum superstitem**, repeated from G. 6, 6. The genit. with 'superstes,' though somewhat rare, occurs in Cic. and Liv.

**muliebri fraude**, repeated 11. 3, 2, in similar antithesis to more manly modes of attack.

18. **fortunam**, 'my rank:' cp. c. 72, 3; 4. 13, 4; 18, 2; 6. 6, 3, etc. (see Nipp. on 4. 18).

**fovebatis**: cp. c. 43, 6, etc.

**Augusti neptem . . . sex liberos**: see Introd. ix.

20. **cum accusantibus**; not, as usual, with the accused.

8 data aut non credent homines aut non ignoscent.' iuravere
amici, dextram morientis contingentes, spiritum ante quam
ultionem amissuros.

1 **72**. Tum ad uxorem versus per memoriam sui, per communes
liberos oravit, exueret ferociam, saevienti fortunae submitteret
animum, neu regressa in urbem aemulatione potentiae validiores
2 inritaret. haec palam et alia secreto, per quae ostendere crede-
batur metum ex Tiberio. neque multo post extinguitur, ingenti
3 luctu provinciae et circumiacentium populorum. indoluere ex-
terae nationes regesque: tanta illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo
in hostis; visuque et auditu iuxta venerabilis, cum magnitudinem
et gravitatem summae fortunae retineret, invidiam et adrogan-
tiam effugerat.

1 **73**. Funus sine imaginibus et pompa per laudes ac memoriam
2 virtutum eius celebre fuit. et erant qui formam, aetatem, genus

**mandata**, such as are alluded to in c. 43, 5.

1. **non ignoscent**, 'will not excuse their obedience to such.'

3. **amissuros**, 'would part with.' The verb is nearly equivalent to 'omittere,' as in 4. 3, 3; 13. 46, 3; 14. 26, 1. On the omission of 'se,' see Introd. v. § 8.

5. **ferociam**: cp. 1. 12, 6; and, on the character of Agrippina, see 1. 33, 6, etc.

6. **neu regressa**. It is not meant that she should not return to Rome, which would be her natural place of residence, but that when there she should not seek political influence.

7. **credebatur**. The tense expresses the surmise of friends at the time.

8. **metum**, 'cause for fear:' cp. 1. 40, 1.

**extinguitur**. The date of his death appears to be Oct. 10, from a notice 'Infer. Germanic.' ('inferiae Germanico'), added to that day in the Antian Kalendar (C. I. L. i. p. 329; Henzen 6445).

9. **indoluere**: cp. 4. 17, 2; also in Ovid and post-Aug. prose.

10. **reges**. Suetonius (Cal. 5) states that the Parthian king suspended his hunting and banquets; 'quod apud Parthos iustitii instar est.'

**mansuetudo**. The term can be applied only from a Roman point of view to his conduct of war (cp. 1. 51, 2, etc.), but may perhaps be intended rather to refer to his treatment of captives (1. 58, 8; 71, 2, etc.).

11. **visuque et auditu**, etc., 'to see him and to hear him alike inspired reverence.' He is called *κάλλιστος τὸ σῶμα* by Dio (57. 18, 6), but Suet. (Cal. 3) instances as a defect his 'gracilitas crurum.' Several representations of him on coins are preserved (see Cohen, i. 224, foll.), and some statues; one of which, from Cervetri (Caere), is in the Lateran Museum; another, from Gabii, of which a fine engraving is given by Visconti (Ic. Rom. pl. xxiv.) is in the Louvre. A more famous statue of an orator, in the same Museum, has been called that of Germanicus on slender grounds. On his reputation as a speaker, see c. 83, 4.

**venerabilis**. The construction changes, and this is the subj. of 'effugerat;' 'cum ('=quamvis') retineret' being interposed.

**magnitudinem**, 'dignity:' cp. c. 79, 5; 14. 54, 2; 16. 23, 3. This sense seems not to be found earlier, and from it the word passes later into a title of honour.

12. **invidiam**. This should be taken actively, to suit 'adrogantiam:' 'he was wholly free from jealousy and pride:' cp. *οὔτε πρὸς τὸν Δροῦσον ἐπίφθονον . . . ἔπραττεν* (Dio, l. l.).

13. **effugerat**: so 'cupiditates . . . effugerit' H. 1. 15, 4, etc. This panegyric is apparently followed by Suet. (Cal. 3) and Dio (l. l.), and may probably be taken from a 'laudatio' of the time.

14. **imaginibus et pompa**, hendiadys for 'imaginum pompa.' These were of course left behind at Rome.

mortis, ob propinquitatem etiam locorum, in quibus interiit,
magni Alexandri fatis adaequarent. nam utrumque corpore 3
decoro, genere insigni, haud multum triginta annos egressum,
suorum insidiis externas inter gentes occidisse: sed hunc mitem
erga amicos, modicum voluptatum, uno matrimonio, certis liberis
egisse, neque minus proeliatorem, etiam si temeritas afuerit
praepeditusque sit perculsas tot victoriis Germanias servitio
premere. quod si solus arbiter rerum, si iure et nomine regio 4
fuisset, tanto promptius adsecuturum gloriam militiae, quantum
clementia, temperantia, ceteris bonis artibus praestitisset. corpus 5
antequam cremaretur nudatum in foro Antiochensium, qui locus

1. **ob propinquitatem etiam** etc. This is thrown in as an additional circumstance suggesting the comparison. With 'interiit,' 'uterque' must be supplied from the sense. That, to a Roman, Antioch and Babylon should seem near each other, is probable enough to make it needless to take 'propinquitas,' with Pfitzner (p. 93), to mean the resemblance of the places of death to each other, in respect of being both 'externas inter gentes.' Tacitus would surely have expressed this by a less misleading word.

2. **fatis.** Here used of the circumstances or 'sors vitae' in general.

**adaequarent,** 'compared.' The verb appears to be nowhere else used exactly in this sense; but we have 'aequare et conferre scelera' (Cic. Verr. ii. 1. 8, 21), and other similar instances.

3. **genere insigni.** Nipp. brackets these words as a marginal note of some one who overlooked 'mortis' following 'genus' above. Certainly the words are in themselves a weak expression for persons so exalted, and destroy the symmetry of the passage, the rest of which answers to 'formam, aetatem, genus mortis,' above. Pfitzner (p. 92) would apparently make these words explanatory of 'corpore decoro,' as suggesting that each had his own remarkable type of beauty; but this again would make Tacitus use a most misleading expression.

**triginta.** Germanicus died in his thirty-fourth year (Suet. Cal. 1), Alexander in his thirty-third.

4. **suorum insidiis.** 'Suorum' might be understood of professed friends, as Piso, or the speakers may be supposed to assume the guilt of Tiberius and Augusta. The story that Alexander died of poison concocted by Aristotle, sent by Antipater, and administered by his son, appears to rest on equally slender evidence: see Grote, vol. xii. p. 346, note.

**sed hunc,** etc. It is assumed as notorious that Alexander was the opposite to him in all these points. The comparison of characters is suggested by the resemblance of circumstances above mentioned.

5. **voluptatum.** 'Modicus' takes such a genit. (cp. Introd. v. § 33 e γ) in 3. 72, 3; 4. 52, 2, etc.; among earlier authors, apparently only in Vell. 1. 12, 3.

**certis,** 'legitimate.'

6. **proeliatorem.** This word is very rare, but found in Dial. 37, 7; Val. Max. 3. 2, 24, and later.

**etiam si temeritas afuerit,** 'though without rashness:' an invidious word, used to depreciate the daring of Alexander, whose military genius Romans are not magnanimous enough to acknowledge freely. See the brilliant, but partial criticism of Livy (9. 17–19), who however owns that the enterprise of Alexander involved no rashness: 'nihil aliud quam bene ausus vana contemnere (c. 17, 16).

7. **praepeditus.** Used of a tethered horse, 4. 25, 2: cp. also 3. 3, 2; 15. 66, 3. On the use of the inf., cp. Introd. v. § 43. That the Germans were on the point of yielding is stated in c. 26, 2; 41, 3: elsewhere (G. 37), more justice is done to their power of resistance.

**Germanias.** On the plural here, cp. 1. 57, 2.

9. **adsecuturum,** sc. 'fuisse:' see Introd. v. § 39.

**quantum,** answering to 'tanto;' for which Dr. compares H. 2. 99, 2; Liv. 5. 10, 5.

10. **corpus,** etc. Two distinct facts are stated in one sentence: (1) that the body

sepulturae destinabatur, praetuleritne veneficii signa, parum con-
6 stitit; nam ut quis misericordia in Germanicum et praesumpta suspicione aut favore in Pisonem pronior, diversi interpretabantur.

1 **74.** Consultatum inde inter legatos quique alii senatorum aderant, quisnam Suriae praeficeretur. et ceteris modice nisis, inter Vibium Marsum et Cn. Sentium diu quaesitum: dein
2 Marsus seniori et acrius tendenti Sentio concessit. isque infamem veneficiis ea in provincia et Plancinae percaram, nomine Martinam, in urbem misit, postulantibus Vitellio ac Veranio ceterisque qui crimina et accusationem tamquam adversus receptos iam reos instruebant.

was stripped in the forum at Antioch (cp. 3. 12, 7): (2) that the presence of signs of poison was not clearly proved.

1. **sepulturae** = 'cremationi:' cp. c. 83, 3.

**veneficii signa.** According to Suet. (Cal. 1) there were dark spots on the body and foam at the mouth, and the heart would not burn. The latter point, according to Pliny (N. H. 11. 37, 71, 187), was insisted on by Vitellius at the trial, and met by the defence that it might be the result of a heart disease.

3. **interpretabantur.** The MS. has 'interpraetantur;' which in itself could be taken either as referring to the opinions of historians (Walther), or to a still existing controversy (Pfitzner, p. 139: cp. 'secutis temporibus' 3. 19, 2): but with that tense we should have also expected 'constat' for 'constitit.' The omission of a syllable in this MS. is very common.

4. **Consultatum**, etc. It would appear from this passage, that, in case of sudden vacancy, no subordinate legatus was, as such, entitled to represent the 'legatus Augusti,' as the quaestor might represent a senatorial proconsul (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 390); but that the chief authority devolved on the senators present; who, as no one could represent the princeps, could in some sort represent the senate, and, by a kind of interregal authority, appoint a legatus 'ad interim.' By this appointment, Sentius evidently becomes rightful legatus, and has command of the troops; and Piso, in resisting him, commits civil war.

**quique alii.** All legati, including the 'legati legionum' (cp. c. 36, 1) were necessarily senators; and possibly some other senators were among the 'cohors amicorum' of Germanicus.

6. **Marsum.** C. Vibius Marsus was cos. suff. in 770, A. D. 17, as shown by the Antian Kalendar (Henzen 6442; C. I. L. i. p. 475). He is mentioned again in c. 79, 1; 4. 56, 3; and, as narrowly escaping death, 6. 48, 1. On his proconsulate of Africa, see Introd. vii. p. 96. He was afterwards legatus of Syria (11. 10, 1); is known as a man of letters, 'inlustris studiis' (6. 47, 3); and may have been one of those to whom we owe our details of the death of Germanicus.

**Cn. Sentium.** By combining the fragment of a Gabian Kalendar (Or. 644; C. I. L. i. p. 473) with another inscription (Orelli 3260; cp. Henzen, p. 316), he can be shown to have been cos. suff. in 756, A. D. 4, and to have had the cognomen 'Saturninus.' He is not heard of after these events (c. 79, 4; 81, 2; 3. 7, 2); and his appointment was probably not permanent.

**quaesitum**, 'the question lay:' so 'de principatu quaesitum' H. 2. 38, 4.

7. **concessit**: so 'Varro . . . Silio concessit' 3. 43, 4; cp. 'vix Tiberio concedere' (c. 43, 4): the full expression with abl. of the thing occurs in 11. 24, 4; 15. 2, 1.

8. **nomine.** Nipp. notes that Tacitus uses this mode of introducing foreign names, as Locusta (13. 15, 4), Boiocalus (13. 55, 2), Basilides (H. 4. 82, 2), Calgacus (Agr. 29, 4). The name 'Martina' appears to be Syrian, and a form akin to 'Martha.'

9. **Vitellio**: see on 1. 70, 1. That he had lately been proconsul of Bithynia is shown by a medal of Germanicus struck at Nicomedeia in his proconsulate (Eckh. ii. 400).

**Veranio**: cp. c. 56, 4.

10. **crimina et accusationem**, 'charges

**75.** At Agrippina, quamquam defessa luctu et corpore aegro, 1
omnium tamen quae ultionem morarentur intolerans, ascendit
classem cum cineribus Germanici et liberis, miserantibus cunctis,
quod femina nobilitate princeps, pulcherrimo modo matrimonio
inter venerantis gratantisque aspici solita, tunc feralis reliquias
sinu ferret, incerta ultionis, anxia sui et infelici fecunditate
fortunae totiens obnoxia. Pisonem interim apud Coum insulam 2
nuntius adsequitur excessisse Germanicum. quo intemperanter 3
accepto caedit victimas, adit templa, neque ipse gaudium mode-
rans et magis insolescente Plancina, quae luctum amissae sororis
tum primum laeto cultu mutavit.

**76.** Adfluebant centuriones monebantque prompta illi legio- 1
num studia: repeteret provinciam non iure ablatam et vacuam.
igitur quid agendum consultanti M. Piso filius properandum in 2
urbem censebat: nihil adhuc inexpiabile admissum, neque sus-
pitiones inbecillas aut inania famae pertimescenda. discordiam 3

and an indictment.' The latter term comprehends the former.

**receptos**: so 4. 21, 4; cp. 'recipi inter reos' 3. 70, 2. The accuser is said 'deferre,' the praetor 'recipere nomen.' That this action of the accusers, before any formal charge was laid, was irregular, is here admitted by the historian, and is implied in the retort of Piso (c. 79, 2).

**instruebant.** 'Instruere causam' is the regular legal term, and the evidence and other documents are termed 'instrumenta' (Paul. Dig. 22. 4, 1).

4. **pulcherrimo modo matrimonio.** Nipp. takes this as a causal abl. (cp. Introd. v. § 30), but it would seem simpler to take it as a brachylogical abl. of quality (Id. § 29).

5. **gratantis.** This poetical verb is adopted (6. 21, 5; 12. 7, 3; 14. 8, 2, etc.) from Livy (7. 13, 10, etc.), and apparently preferred by Tacitus to 'gratulor.'

6. **incerta ultionis, anxia sui.** On these genitives, see Introd. v. 33 d γ. 'Incertus' has this construction (cp. 6. 46, 5) in Livy, 'anxius' (cp. 4. 12, 6; 59. 4, etc.) in Pl. mai., and both in poets.

7. **fortunae totiens obnoxia,** 'had given so many hostages to fortune;' i. e. she could be attacked through each one of her children. 'Obnoxius' often means 'liable to attack,' e.g. 3. 58, 4; 14. 40, 1; 15. 38, 4, etc.

**Coum,** Kos, north of Rhodes, with a chief town of the same name, often now called 'Stanko' (ἐς τὴν Κῶ). Piso had left Syria (c. 70, 4); these islands being part of the province of Asia: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 190.

8. **excessisse**: cp. 1. 5, 6, etc.

9. **neque . . . moderans.** These words, which seem superfluous, are taken by Nipp. to refer to his subsequent conduct, and to distinguish it from the still more demonstrative behaviour of Plancina.

10. **insolescente**: cp. c. 63, 5.

**luctum,** used of mourning dress in Cic. Sest. 14, 32, etc.

11. **laeto cultu,** i.e. resuming gay colours, jewels, etc.: cp. the opposite term 'cultu lugubri' (13. 32, 5).

12. **centuriones,** i.e. those of Syria, who were mostly his creatures: cp. c. 55, 4.

**prompta,** 'ready to serve him:' with dat., as c. 78, 1; 4. 60, 5.

13. **non iure**: see c. 77, 1, and notes on 70, 3; 74, 1.

14. **consultanti.** It seems best to suppose that 'censeo' has here the force and construction of 'suadeo,' as in Cic. Fam. 9. 2, 4 ('tibi igitur hoc censeo'). In a somewhat similar passage in 11. 3, 1 ('consultanti super absolutione Asiatici . . . permisit'), 'permisit' is equivalent to 'permittendum suasit.' For a different explanation, see Nipp. here.

erga Germanicum odio fortasse dignam, non poena; et ademp-
4 tione provinciae satis factum inimicis. quod si regrederetur,
obsistente Sentio civile bellum incipi; nec duraturos in partibus
centuriones militesque, apud quos recens imperatoris sui memoria
et penitus infixus in Caesares amor praevaleret.

1 **77.** Contra Domitius Celer, ex intima eius amicitia, disseruit
utendum eventu: Pisonem, non Sentium Suriae praepositum;
2 huic fasces et ius praetoris, huic legiones datas. si quid hostile
ingruat, quem iustius arma oppositurum *quam* qui legati auctori-
3 tatem et propria mandata acceperit? relinquendum etiam ru-
moribus tempus quo senescant: plerumque innocentes recenti
4 invidiae inpares. at si teneat exercitum, augeat vires, multa,
5 quae provideri non possint, fortuito in melius casura. 'an festi-
namus cum Germanici cineribus adpellere, ut te inauditum et
indefensum planctus Agrippinae ac vulgus imperitum primo
6 rumore rapiant? est tibi Augustae conscientia, est Caesaris
favor, sed in occulto; et perisse Germanicum nulli iactantius
maerent quam qui maxime laetantur.'

1. **erga**: cp. c. 2, 5.

**ademptione provinciae.** This seems to admit, what was denied above, that he was lawfully deposed.

4. **imperatoris**, used of Germanicus, as 3. 12, 4.

6. **ex intima amicitia**: cp. c. 27, 2.

7. **utendum eventu**, 'he should profit by the occurrence,' i.e. by the opening caused by the death of Germanicus, leaving him the only rightful governor of Syria.

8. **huic**, referred to Piso, as the nearest in thought, though not last mentioned: cp. c. 82, 7; H. 4. 27, 3; Madv. 485 a: see note on 1. 42, 6.

**ius praetoris**: cp. c. 56, 5.

9. **quam qui.** Most edd. have followed Lips. in the insertion of 'quam,' which, with 'qui' following, may be supposed to have dropped out by a somewhat similar error to that of the omission of one of the syllables of 'quamquam' or 'tamquam' (1. 13, 1; 6. 2, 1). An alternative, but less felicitous emendation, is the insertion of 'eo' after 'arma' (Bezzenb.).

10. **propria**, 'personal;' i.e. instructions at first hand from Tiberius himself, as contrasted with the second-hand authority of Sentius. The context shows that directions for the general administration of the province are here meant, not any such 'occulta mandata' as are hinted at in c. 43, 5.

**rumoribus.** Nipp. notes that this expression, as well as 'suspiciones inbecillas' (c. 76, 2), should be taken as real or assumed expressions of disbelief on the speaker's part, not as indicating the historian's opinion of the charge of poisoning, which is rather that it was 'not proven' (c. 73, 5; 3. 14, 2; 19, 2).

13. **an festinamus?** 'are we to hasten?' On such future force of the present, cp. Madv. 339, Obs. 2 a. On the abrupt change to 'oratio recta,' see Introd. v. § 94.

14. **inauditum et indefensum.** The same words are thus coupled in H. 1. 6, 2; Dial. 16, 3; and, inversely, H. 2. 10, 4. The former is not found, in this sense, before Tacitus; the latter is used by Livy.

16. **rapiant**, sc. 'ad mortem.' For the popular feeling, see 3. 14, 5.

**conscientia**, i.e. her knowledge that her instructions were followed. That she gave such is affirmed in c. 43, 5, as a certainty.

17. **nulli.** This substantive use of the plural is rare, but has examples in good authors (e.g. Cic. Tusc. 1. 39, 93). Tacitus has it again in H. 2. 20, 2.

**78.** Haud magna mole Piso, promptus ferocibus, in sententiam 1
trahitur missisque ad Tiberium epistulis incusat Germanicum
luxus et superbiae; seque pulsum, ut locus rebus novis pate-
fieret, curam exercitus eadem fide qua tenuerit repetivisse. simul 2
Domitium inpositum triremi vitare litorum oram praeterque in-
sulas lato mari pergere in Suriam iubet. concurrentes deser-
tores per manipulos conponit, armat lixas traiectisque in con- 3
tinentem navibus vexillum tironum in Suriam euntium intercipit,
regulis Cilicum ut se auxiliis iuvarent scribit, haud ignavo ad
ministeria belli iuvene Pisone, quamquam suscipiendum bellum
abnuisset.

**79.** Igitur oram Lyciae ac Pamphyliae praelegentes, obviis 1
navibus quae Agrippinam vehebant, utrimque infensi arma primo
expediere: dein mutua formidine non ultra iurgium processum
est, Marsusque Vibius nuntiavit Pisoni Romam ad dicendam
causam veniret. ille eludens respondit adfuturum, ubi praetor, 2

Several instances are here collected by Nipp., in most of which there are special reasons making the singular 'nemo' less appropriate.

2. **epistulis**, used of a single letter, as in 1. 30, 4, etc.

3. **luxus et superbiae.** The evidence alleged for the former charge is to be inferred from c. 57, 5. The latter may be supposed to have consisted in contemptuous treatment of Piso himself.

**seque pulsum**, sc. 'dicit,' latent in 'incusat.' This part of the charge seems levelled, not at Germanicus. but at Sentius, whose appointment he treats as the unconstitutional act of a knot of private conspirators. Hence the allusion to 'res novae,' to shift a charge made against himself (cp. 3. 13, 3).

5. **litorum oram.** Either word might have sufficed alone, but the combination may have been suggested by 'litoris oram' (Verg. G. 2. 44).

6. **lato mari.** 'Alto' has been adopted, from Lips., by several edd. (including Nipp.), but 'lato' may be explained by its connexion with 'praeter insulas.' Several islands lay in his course from Cos to Rhodes; and he was to pass outside these, probably also south of Rhodes and Cyprus, or at least not to take the usual course along the coast of Lycia and Pamphylia. He would thus avoid the chance of collision with Agrippina (cp. c. 79, 1), and reach Syria before his movements were known.

**desertores**, i.e. from the Syrian legions.

8. **vexillum.** On the use of this and its cognate words of any kind of legionary detached force, see on 1. 38, 1, etc. These are a body of recruits to be drafted into the Syrian legions.

9. **Cilicum**, i.e. those of Trachea (see 6. 41, 1), and Olbe (Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 227). A third principality had lately come to an end (cp. c. 42, 7). His action here and in c. 80 shows that Cilicia belonged at this time to Syria. See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 229.

12. **praelegentes**, 'coasting along;' a Tacitean sense of the word: cp. 6. 1, 1, and similar uses of 'prae' in composition noted on c. 6, 5.

15. **Marsusque Vibius**: cp. c. 74, 1. The latter name appears to be intended in the MS. 'uibimus,' but is bracketed by Ritt. Tacitus usually repeats one name only of a person recently mentioned, but Nipp. shows several exceptions to this rule, such as the repetitions 'Junio Othoni' 3. 66, 4; 'C. Silani' 3. 69, 1; 'Largus Caecina' 11. 34, 2, etc.

**nuntiavit.** The proper word would be 'denuntiavit;' but 'nuntiare' has in Tacitus the meaning of 'to command by message,' as in c. 65, 1; 11. 37, 2.

16. **eludens**, 'turning it into jest:' cp. 5. 5, 1; 6. 46, 9, etc. The sense of the word found in 3. 67, 2, etc., seems less suitable here.

**praetor, qui . . . quaereret**, i.e.

qui de veneficiis quaereret, reo atque accusatoribus diem pro-
3 dixisset. interim Domitius Laodiciam urbem Suriae adpulsus,
cum hiberna sextae legionis peteret, quod eam maxime novis
4 consiliis idoneam rebatur, a Pacuvio legato praevenitur. id
Sentius Pisoni per literas aperit monetque ne castra corruptori-
5 bus, ne provinciam bello temptet. quosque Germanici memores
aut inimicis eius adversos cognoverat, contrahit, magnitudinem
imperatoris identidem ingerens et rem publicam armis peti; du-
citque validam manum et proelio paratam.

1 **80.** Nec Piso, quamquam coepta secus cadebant, omisit tu-
tissima e praesentibus, sed castellum Ciliciae munitum admodum,
2 cui nomen Celenderis, occupat; nam admixtis desertoribus et

the praetor to whom the 'Quaestio perpetua,' 'de sicariis et veneficis,' fell by lot. The taunt of Piso contains two assumptions, in both of which he is technically correct: (1) that the citation of Marsus was premature (see on c. 74, 2): (2) that the trial would be by ordinary process of law. The words of Tiberius at the trial (3. 12, 10) contain a full admission that such would have been the regular course (cp. Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 112); though from the rank of the parties concerned it might have been taken for granted that the case would be brought under the cognisance of the senate or the princeps. See Introd. vi. p. 78.

1. **diem prodixisset**, i.e. after formally receiving the charge (see on c. 74, 2), had named a later day on which both parties should appear. 'Prodico' is very rare, and usually means to adjourn a trial already begun (Liv. 2. 61, 7; 6. 20, 11; 38. 51, 5); and the only reference relevant to this place, 'ne nisi prodicta (v. l. 'ne improdicta') die quis accusetur,' is to a most obscure and confused passage (Cic. Dom. 17, 45): so that possibly the old editors were right in altering here to 'praedixisset.'

2. **urbem Suriae**. Even in Syria there were two cities of the name; but it is plain that the maritime Laodiceia is meant (Strab. 16. 2, 9, 751), opposite Cyprus; which preserves its name in the modern 'Ladikieh,' better known as 'Latakia.'

3. **sextae**: see Introd. vii. p. 104.

4. **legato**, i.e. of that legion. The specification of his rank makes it suffice to mention him by one name; as 'augur Lentulus' (3. 59, 1); 'Iunii senatoris' (4. 64, 3), etc.: see several instances collected by Nip. on 5. 8. This Pacuvius is described by Seneca (Ep. 12, 8), as 'qui Syriam usu suam fecit' (probably as virtual governor under the absent Lamia, 6. 27, 2), and as having daily rehearsed his own funeral obsequies.

5. **corruptoribus**. On this extension of the instrumental abl., see Introd. v. § 27. Instances from other authors are given in Roby 1220.

7. **magnitudinem**, 'the majesty.' The word is used of Germanicus in c. 72, 3, and he is also called 'imperator' (3. 12, 4; 14, 1); but Orelli can hardly be right in referring this expression to him, as the association of 'res publica' points clearly to the living 'imperator,' Tiberius, whom Sentius claims to represent.

8. **ingerens**, 'repeatedly proclaiming:' cp. 1. 72, 2.

**rem publicam armis peti**: cp. the expression of M. Piso: 'civile bellum incipi' (c. 76, 4).

10. **secus cadebant**. 'Secus' is used as in c. 50, 3, etc.; 'cado' as in c. 77, 4; 6. 8, 2, etc.

11. **praesentibus**: cp. 1. 30, 5, etc.

12. **Celenderis**. Orelli retains the MS. 'Celendris,' which appears also to be the MS. text in Mela 1. 13, 77. Whatever Tacitus may have written, the form of the name here given is correct according to the evidence of coins (Eckh. iii. 51, etc.), and is that used by Strabo (14. 5, 3, 670), Pliny (N. H. 5. 27, 22, 92), etc. The town belonged to Cilicia Trachea (see on c. 78, 3), and had a harbour (Strab. l. l.), and preserves its name as Chelendreh or Kilindri.

tirone nuper intercepto suisque et Plancinae servitiis auxilia
Cilicum, quae reguli miserant, in numerum legionis composuerat.
Caesarisque se legatum testabatur provincia, quam is dedisset, 3
arceri non a legionibus (earum quippe accitu venire), sed a
Sentio privatum odium falsis criminibus tegente. consisterent in 4
acie, non pugnaturis militibus, ubi Pisonem ab ipsis parentem
quondam appellatum, si iure ageretur, potiorem, si armis, non
invalidum vidissent. tum pro munimentis castelli manipulos 5
explicat, colle arduo et derupto; nam cetera mari cinguntur.
contra veterani ordinibus ac subsidiis instructi: hinc militum, 6
inde locorum asperitas, sed non animus, non spes, ne tela qui-
dem nisi agrestia aut *ad* subitum usum properata. ut venere in 7
manus, non ultra dubitatum, quam dum Romanae cohortes
in aequum eniterentur: vertunt terga Cilices seque castello
claudunt.

1. **tirone**, sing. as frequently 'miles,' 'eques,' etc. On the forces here spoken of, see above, c. 78, 3.

2. **in numerum legionis composuerat**, 'he had formed into a body numerically equal to a legion.' A similar expression is used of Catiline in Sall. Cat. 56, 2 'legiones (duas) numero expleverat.' The nearly similar expression, in H. 1. 87, 1, has (according to Nipp.) a different meaning. On this force of 'in,' cp. Introd. v. § 60 b.

3. **provincia.** The MS. has 'provinciam;' but we cannot say 'arceor provinciam;' nor can we well (with Pfitzn. p. 139) take the words to mean that the province (i.e. its population) was debarred from joining him; for 'arceri' must clearly have the same subject as 'venire.'

4. **accitu;** only used in abl. sing., and apparently only found here and in Cic. Verr. ii. 3. 28, 68; Verg. Aen. 1. 677.

5. **consisterent**, i.e. they had only to stand in line, there would be no battle.

6. **pugnaturis**, concise abl. abs., as 'daturis' 15. 52, 3, etc.: cp. Introd. v. § 54 d.

**parentem**, c. 55, 4.

7. **si iure ageretur.** On the apparent reminiscence here of Livy, see Introd. v. § 97, 2.

8. **pro munimentis.** This, like 'pro castris' 3. 20, 2; 'pro muris' 14. 25, 1, appears clearly from the rest of the passage to mean 'outside the fortifications.' On the more usual meaning, cp. c. 13, 4.

9. **derupto**, 'precipitous:' cp. 4. 45, 1; 6. 21, 2; Lucr., Liv., etc.

10. **veterani.** This word is not here strictly used, but only of trained legionaries, as opposed to 'tirones' (cp. 1. 28, 8), or to mixed troops.

**ordinibus ac subsidiis**, 'in centuries and reserves.' On the abl. see Introd. v. § 28.

**hinc . . . inde**, opposed, like 'hinc' . . . 'illinc:' cp. 13. 38, 3.

11. **asperitas.** The strong difference in the senses of this word as applied to soldiers and places makes the zeugma here harsh; but the supposition that 'vis' or 'virtus' has dropped out (see Halm. Comm. Crit.) seems needless. 'Asperitas' is used, of persons, generally in a bad sense; but 'asper' is a Vergilian general epithet of battle, and of warlike nations (Aen. 1, 14) or persons (Id. 11, 664).

12. **agrestia.** Nipp. compares the description in 3. 43, 2: also 'agrestibus telis, falcibus gaesisque' (Liv. 9. 36, 6), and the description of the Catilinarian army in Sall. Cat. 56, 3.

**aut ad.** The MS. has 'aut' alone, which Nipp. follows the old edd. in altering to 'ad.' This would make the sentence further describe the rustic weapons: it is perhaps better, by reading 'aut ad' (with Weissenb.), or 'aut subitum in usum' (with Doed.), to make it describe other weapons, more distinctly warlike, but extemporised.

**in manus**, 'to close quarters.' In this sense Tacitus seems to prefer to use

1 **81.** Interim Piso classem haud procul opperientem adpugnare
frustra temptavit; regressusque et pro muris, modo semet ad-
flictando, modo singulos nomine ciens, praemiis vocans, seditio-
nem coeptabat, adeoque commoverat, ut signifer legionis sextae
2 signum ad eum transtulerit. tum Sentius occanere cornua tu-
basque et peti aggerem, erigi scalas iussit, ac promptissimum
quemque succedere, alios tormentis hastas saxa et faces ingerere.
3 tandem victa pertinacia Piso oravit ut traditis armis maneret in
4 castello, dum Caesar, cui Suriam permitteret, consulitur. non
receptae condiciones, nec aliud quam naves et tutum in urbem
iter concessum est.

1 **82.** At Romae, postquam Germanici valetudo percrebruit
cunctaque ut ex longinquo aucta in deterius adferebantur, dolor
2 ira: et erumpebant questus. ideo nimirum in extremas terras

this form (as H. 4, 71, 6; 76, 5), with Sall. (Jug. 89, 2) and Liv. (2. 46, 3), rather than 'ad manus.'

**eniterentur**: cp. 'enisus' 1. 70, 6.

1. **classem.** A 'classis Syriaca' is mentioned in inscriptions (Orelli 3604; Henzen 6924; Wilmanns 1637; C. I. G. 3125, 2346 e, etc.).

**adpugnare**; a Tacitean word, only in 4. 48, 4; 15. 13, 1; in each instance denoting a feint attack.

2. **pro muris**; not in the sense of 'pro munimentis' (c. 80, 5), but as in c. 13, 4, etc.

**adflictando**, 'buffeting himself:' cp. 6. 35, 3; 'mulieres adflictare se' Sall. Cat. 31, 3.

3. **seditionem coeptabat**: cp. 1. 38, 1, etc.

4. **signifer**: see on 1. 48, 2. The sixth legion was supposed to be most inclined to favour Piso (c. 79, 3).

5. **occanere.** Tacitus appears to follow Sallust (see Introd. v. § 97, 1) in the use of a verb not found elsewhere. The form 'occino' is used only of the note of birds.

6. **peti aggerem.** This is best explained like 'petendus agger' 1. 65, 10 (where see note). The material to be collected is here intended to fill the ditch or make the wall easier to scale: hence the addition 'erigi scalas.' Thus we find in Caesar (B. G. 5. 9, 6) 'aggere ad munitiones adiecto locum ceperunt.' Vegetius (4, 15) also describes such a mound raised against a wall 'de quo tela iactantur.' Some take the words to mean 'that the wall be assaulted;' but Tacitus would hardly use 'agger' of the wall of a strong fort, though Vergil (Aen. 10, 23) has 'aggeribus murorum,' and Servius (ad loc.) says that all fortifications may be loosely called 'aggeres.'

7. **et faces.** On the conj. after asyndeta, see Introd. v. § 90, and instances collected here by Nipp.

9. **dum . . . consulitur.** On the use of the indic. here, see Introd. v. § 49.

12. **At Romae**; a favourite form of transition: cp. 1. 7, 1; 46, 1: 3. 22, 1; 6. 29, 1, etc.

**valetudo**, sc. 'adversa:' cp. 3. 3, 2; 58, 2; 6. 7, 4, etc.

**percrebruit.** Here, and in 12. 6, 5; 15. 19, 1, Halm corrects the MSS. text to this form, which is given by them in other places (6. 20, 2; H. 2. 26, 3). Orell. and Nipp. are perhaps right in reading 'percrebui' or 'percrebrui' according to the MSS. in each place, and treating the variations as those of the author. See Introd. v. § 85.

13. **ut** = 'ut fieri solet:' cp. 1. 65, 4, etc.

**aucta in deterius**, 'exaggerated for the worse.' On the force of 'in' in such constructions, see Introd. v. § 60 b.

**dolor ira.** It seems best so to punctuate as to suppose 'erant' to be supplied with these words, as in H. 2. 29, 5 ('gaudium miseratio favor'): thus 'erumpebant questus' is more emphatic than if 'erumpebat' were to be supplied from it in the former place.

14. **extremas terras.** Syria was one of the 'imperii extrema' (cp. 4. 74, 2) but

relegatum, ideo Pisoni permissam provinciam; hoc egisse se- 3
cretos Augustae cum Plancina sermones. vera prorsus de Druso
seniores locutos: displicere regnantibus civilia filiorum ingenia,
neque ob aliud interceptos, quam quia populum Romanum
aequo iure complecti reddita libertate agitaverint. hos vulgi 4
sermones audita mors adeo incendit, ut ante edictum magistra-
tuum, ante senatus consultum sumpto iustitio desererentur fora,
clauderentur domus. passim silentia et gemitus, nihil composi- 5
tum in ostentationem; et quamquam neque insignibus lugen-
tium abstinerent, altius animis maerebant. forte negotiatores, 6
vivente adhuc Germanico Suria egressi, laetiora de valetudine eius
attulere. statim credita, statim vulgata sunt: ut quisque obvius, 7
quamvis leviter audita in alios atque illi in plures cumulata
gaudio transferunt. cursant per urbem, moliuntur templorum 8
fores; iuvat credulitatem nox et promptior inter tenebras ad-
firmatio. nec obstitit falsis Tiberius, donec tempore ac spatio
vanescerent: et populus quasi rursum ereptum acrius doluit.

the use of 'relegatum' shows that the whole is rhetorical.

1. **hoc egisse**, 'this was the result of.' The 'sermones' are those spoken of in c. 43, 5.

2. **de Druso**. On the supposed republican leanings of Drusus, see 1. 34, 1. Even Suetonius, who mentions the story that he was poisoned, wholly disbelieves it (Cl. 1); and the weighty contemporary evidence of Livy (Epit. 140) assigns his death to an accident: 'ex fractura, equo super crus eius collapso, tricesimo die, quam id acciderat, mortuus est.'

3. **regnantibus**. This term is invidiously used by the people of the princeps: also 'filiorum' is used loosely, as Drusus was not even an adopted son of Augustus.

4. **interceptos**: cp. c. 71, 3.

5. **aequo iure complecti**, 'to comprehend under equal rights,' i. e. to bring into unity on a footing of equality: cp. 'multas insignesque familias paterna nobilitate complexus' 15. 48, 2.

6. **incendit**: cp. 1. 23, 1.

7. **sumpto**, sc. 'sponte.' Livy describes such a spontaneous 'iustitium' after the Caudine disaster (9. 7, 8). Cp. 'ferale per urbem iustitium' Luc. 2. 17; and the description in 'Epicedion Drusi' (185) 'Iura silent mutaeque tacent sine vindice leges.'

8. **domus**, 'great houses:' cp. 1. 73, 2, etc.

**silentia**; not opposed to 'gemitus,' but to the hum of business. The plural is elsewhere wholly confined to poets.

9. **neque . . . abstinerent**: see note on c. 34, 7.

**insignibus**: such as the change of dress: cp. 'atrata plebes' 3. 2, 2; 'pullati proceres' Juv. 3, 213, where see Prof. Mayor's note.

10. **altius . . . maerebant**: cp. 1. 32, 7.

13. **leviter**, 'uncritically,' i. e. without waiting for authentication.

**illi**: used of the last-mentioned, as here more remote in thought: cp. c. 77, 1, etc.

14. **moliuntur . . . fores**: cp. 1. 39, 4. The scene is graphically described by Suet. (Cal. 6), who says 'paene revolsae templi (sc. 'Capitolii') fores.'

15. **iuvat**. The present, though followed by 'obstitit,' should not be altered (with Lips.). The sentence 'nec obstitit,' etc. is no part of the descriptive narrative, in which the historical present is natural. On the use of a sentence as subject of the verb, cp. 1. 19, 5, etc.

16. **tempore ac spatio**. This hendiadys (cp. Introd. v. § 76) appears to be a common expression, being found in Cic. pro Quint. 1, 4; Hirt. B. G. 8. 31, 2.

17. **acrius doluit**. Suet. (Cal. 6) says that the mourning lasted even through the feast of December, i. e. the Saturnalia (Dec. 17); which would be more than

1 **83.** Honores, ut quis amore in Germanicum aut ingenio vali-
2 dus, reperti decretique: ut nomen eius Saliari carmine caneretur;
sedes curules sacerdotum Augustalium locis superque eas quer-
ceae coronae statuerentur; ludos circenses eburna effigies prae-
iret, neve quis flamen aut augur in locum Germanici nisi gentis
3 Iuliae crearetur. arcus additi Romae et apud ripam Rheni et
in monte Suriae Amano, cum inscriptione rerum gestarum ac
mortem ob rem publicam obisse, sepulchrum Antiochiae, ubi

two months after the death (see note on c. 72, 2), and probably some time after the news had reached Rome.

1. **Honores . . . reperti.** Mutilated fragments are preserved, both of the decree relating to Germanicus (C. I. L. vi. 1, 911; Henzen 5382), and of that relating to Drusus (C. I. L. vi. 1, 912; Henzen 5381); which, as having been mainly in similar terms (cp. 4. 9, 2), will in some places give additional confirmation to what is stated here.

2. **Saliari carmine.** For this famous hymn, see C. I. L. vi. 1, 2104; Orelli 5054; Wilmanns 2879; Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 419, etc. The old portion, unintelligible to Horace (Epp. 2. 1, 86), and, according to Quintilian (1. 6, 40), even to the priests themselves, is to be distinguished from the 'carmina in universos semones composita,' in which modern names could be inserted. The name of Augustus had been inserted in his lifetime (Mon. Anc. ii. 21), apparently as early as 725, B. C. 29 (Dio, 51. 20, 1): but whether the precedent was followed in the case of succeeding principes, is unknown. In the decree respecting Germanicus ['canit]ur in Palatio' is thought to be traceable, and a less successful attempt has been made to trace words to a similar effect in that of Drusus (see Marquardt, p. 420, note 7). The only other name recorded as inserted is that of Verus, son of Marcus Aurelius (Vita M. Ant. 21, 5).

3. **sedes curules.** The curule chair crowned was placed in the theatre at feasts. Such an honour was paid to Julius Caesar in his lifetime (Dio, 44. 6, 3), ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς τῶν θεῶν, and to Marcellus at his death (Dio, 53. 30, 6). A place is here assigned among those reserved for the 'Augustales,' because Germanicus had been one of them (1. 54, 2). Words apparently referring to a similar honour are found in the decree to Drusus. The crown described is in form the civic crown, but made of precious materials (διάλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον Dio, 44. 6, 3); such as that which had been decreed to Augustus, as saviour of the citizens in general, in 727, B. C. 27 (Dio, 53. 16, 4), and which formed a permanent decoration of the palace 'qua postes augustae domus sempiterna gloria triumphant' (Val. Max. 2. 8, 7).

4. **ludos . . . effigies praeiret.** The words 'imagines ponerentur' are found in the inscription, and 'Circienses' in that of Drusus. Dion. Hal. (7. 72) describes at these games processions of images of the gods, borne by men on their shoulders. An ivory figure of Julius Caesar was so borne in a 'tensa' in his lifetime (Suet. Jul. 76; Dio, 43. 45, 2); and such a posthumous honour was decreed to several of the imperial family (see Marquardt, iii. p. 489). 'Praeeo' takes such an accus. in 6. 21, 2; 15. 4, 1; otherwise only in such a phrase as 'praeire verba,' etc.

5. **flamen,** sc. 'Augustalis.' His tenure of this priesthood (on which see Marquardt, iii. p. 453), and his augurship are recorded in many inscriptions (e. g. Orell. 660, 3064): and the former is distinct from his membership in the 'sodales Augustalis' (see on 1. 54, 2). Drusus is also recorded as augur and flamen Augustalis (Orell. Insc. 211, etc.): and therefore probably succeeded Germanicus in accordance with this decree.

6. **arcus.** The inscription has the words 'alter Ianus fieret,' and 'tertius Ianus.' After the latter, the words 'Ger]manis' and ['tumu]lum Drusi' are traceable, apparently referring to the arch near the Rhine.

7. **monte Amano.** This term is used by Strabo (12. 2, 2, 535) to include all the mountains encircling the gulf of Issus, and the passes from Syria to Cilicia, on one of which the arch probably stood.

8. **mortem . . . obisse:** cp. 3. 6, 1. Similar words were used of the elder Drusus ('cui fuit heu mortis publica causa'), Epic. Drusi, 458.

crematus, tribunal Epidaphnae, quo in loco vitam finierat. statu-
arum locorumve in quis coleretur haud facile quis numerum
inierit. cum censeretur clipeus auro et magnitudine insignis 4
inter auctores eloquentiae, adseveravit Tiberius solitum parem-
que ceteris dicaturum: neque enim eloquentiam fortuna dis-
cerni, et satis inlustre, si veteres inter scriptores haberetur.
equester ordo cuneum Germanici appellavit qui iuniorum dice- 5
batur, instituitque uti turmae idibus Iuliis imaginem eius seque-

**sepulchrum**, a cenotaph. The place would be in the forum of Antioch (c. 73, 5).

1. **tribunal**. It has been thought that this would commemorate his imperium (Walther), or provincial jurisdiction (cp. c. 57, 4). Nipp. thinks it took the form of a scaffold or bier, to represent that on which the body was laid out; such a memorial tribunal, erected by one who appears to have held no such 'imperium,' being recorded in an inscription (Orelli 4548). Words relating to these memorials appear traceable in the inscription (Fragm. a. 17–19).

**Epidaphnae**. This famous grove and sanctuary of Apollo, described by Gibbon (c. 23), was really called Δάφνη, and gave to this Antioch its distinguishing title, ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ, or 'Antiochia Epidaphnes' (Pl. N. H. 5. 21, 18, 79). It was really five miles from Antioch, but considered a suburb of it.

2. **coleretur**. Halm and Nipp. adhere to this old correction, on the ground that the MS. 'colerentur' would appear to imply that the places where statues were honoured might be other than those in which they stood. The 'cultus' would probably be that of his 'Dii Manes' (see note on c. 7, 3).

**numerum inierit**, 'could enumerate:' cp. 15. 41, 1. The phrase is so used by Caes. and Liv.

3. **clipeus**, 'a medallion bust.' Pliny (N. H. 35. 3, 3, 12) says that such had been set up at Rome from the consulship of Appius Claudius in 259, B.C. 495. An 'imago clipeata' of Cicero, not apparently in bronze, but marble, is engraved in Visconti, Ic. Rom. pl. xii. Orelli refers also to other specimens.

4. **inter auctores eloquentiae**. These medallions of great orators appear to have been set up in the Palatine library: cp. c. 37, 3. Germanicus is recorded to have pleaded causes from a date before the exile of Ovid (Fasti 1, 21), until after his triumph (Suet. Cal. 3); and the above authors, as well as Pliny (N. H. 8. 42, 64, 155), speak of him also as a poet; but the authorship of the translation of Aratus and other remains ascribed to him is matter of question.

**solitum paremque**, 'of the usual material' (bronze) 'and size;' as opposed to one 'auro et magnitudine insignis.'

5. **dicaturum**, sc. 'se:' cp. Introd. v. § 8.

**fortuna**: cp. c. 71, 6.

7. **cuneum**. The military sense of this word (1. 51, 1) is not applicable to 'equites:' we must therefore suppose one of the wedge-shaped divisions of the 'quatuordecim ordines' in the theatre to be here meant (cp. Suet. Dom. 4). These fourteen rows were apparently divided into cunei 'seniorum' and 'iuniorum' (Marquardt, Hist. Eq. Rom. p. 71). This honour was paid to Germanicus as having been 'princeps iuventutis' (Ov. ex P. 2. 5, 41); on which title, see 1. 3, 2, etc.

8. **turmae**. The centuries of 'equites Romani equo publico' (on whom see Introd. vii. p. 87; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 381, foll.; Seeley, Hist. Exam. of Livy, B. I. p. 73, 79 foll.) appear to have been arranged at their 'transvectio' (see below) into six 'turmae' each commanded by a 'sevir:' see Insc. Orell. 3043; Henzen 6412.

**idibus Iuliis**. On July 15 took place the review or 'transvectio equitum,' when Dionys. Hal. (6. 13, 1069) describes them as riding in a procession of about 5000, dressed in the 'trabea' and crowned with olive, in commemoration of the supposed appearance of the Dioscuri at the battle of lake Regillus. The institution is said to date from 450, B.C. 304 (Liv. 9. 46, 15), and to have been revived by Augustus after long disuse (Suet. Aug. 38).

**imaginem . . . sequerentur**. This again would be in recognition of his having led the procession as 'princeps iuventutis.' Cp. the figure of speech in 5. 4, 5 'quorum imagines pro vexillis secuti forent.' The decree respecting Drusus contains words apparently ordaining a similar honour to him.

rentur. pleraque manent: quaedam statim omissa sunt aut
vetustas obliteravit.

1 **84.** Ceterum recenti adhuc maestitia soror Germanici Livia,
2 nupta Druso, duos virilis sexus simul enixa est. quod rarum
laetumque etiam modicis penatibus tanto gaudio principem ad-
fecit, ut non temperaverit quin iactaret apud patres, nulli ante
Romanorum eiusdem fastigii viro geminam stirpem editam;
3 nam cuncta, etiam fortuita, ad gloriam vertebat. sed populo
tali in tempore id quoque dolorem tulit, tamquam auctus liberis
Drusus domum Germanici magis urgueret.

1 **85.** Eodem anno gravibus senatus decretis libido feminarum
coercita cautumque, ne quaestum corpore faceret cui avus aut
2 pater aut maritus eques Romanus fuisset. nam Vistilia prae-
toria familia genita licentiam stupri apud aediles vulgaverat,
more inter veteres recepto, qui satis poenarum adversum in-
pudicas in ipsa professione flagitii credebant. exactum et a
3 Titidio Labeone Vistiliae marito, cur in uxore delicti manifesta

3. **Livia.** On this Livia or Livilla, and on Tiberius Gemellus, one of these twins, see Introd. ix. notes 32, 35. The other twin, whose death is mentioned four years later (4. 15, 1), appears to have been called Germanicus: see C. I. G. 2630, and coins here referred to by Nipp.

5. **modicis penatibus,** 'in a house of moderate rank.' Ritter's insertion of 'in' is needless, as the construction may be abl. abs. 'Penates' is used of the household in 13. 4, 2, etc., and, in 3. 34. 3, even of family circumstances.

6. **temperaverit,** 'refrained from:' cp. 3. 67, 2, etc.

9. **auctus liberis.** Apparently the expression is usual: cp. Agr. 6, 3; Cic. Att. 1. 2, 1 'filiolo me auctum scito.' As Drusus had already a daughter, he thus acquired the 'ius trium liberorum.'

10. **urgueret,** 'depressed.' The house of Germanicus had more children, but was without a head, so that its forlorn condition was set off by this increased consequence given to the head of the rival house.

11. **libido feminarum coercita.** Suetonius (Tib. 35) speaks of other cases, or probably generalises 'suo more' from this.

13. **eques Romanus.** The same prohibition extended 'a fortiori' to senatorial families.

**praetoria familia.** Sex. Vistilius, of this rank, mentioned as an old man in 6. 9, 2, was probably her father. 'Familia consulari' is thus used of the son of a consular in 13. 12, 1.

14. **licentiam . . . vulgaverat,** 'had made open profession of prostitution.' Suetonius expresses this by 'lenocinium profiteri coeperant,' and adds that women could thus be exempt from penalties for adultery, as no longer legally 'matronae;' but the jurists affirm that such could still be dealt with by decree of the senate (Pap. Dig. 48. 5, 10).

**apud aediles.** On the supervision exercised by these magistrates over 'balnea,' 'lupanaria,' and other places of public resort, as part of their 'cura urbis,' see Introd. vi. p. 76; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 499.

16. **exactum** = 'quaesitum.' Most editors have followed Vertran. in reading this for the MS. 'exacta,' which might possibly be defended as taken from Vergil (Aen. 1, 309). The verb has this sense in Ov. A. A. 2, 130 ('Calypso exigit Odrysii fata cruenta ducis').

17. **Titidio Labeone,** mentioned in Pl. N. H. 35. 4, 7, 20, as of praetorian rank, and procos. of Gallia Narbonensis, and as a bad amateur artist.

**manifesta.** Such a genit. (cp. Introd. v. 33 e $\gamma$) is used with this word in the Annals (e.g. 4. 53, 2; 12. 51, 5, etc.), also in Plaut. and Sall.

ultionem legis omisisset. atque illo praetendente sexaginta dies 4
ad consultandum datos necdum praeterisse, satis visum de Vistilia statuere; eaque in insulam Seriphon abdita est. actum et 5
de sacris Aegyptiis Iudaicisque pellendis factumque patrum consultum, ut quattuor milia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea aetas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniis et, si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum; ceteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent.

**86.** Post quae rettulit Caesar capiendam virginem in locum 1

1. **ultionem legis**, 'enforcement of the legal penalty,' i.e. that of 'lex Iulia de adulteriis' (cp. c. 50, 2). By this law he was bound at once (under penalty of being charged with connivance) to separate from his wife (Dig. 48, 5, 2, § 6); and having done so, had during the next sixty days exclusive right of proceeding against her (Id. 11, § 6). Nipp. adds that he was not usually liable to be called to account for not having exercised this prerogative, even after the sixty days had expired, but that this whole case was regarded as exceptionally flagrant.

2. **necdum** = 'nondum,' a post-Aug. use; as in H. 1. 31, 5; Plin. Pan. 14.

**satis visum**, repeated from H. 4. 59, 2; Liv. 7. 11, 9, etc.

**de Vistilia statuere**, 'to deal with Vistilia:' cp. 6. 29, 2; 12. 54, 6, etc.

3. **in insulam Seriphon.** Such relegation was part of the penalty of the 'lex Iulia' (see on c. 50, 4). This island, one of the Cyclades, now Serpho, was the place of exile of Cassius Severus (4. 21, 5); and, like Gyaros, is looked upon by Juvenal (10, 170) as typical of such places.

4. **de sacris Aegyptiis Iudaicisque pellendis.** Tacitus dismisses briefly a subject of small interest to himself and his readers, but Josephus (Ant. 18. 3, 4, 5) gives a full account of the circumstances which appear to have led to these decrees. A scandalous outrage had been committed by a knight named Decius Mundus, on a noble Roman lady named Paulina, in the temple of Isis and with the connivance of the priests; and Tiberius had crucified the priests, demolished the temple, and caused the statue of Isis to be thrown into the Tiber. At the same time a vagabond Jew, with three accomplices, had persuaded a noble proselyte named Fulvia to send costly gifts to the temple at Jerusalem, which they had embezzled. On the Isiac worship at Rome, introduced probably soon after the second Punic war, prevalent in spite of many attempts to suppress it, and reluctantly tolerated by Augustus outside the pomoerium (Dio, 53. 2, 4), see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 76, etc. The settlement of Jews at Rome is supposed to have begun with the conquest of Pompeius; they were certainly numerous in Italy in the time of Cicero (pro Flacc. 28, 67), and are noticed by Horace, Ovid, etc. See the collection of references in Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 81; Mayor, on Juv. 14, 96–106.

5. **ea superstitione.** Josephus represents this enlistment and explusion as relating not to both these bodies but to Jews only. The large number of Jewish freedmen, and the large Jewish settlement in the trans-Tiberine district, are attested by Philo, who also speaks of a persecution, but ascribes it to the influence of Seianus: Leg. ad Gaium, 23, 24, 568, 569 (= 1014, 1015).

6. **Sardiniam.** This island, with Corsica, had originally formed a senatorial province of the second rank, but, owing to the prevalence of brigandage, alluded to also by Varro (R. R. 1. 16, 2), was handed over to a procurator with a military force, from 759, A.D. 6 (Dio, 55. 28, 1), until the time of Nero (Introd. vii. p. 94). Its 'gravitas caeli' had been already mentioned by Livy (23. 34, 11); Mela (2. 7, 123) calls it 'ut fecunda, ita paene pestilens;' and Pausanias (10. 17, 11) speaks of its ἀὴρ θολερὸς καὶ νοσώδης.

8. **vile damnum**: cp. 'facili damno' H. 4. 28, 5; 'utile damnum' Vell. 2. 46, 3; 'iactura vilior' Stat. Theb. 1. 649. The sentiment resembles that on the blood of gladiators (1. 76, 5).

10. **capiendam virginem.** The quali-

Occiae, quae septem et quinquaginta per annos summa sancti-
monia Vestalibus sacris praesederat; egitque grates Fonteio
Agrippae et Domitio Pollioni, quod offerendo filias de officio in
2 rem publicam certarent. praelata est Pollionis filia, non ob
aliud quam quod mater eius in eodem coniugio manebat; nam
Agrippa discidio domum imminuerat. et Caesar quamvis post-
habitam deciens sestertii dote solatus est.

1 **87**. Saevitiam annonae incusante plebe statuit frumento pre-
tium, quod emptor penderet, binosque nummos se additurum
2 negotiatoribus in singulos modios. neque tamen ob ea parentis
patriae delatum et antea vocabulum adsumsit, acerbeque in-
crepuit eos, qui divinas occupationes ipsumque dominum dix-

fications and the mode of selection for this office are given fully in Gell. 1. 12, where it is shown that 'capere' (cp. Ann. 4. 16, 6; 15. 22, 4), is strictly used; as the pontifex maximus took her by the hand from her father, as if captive in war, with the words 'te, Amata, capio,' whereby she passed out of the 'potestas patria.' The law had prescribed a 'sortitio' out of twenty candidates selected by the comitia, but this custom seems to have been already departed from, and, when Gellius wrote, was held to be unnecessary; the practice being for persons to offer their daughters, as here mentioned.

1. **Occiae.** Nipp. notes the name of Occius Flamma, procos. of Crete at about this time (M. Sen. Controv. 27, 19).

**septem et quinquaginta.** They were chosen at from six to ten years old (Gell. l. l.), and were legally bound for thirty years; after which time they might retire and marry, but usually continued in office for life; see Marquardt, iii. p. 326.

2. **praesederat.** Any Vestal might be said 'praesidere Vestalibus sacris:' the head of the college was the eldest virgin (cp. 11. 32, 5; Ov. Fast. 4, 639), the 'virgo Vestalis maxima' of inscriptions.

**Fonteio Agrippae**: cp. c. 30, 1.

6. **discidio** = 'divortio,' as 3. 34, 10, etc.

**imminuerat,** 'had lowered in dignity:' cp. c. 34, 4.

7. **deciens sestertii**: cp. c. 37, 2; 1. 75, 5. This appears to be not an unusual dowry among wealthy people: see Prof. Mayor on Juv. 10, 335.

8. **Saevitiam annonae.** Dräger notes this as a novel metaphor, analogous to 'saevitia hiemis,' 'maris,' etc. Tacitus has also 'gravitas annonae' (6. 13, 1), 'acris annona' (4. 6, 6).

**incusante plebe.** Probably, as at other times (cp. 6. 13, 1), these complaints found utterance at the theatre and other public gatherings.

**statuit pretium,** i.e. it was to be sold at less than the current price, and the difference made up out of the 'fiscus.' This has nothing to do with the usual monthly corn-dole, but corresponds rather to the occasional 'frumentationes,' such as are mentioned in Mon. Anc. iii. 10, 40; Suet. Aug. 41, etc.: cp. 15. 39, 2 'pretium frumenti minutum usque ad ternos nummos.' On the regulation of the corn-market at Rome by the government, see Marquardt, ii. p. 122, foll.

10. **negotiatoribus**: cp. c. 62, 4; 3. 42, 1, etc.; here specially used of corn-dealers.

11. **antea**: cp. 1. 72, 2.

**increpuit.** Suetonius (Tib. 27) speaks with more detail: 'Dominus appellatus a quodam, denuntiavit ne se amplius contumeliae causa nominaret. Alium dicentem sacras eius occupationes et rursus alium, auctore eo senatum se adisse, verba mutare et pro auctore suasorem, pro sacris laboriosas dicere coegit' (cp. the speech in 4, 38). He considered that he could properly be addressed as 'dominus' only by his slaves (see his saying quoted in Introd. vi. p. 66, note 1): and, though the example set by him and Augustus (Suet. Aug. 53) gradually found exceptions (among which may be noted the regular use of 'domine' as the address of Pliny to Trajan), the title does not become established as that of the princeps till the time of Diocletian. See Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 739; and a complete history of the use of the term

erant. unde angusta et lubrica oratio sub principe, qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.

**88**. Reperio apud scriptores senatoresque eorundem tempo- 1
rum Adgandestrii principis Chattorum lectas in senatu literas,
quibus mortem Arminii promittebat, si patrandae neci venenum
mitteretur; responsumque esse non fraude neque occultis, sed
palam et armatum populum Romanum hostes suos ulcisci. qua 2
gloria aequabat se Tiberius priscis imperatoribus, qui venenum
in Pyrrum regem vetuerant prodiderantque. ceterum Arminius 3
abscedentibus Romanis et pulso Maroboduo regnum adfectans
libertatem popularium adversam habuit, petitusque armis cum
varia fortuna certaret, dolo propinquorum cecidit: liberator haud
dubie Germaniae et qui non primordia populi Romani, sicut alii
reges ducesque, sed florentissimum imperium lacessierit, proeliis
ambiguus, bello non victus. septem et triginta annos vitae, duo- 4

in daily life, in Friedländer, Sitteng. i. p. 395, foll.

1. **angusta et lubrica**, 'constrained by narrow limits and perilous.' The words are joined together (but not in a metaphorical sense) in H. 3. 82, 4: the metaphor 'angustae sententiae' is used in Dial. 32, 3; and 'lubricus' is often used with this meaning, as 6. 49, 3; 51, 3; H. 1. 10, 2.

3. **scriptores senatoresque eorundem temporum**, 'contemporary writers who were senators:' cp. 'liberto et accusatori' (16. 12, 2), where only one person is meant. The fact that they were senators is mentioned to show their means of information; but it is remarkable that Tacitus does not cite the 'acta senatus' themselves: see Introd. iii. p. 14.

4. **Adgandestrii.** The impossibility of finding any German name of which this might be reasonably supposed to be a rendering has suggested the probability of a corruption. Jac. Grimm, thinking the name might be 'Gandestrius' ('Ganter' = 'Männchen der Gans'), proposes to read the sentence 'ad Gandestrii . . . responsum esse;' but Nipp. rightly objects to the construction resulting, as very unlike the style of Tacitus.

6. **non fraude**: cp. the sentiment of Livy (1. 53, 4) 'minime arte Romana, fraude et dolo.' Tacitus elsewhere (11. 19, 4) approves of such an act, in a case not very dissimilar, and perhaps here thinks Tiberius Quixotic.

8. **priscis imperatoribus.** The general authorities (e. g. Liv. Epit. 13, etc.) tell this story only of C. Fabricius Luscinus in his second consulship, A. U. C. 476, B. C. 278; but Claudius Quadrigarius (ap. Gell. 3. 8) makes the letter run in the names of both consuls, the other being Q. Aemilius Papus. Probably, in using the plural, Tacitus only means to speak in general terms.

**venenum**, i. e. the preparation of poison. On such pregnant uses of words, cp. Introd. v. § 84.

10. **abscedentibus**: perhaps used aoristically (cp. Introd. v. § 54 a). Nipp. thinks the retreat is represented as gradual because the abandonment of further Germany became gradually apparent.

**regnum adfectans.** He was of the royal race (cp. 11. 16, 1), but had hitherto formed a contrast to Maroboduus (c. 44, 3). It is suggested that his motive may not have been personal ambition, but a desire to unite Germany more firmly against Rome.

12. **liberator.** Here, as below ('bello non victus'), Tacitus admits the unquestionable fact, qualified, apparently, by the Roman belief (c. 26, 2; 73, 3) that another campaign would have compelled submission.

14. **reges ducesque**, such as Pyrrhus and Hannibal. In many elements of military strength, Rome had been really then more powerful than at this time.

15. **ambiguus.** Elsewhere (e. g. c. 67, 1, etc.) the word, as applied to persons, has a different meaning. In this sense, we

decim potentiae explevit, caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes, Graecorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum mirantur, Romanis haud perinde celebris, dum vetera extollimus recentium incuriosi.

should rather expect it to be used of the battles themselves, as in c. 21, 4, etc.

**bello.** The antithesis is common: cp. 12. 39, 5; G. 30, 3, etc.

**duodecim.** This may be presumed to date from the defeat of Varus; so that his death must have taken place in 774, A. D. 21, though mentioned here, as on the last occasion of noticing him, Maroboduus was thus dismissed from notice (c. 63, 5).

1. **caniturque.** It is suggested by Jac. Grimm (Mythol. p. 326, cited by Orelli), that Tacitus here confounds him with the German hero Irmin (see note on c. 12, 1).

2. **Graecorum.** The spirit of these Greek annalists may perhaps be represented in the subsequent narrative of Dio, who only once (56. 19, 2) mentions Arminius. It is impossible to say, whether Tacitus may here have alluded to, or could ever have seen, the works of his contemporary Plutarch, who certainly wrote lives of Augustus and Tiberius.

3. **haud perinde**, i. e. 'not as he should have been.' Nipp. gives several instances (H. 2. 84, 2; 4. 62, 4; G. 5, 3; 34, 1; Agr. 10, 6) in which the implied comparison is thus dropped out of sight. Others may be found in Suet. and later authors.

**celebris.** This masc. form is found in 13. 47, 2; 14. 19; as also perhaps 'alacris' (corr. in H. 5. 16, 5), and in earlier prose writers 'acris,' 'equestris,' 'salubris,' 'silvestris:' cp. Zumpt, Gr. 100, note 1.

**vetera extollimus.** A similar protest against indiscriminate admiration of antiquity is found in 3. 55, 6. The sentiment of Velleius (2. 92, 4), 'praesentia invidia praeterita veneratione prosequimur, et his nos obrui illis instrui credimus,' is transferred by Hobbes (Leviathan, conclusion) from the judgment of actions to that of literature: 'The praise of ancient authors, proceeds not from the reverence of the dead, but from the competition and mutual envy of the living.'

# APPENDIX I.

## ON BOOK II, CC. 23, 24.

The following fragment of a contemporary account of the disaster of Germanicus by Pedo Albinovanus, probably one of his officers (see on 1. 60, 2), which has been preserved by M. Seneca (Suas. 1. 14), is here subjoined, as a specimen of some of the material from which Tacitus may have had to draw up his narrative:—

Iam pridem post terga diem solemque relinquunt,
Iam pridem notis extorres finibus orbis
Per non concessas audaces ire tenebras
Ad rerum metas extremaque litora mundi;
Nunc illum pigris immania monstra sub undis
Qui ferat Oceanum, qui saevas undique pristis
Aequoreosque canes, ratibus consurgere prensis.
Accumulat fragor ipse metus. Iam sidere limo
Navigia et rapido desertam flamine classem
Seque feris credunt per inertia fata marinis
Tam non felici laniandos sorte relinqui.
Atque aliquis prora caecum sublimis in alta
Aëra pugnaci luctatus rumpere visu,
Ut nihil erepto valuit dinoscere mundo,
Obstructa in tales effundit pectora voces:
Quo ferimur? fugit ipse dies orbemque relictum
Ultima perpetuis claudit natura tenebris.
Anne alio positas ultra sub cardine gentes
Atque alium flabris intactum quaerimus orbem?
Di revocant rerumque vetant cognoscere finem
Mortales oculos: aliena quid aequora remis
Et sacras violamus aquas divumque quietas
Turbamus sedes?

# BOOK III.

## SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

**A. U. C. 773, A. D. 20. M. Valerius Messala, M. Aurelius Cotta, coss.**

**Ch. 1–18.** Further honours to Germanicus, and trial of Cn. Piso. 1, 2. Reception of Agrippina at Brundusium; transportation of the remains to Rome. 3. Tiberius, Augusta, and Antonia absent from the demonstration. 4, 5. Feeling at Rome on the day of the funeral. 6. Edict of Tiberius. 7. Drusus departs to Illyricum. 8, 9. Piso, after visiting him there, returns ostentatiously to Rome. 10, 11. Indictment sent back to the senate, after a hearing before Tiberius; return of Drusus. 12. Speech of Tiberius at the opening of the case. 13, 14. Progress of the trial. 15. Plancina secures her safety through Augusta; suicide of Piso. 16. His last letter read. 17, 18. End of the trial; modifications of the sentence by Tiberius.

**Ch. 19–30.** Other events of the year.

19. Priesthoods given to the accusers; ovation of Drusus; death of his mother Vipsania. 20, 21. Tacfarinas again defeated in Africa by Apronius. 22, 23. Trial of Lepida. 24. Return of D. Silanus from voluntary exile. 25. Complaints of the working of the 'lex Papia Poppaea.' 26–28. Digression on the origin of law, and the history of Roman legislation. 29. Entry of Nero Caesar into public life; his marriage. 30. Death of L. Volusius and Sallustius Crispus.

**A. U. C. 774, A. D. 21. Tiberius Caesar Augustus IV, Drusus Caesar II, coss.**

31. Tiberius absent during the year; complaint brought by Domitius Corbulo against P. Sulla; his attacks on persons charged with the maintenance of roads. 32. News of renewed hostilities in Africa; M. Lepidus proconsul by lot of Asia. 33, 34. Speeches of Caecina Severus and Valerius Messalinus on the proposal to forbid governors of provinces to take their wives with them. 35. Blaesus, uncle of Seianus, made proconsul of Africa 'extra sortem.' 36, 37. Drusus checks an abuse in respect of the statues of the princeps, and is credited with the punishment of accusers; his popularity. 38. Tiberius causes Antistius Vetus to be condemned for complicity with Rhescuporis. 39. Renewed disturbance in Thrace suppressed.

**Ch. 40–47.** Serious rebellion promoted by Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir in Gaul. 40. Seditious meetings held. 41. Outbreak of the Andecavi and Turoni put down by Acilius Aviola. 42. Rising of the Treveri suppressed by a force of cavalry; death of Florus. 43–46. A large force raised by the Aedui defeated and dispersed by C. Silius near Augustodunum; death of Sacrovir. 47. Tiberius reports to the senate, and talks of going to Gaul; honours decreed to him.

48. Death of Sulpicius Quirinus. 49–51. Clutorius Priscus put to death by sentence of the senate for a poem in anticipation of the death of Drusus; speech of M'. Lepidus; Tiberius blames the haste shown.

**A. U. C. 775, A. D. 22. C. Sulpicius Galba, D. Haterius Agrippa, coss.**

52–55. The aediles complain of the defiance of sumptuary laws, especially in luxuries of the table; letter of Tiberius. The subject allowed to drop; but, after many years' licence, luxury abated in the time of Vespasian. 56, 57. Drusus associated in the tribunician power; extravagant compliments decreed; Servius Maluginensis, flamen Dialis, claims his lot for the proconsulate of Asia. 59. Drusus thought to have shown pride in only writing to the senate. 60–63. Embassies to the senate from Greek cities in Asia touching the right of asylum claimed for their temples. 64. Return of Tiberius in consequence of the illness of Augusta; vows offered for her recovery. 65. Prevalence of servility in the senate. 66–69. Trial and condemnation of C. Silanus for extortion and treasonable conduct in Asia; Tiberius declines the responsibility which the proposal of Dolabella would cast on him. 70. Condemnation of Caesius Cordus; dismissal of the charge against L. Ennius; pretended indignation of Ateius Capito. 71. Offering to Fortuna Equestris for recovery of Augusta; the claim of the flamen Dialis to a province disallowed. 72. Restoration of the 'Basilica Pauli' by Lepidus; that of the theatre of Pompeius undertaken by Caesar. 73, 74. Successes of Blaesus against Tacfarinas, and honours awarded to him. 75. Deaths of Asinius Saloninus and Ateius Capito. 76. Death of Junia, wife of Cassius and sister of Brutus; her will and funeral.

# CORNELII TACITI

## ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

## LIBER III.

1 **1.** NIHIL intermissa navigatione hiberni maris Agrippina Cor-
cyram insulam advehitur, litora Calabriae contra sitam. illic
paucos dies conponendo animo insumit, violenta luctu et nescia
2 tolerandi. interim adventu eius audito intimus quisque ami-
corum et plerique militares, ut quique sub Germanico stipendia
fecerant, multique etiam ignoti vicinis e municipiis, pars officium
in principem rati, plures illos secuti, ruere ad oppidum Brundi-
sium, quod naviganti celerrimum fidissimumque adpulsu erat.
3 atque ubi primum ex alto visa classis, complentur non modo
portus et proxima maris, sed moenia ac tecta, quaque longissime

4. **Nihil intermissa**, etc. The journey of Agrippina (see 2. 75, 1; 79, 1) would fall chiefly into the former year. Hence the beginning of this year, and names of the new consuls are noticed incidentally (c. 2, 5).

5. **advehitur**: cp. 'Uticam advehitur' (Sall. Jug. 86, 4); 'advehor Ortygiam' (Ov. Met. 5, 499, 640); and the similar accus. with 'adferor' (H. 3. 43, 3). The verb is used with accus. pers. in 2. 45, 4, etc.

**contra.** On the anastrophe, cp. Introd. v. 77, 1.

6. **insumit**: see note on 2. 53, 2.

**nescia tolerandi**, 'unskilled in endurance.' 'Nescius,' in this sense, takes a gerundial gen. (acc. to Dr.) only here and in c. 67, 2; an inf. often in poets. Cp. 'simulationum nescia' 4. 54, 2.

8. **plerique** = 'permulti.' Nipp. notes that this is the usual meaning of the word in Tacitus: cp. c. 28, 6; 12. 35, 4; 13. 25, 3; 27, 2, etc., and the similar force of 'plerumque' 4. 42, 1; 12. 55, 1, etc.

**militares**: used substantively, as in 14. 33, 4; Hor. Od. 1. 8, 5; also, acc. to Dräger, in Quint. and Curt. Mr. Dallin notes that the word seems here analogous to 'primipilaris,' 'consularis,' etc., as denoting persons who have been soldiers; cp. 'vir militaris' (4. 42, 2, etc.).

9. **officium**: cp. 1. 24, 4; 2. 42, 2, etc. The 'pars' and 'plures' are subdivisions of the 'multi ignoti' only, and 'illos' refers to 'pars.'

11. **celerrimum**, 'most quickly reached.' Dr. notes this use of the word as unexampled.

**fidissimum**, 'safest.' This sense is first found in Vergil (cp. Aen. 2, 23, 400): so Tacitus has 'pons fidus' in 15. 15, 6: cp. H. 5. 6, 4. 'Adpulsu' is generally taken as a supine, but might also be a contracted dative, as 'luxu' (c. 30, 4), etc.: cp. 'utrinque prora paratam semper adpulsui frontem agit' G. 44, 2.

12. **ex alto**, 'in the offing:' cp. Verg. G. 3, 238.

13. **proxima maris**, 'the sea just outside,' which, as well as the harbour itself, was crowded with boats: cp. 'prox-

prospectari poterat, maerentium turba et rogitantium inter se,
silentione an voce aliqua egredientem exciperent. neque satis 4
constabat quid pro tempore foret, cum classis paulatim successit,
non alacri, ut adsolet, remigio, sed cunctis ad tristitiam com-
positis. postquam duobus cum liberis, feralem urnam tenens, 5
egressa navi defixit oculos, idem omnium gemitus; neque dis-
cerneres proximos alienos, virorum feminarumve planctus, nisi
quod comitatum Agrippinae longo maerore fessum obvii et
recentes in dolore anteibant.

**2**. Miserat duas praetorias cohortes Caesar, addito ut magis- 1
tratus Calabriae Apulique et Campani suprema erga memoriam
filii sui munia fungerentur. igitur tribunorum centurionumque 2
umeris cineres portabantur; praecedebant incompta signa, versi
fasces; atque ubi colonias transgrederentur, atrata plebes, tra-

ima litorum' H. 3. 42, 1. The instances cited by Walther and Orelli do not warrant our explaining this text otherwise (see Ritter); and the emendation 'mari' (Muret.) is not generally accepted, though giving a sense certainly best suited to the context.

**quaque**, etc., 'places commanding the furthest sea-view.' It appears better to take 'qua' thus, with the force of 'unde,' than to understand the words to mean the furthest points which a spectator from the ships could see.

3. **quid pro tempore foret**, 'which course was appropriate,' i.e. suitable to the occasion: cp. 'pro opibus' (c. 2, 2); 'consilium pro tempore et pro re' (Caes. B. G. 5. 8, 1), etc. On the use of 'quid,' cp. 1. 47, 2.

**successit**, 'approached.' The word does not appear to be elsewhere used in this sense absolutely, but usually with 'ad,' or with dat.

5. **duobus**: see on 2. 70, 2.

6. **defixit**, sc. 'in terram.' This meaning appears to be sufficiently conveyed by 'defigo' (cp. 1. 68, 2; 13. 5, 3, etc.); whereas the simple verb requires an addition, as H. 4. 72, 4; Verg. Aen. 6, 469. This attitude of sorrow here gives the signal for the outburst of sympathy.

8. **obvii et recentes in dolore.** 'Obvii' is opposed to the 'comitatus.' 'Recentes in dolore,' 'those whose grief was fresh,' an expression found in Auct. ad Herenn. 2, 7, but not to be confounded with 'recens dolore' (1. 41, 5). 'Et' is explanatory, as the persons coupled are the same.

9. **anteibant**: referring to the 'gemitus' and 'planctus' mentioned above.

10. **magistratus**, sc. 'municipales.' On the variation from the genitive 'Calabriae' to adjectives, cp. 2. 3, 2.

11. **erga**: see on 2. 2, 5.

12. **munia.** This correction of the MS. 'munera' (apparently also necessary in H. 3. 13, 1) is adopted by Halm and Nipp. after Ritter; who shows, by a large collection of instances, that in the nom. and acc. plural, where Tacitus has the choice between 'munera' and 'munia,' he keeps them for distinct significations, using the former for gifts, etc. (e.g. 4. 26, 4; 14. 50, 2; 55, 5; Agr. 13, 1), the latter for duties or functions (e.g. 1. 2, 1; 11, 3; 16, 2; 31, 3; 69, 2, etc.).

**fungerentur**: cp. 4. 38, 1. Elsewhere the accus. with this verb is chiefly antiquated, except as implied in gerundive constructions. In these two places, it is perhaps preserved as an archaic purism of Tiberius.

13. **incompta**, 'unadorned:' cp. 'inhonora signa' (H. 4. 62, 4), and note on 1. 24, 4. Pliny (N. H. 13. 3, 4, 23) notes that the standards were anointed with perfume on festal occasions.

14. **fasces.** The twelve denoting the rank of Germanicus (see on 2. 53, 3). On this sign of mourning, cp. Epiced. Drusi 142 'quos primum vidi fasces, in funere vidi, et vidi versos indiciumque mali.' The reversal of arms in sign of mourning is described in Verg. Aen. 11, 93.

**ubi . . . transgrederentur.** On the subjunct. cp. Introd. v. § 52.

beati equites pro opibus loci vestem odores aliaque funerum
3 sollemnia cremabant. etiam quorum diversa oppida, tamen
obvii et victimas atque aras dis manibus statuentes lacrimis et
4 conclamationibus dolorem testabantur. Drusus Tarracinam pro-
gressus est cum Claudio fratre liberisque Germanici, qui in urbe
5 fuerant. consules M. Valerius et M. Aurelius (iam enim magis-
tratum occeperant) et senatus ac magna pars populi viam con-
plevere, disiecti et ut cuique libitum flentes; aberat quippe adu-
latio, gnaris omnibus laetam Tiberio Germanici mortem male
dissimulari.

1 **3.** Tiberius atque Augusta publico abstinuere, inferius maies-
tate sua rati, si palam lamentarentur, an ne omnium oculis vul-
2 tum eorum scrutantibus falsi intellegerentur. matrem Antoniam
non apud auctores rerum, non diurna actorum scriptura reperio
ullo insigni officio functam, cum super Agrippinam et Drusum
et Claudium ceteri quoque consanguinei nominatim perscripti

**colonias.** Nipp. thinks that as the distinction between 'coloniae' and 'municipia' in Italy was now nominal, this term is used concisely for both (see note on 1. 79, 1). As a fact, however, most of the principal towns on the Appian Way between Brundusium and Tarracina were colonies; e.g. Tarentum, Venusia, Beneventum, Capua, Minturnae, Formiae, etc.

**trabeati.** The 'trabea' had no connexion with mourning, but was their dress of state.

1. **vestem,** etc. These in an actual funeral would have been cast on the pile: cp. Verg. Aen. 6, 221; Sil. 10, 569; and the contrast of German funerals, G. 27, 1.

**odores.** The burning of spices at funerals is described by Statius (Silv. 2. 6, 86). These were probably burnt on piles constructed as if for an actual funeral. Such piles are described as burnt all over Italy at the obsequies of Drusus, father of Germanicus (Sen. Cons. ad Marc. 3, 2).

2. **diversa,** 'off the route.' The sense is akin to that in 1. 17, 5, etc.

5. **liberis.** Nero, Drusus, Agrippina, and Drusilla: see c. 1, 5.

6. **consules.** The first of these is son of the person mentioned in 1. 8, 5, and, like his father, has the cognomen 'Messala' (Dio, Arg. to B. 57), or 'Messalinus.' The other is styled by Dio (l. l.) 'M. Aurelius M. f. Cotta,' and is generally taken to be the Cotta Messalinus of 2. 32, 2, etc. (of whom no other consulship is recorded). The first consul would thus be nephew of the second.

7. **occeperant:** so used 6. 45, 5, and often in Liv. as 3. 19, 2, 55, 1, etc.

8. **disiecti,** in scattered groups: cp. 1. 32, 7; 2. 61, 1. This applies only to the people, not then grouped in any regular form, as 'per tribus' (c. 4, 2).

11. **publico abstinuere,** 'kept at home.' The expression appears to be in general use, from its repetition in Suet. Cl. 36.

**inferius maiestate,** repeated c. 64, 2.

12. **rati . . . an ne:** cp. 'gnarus, ac ne . . . ingrueret' H. 3. 46, 3, and cp. Introd. v. § 91, 9.

13. **falsi:** cp. 1. 7, 2.

**Antoniam:** see c. 18, 4; 11. 3, 1; Jos. Ant. 18. 6, 6; and Introd. ix. note 21. A fine representation of her profile on a coin may be seen in Cohen, i. p. 223, and others are referred to here by Nipp.

14. **auctores rerum,** 'historians.' Sallust is thus styled in c. 30, 3; otherwise they are usually called simply 'auctores,' as in 4. 10, 1; 5. 9, 3, etc., and in Livy. On these authorities, see Introd. iii. p. 10 foll.

**diurna actorum scriptura.** On these journals, see Introd. iii. p. 15. The construction is varied to the ablative to avoid the repetition of 'apud,' and is a slight extension of the general usage in referring to a book (cp. 11. 11, 2; Madv. 273, Obs. 1). 'Scriptura' is used for 'writings' in 4. 32, 1; where also 'veteres res' is a similar enallage to that of 'diurna' for 'diurnorum' here.

sint, seu valetudine praepediebatur, seu victus luctu animus
magnitudinem mali perferre visu non toleravit. facilius credi- 3
derim Tiberio et Augusta, qui domo non excedebant, cohibitam,
ut par maeror et matris exemplo avia quoque et patruus attineri
viderentur.

**4.** Dies, quo reliquiae tumulo Augusti inferebantur, modo 1
per silentium vastus, modo ploratibus inquies; plena urbis iti-
nera, conlucentes per campum Martis faces. illic miles cum 2
armis, sine insignibus magistratus, populus per tribus concidisse
rem publicam, nihil spei reliquum clamitabant, promptius aper-
tiusque quam ut meminisse imperitantium crederes. nihil tamen 3
Tiberium magis penetravit quam studia hominum accensa in
Agrippinam, cum decus patriae, solum Augusti sanguinem, uni-
cum antiquitatis specimen appellarent versique ad caelum ac deos
integram illi subolem ac superstitem iniquorum precarentur.

2. **perferre visu non toleravit**, 'had not resolution to realise by sight the greatness of her affliction;' 'perferre visu' is thus a more forcible expression than 'videre.' 'Tolerare . . . perpeti' is found in Plin. N. H. 26. 1, 3, 3; 'sustinere pati' in Ov. ex P. 1. 5, 18; and such expressions appear taken from the Greek φέρειν οὐκ ἔτλη.

**facilius crediderim.** The abrupt transition implies the thought that these suppositions are improbable.

3. **Augusta.** Nipp. and Orelli follow Doed. in reading 'Augustae,' with a construction such as in 2. 50, 4, etc. The MS. text, retained by Halm, must be taken as an extension or free use of the instrumental abl. (see Introd. v. § 27), and as equivalent to 'Tiberii et Augustae exemplo.' It follows that the next sentence 'ut par maeror,' etc. must be taken to express, not their motives for restraining her, but her own reasons for thinking fit to follow their example.

4. **par maeror**, sc. 'videretur,' supplied from 'viderentur.'

**attineri**: cp. 1. 35, 5; 2. 10, 2, etc.

6. **tumulo Augusti**: see note on 1. 8, 6.

7. **per silentium vastus.** Tacitus has 'vastum silentium' in 4. 50, 6; H. 3. 13, 4; Agr. 38, 2, and the epithet is here transferred to the day.

8. **faces.** The custom of carrying torches at funerals is noted as of immemorial antiquity: cp. Vergil's account of the obsequies of Pallas, Aen. 11, 142 'de more vetusto funereas rapuere faces; lucet via longo ordine flammarum et late discriminat agros:' also 'inter utramque facem' (i. e. the torch of marriage and burial) Prop. 4. 11, 46.

**cum armis**: cp. Epiced. Drusi 217 'armataeque rogum celebrant de more cohortes.' This, like the 'trabea' of the equites (c. 2, 2) was a parade in full equipment (cp. 12. 36, 4). Usually in the city the soldiers, even on duty, were 'togati' (cp. H. 1. 38, 5).

9. **sine insignibus**, i. e. without their fasces, praetexta, etc.: cp. Epiced. Drusi 186 'adspicitur toto purpura nulla foro.'

**populus per tribus**, sc. 'dispositus,' 'marshalled in their tribes,' perhaps at or near the 'septa' in the Campus. The people were thus formed to meet Nero (14. 13, 2). The tribes were a more select body than the 'plebs urbana' (Introd. vii. p. 89).

13. **solum Augusti sanguinem.** The younger Julia and her children (see Introd. ix. notes 7, 10) are ignored, the only point being the invidious contrast to Tiberius.

**unicum antiquitatis specimen**, 'a peerless model of old-fashioned morals.' 'Unicus' is frequently thus used in Livy, etc.; 'antiquitas' thus in Cic., as 'documentum virtutis, antiquitatis, prudentiae' (pro Rab. Post. 10, 27); 'his gravissimae antiquitatis viris' (pro Sest. 3, 6). The use of 'specimen' is also Ciceronian.

15. **superstitem iniquorum.** 'Superstes' more commonly takes a dative in

1 **5.** Fuere qui publici funeris pompam requirerent compara-
rentque quae in Drusum patrem Germanici honora et magnifica
2 Augustus fecisset. ipsum quippe asperrimo hiemis Ticinum
usque progressum neque abscedentem a corpore simul urbem
intravisse; circumfusas lecto Claudiorum Iuliorumque imagines;
defletum in foro, laudatum pro rostris, cuncta a maioribus re-
3 perta aut quae posteri invenerint cumulata: at Germanico ne
solitos quidem et cuicumque nobili debitos honores contigisse.
4 sane corpus ob longinquitatem itinerum externis terris quoquo
modo crematum: sed tanto plura decora mox tribui par fuisse,
5 quanto prima fors negavisset. non fratrem, nisi unius diei via,
6 non patruum saltem porta tenus obvium. ubi illa veterum insti-
tuta, propositam toro effigiem, meditata ad memoriam vir-

classical Latin, but both this construction and also the use of 'iniquus' for 'inimicus' (cp. 4. 68, 1; 16. 21, 3). are Ciceronian. The whole description is intended no doubt as an artistic preparation for the narrative of intrigues against this family.

1. **requirerent** = 'desiderarent,' as often in Cic., etc. The conveyance of the cinerary urn to the mausoleum, though a public act, lacked many of the solemnities of a funeral, still more of a state-funeral (on which see c. 48, 1, etc.) We gather from the context that there was no procession of ancestors, and no 'laudatio.'

3. **Ticinum**, now Pavia. Augustus was in Gaul, and on hearing of the illness of Drusus had sent off Tiberius, who arrived before his brother's death, and marched at the head of the procession all the way (Suet. Tib. 7; Dio, 55. 2). Augustus met it here on his way back to Rome.

4. **neque abscedentem**, etc.: cp. 1. 7, 6.

5. **Claudiorum Iuliorumque.** As Drusus was never adopted into the latter gens, Lips. proposed to read 'Liviorum.' But the old rule as to the 'ius imaginum' appears to have become less strict (see Mommsen, Staatsr. i. p. 427); and the natural gradation in the order of mention requires the noblest house to be put last (cp. 'Claudiae et Iuliae domus partem' 6. 8, 6); the more so as the stress is laid on what no doubt was one of the special honours accorded by Augustus to his stepson. Effigies, no doubt, of the Livii and other less noble houses were borne (see c. 76, 4), but so eclipsed by these as not to need mention. Some of these Claudian and Julian ancestors are specified in 4. 9, 3.

6. **in foro . . . pro rostris.** The places seem mentioned emphatically, but Cicero (de Or. 2, 84, 341) speaks of 'laudationes' as commonly delivered 'in foro.' See the description of a Roman funeral in Mommsen, Rom. Hist. vol. ii. ch. 13. At that of Drusus, according to Dio (l. l.), the speech in the Forum was spoken by Tiberius, and another in the Flaminian Circus by Augustus.

7. **ne solitos quidem.** This is explained by what follows.

9. **sane**, used concessively, as 1. 3, 4, etc.

**quoquo modo** = 'sine imaginibus et pompa' (2. 73, 1). The distance is mentioned to explain its not having been brought home for burning.

10. **decora.** Nipp. takes this as from 'decorus;' as also in c. 47, 3.

11. **quanto**: cp. Introd. v. § 64, 2.

**fratrem.** Drusus and Claudius had both gone to Tarracina (c. 2, 4). Possibly the latter is ignored, as in 2. 71, 3; as however, in the corresponding term 'patruus,' adoptive relationship is not considered (cp. note on 1. 33, 3); it is possible that 'fratrem' refers only to Claudius. 'Unius diei' is probably an exaggeration, as 'Appii Forum' seems to be reckoned a fair day's journey from Rome (Hor. Sat. 1. 5, 5).

12. **non . . . saltem.** This use for 'ne . . . quidem,' not found elsewhere in Tacitus, occurs in a few places in Livy and in later prose.

13. **propositam**: so Halm and most editors after Muret., as the ordinary equivalent of the Greek *προτιθέναι*, and because 'prae' and 'pro' are often con-

tutis carmina et laudationes, et lacrimas vel doloris imitamenta?

**6**. Gnarum id Tiberio fuit; utque premeret vulgi sermones, 1
monuit edicto multos inlustrium Romanorum ob rem publicam
obisse, neminem tam flagranti desiderio celebratum. idque et
sibi et cunctis egregium, si modus adiceretur. non enim eadem 2
decora principibus viris et imperatori populo, quae modicis domibus aut civitatibus. convenisse recenti dolori luctum et ex 3
maerore solacia; sed referendum iam animum ad firmitudinem,
ut quondam divus Iulius amissa unica filia, ut divus Augustus
ereptis nepotibus abstruserint tristitiam. nil opus vetustioribus 4
exemplis, quotiens populus Romanus clades exercituum, interitum ducum, funditus amissas nobiles familias constanter tulerit.
principes mortales, rem publicam aeternam esse. proin repe- 5
terent sollemnia, et quia ludorum Megalesium spectaculum suberat, etiam voluptates resumerent.

founded in MSS. Orelli retains the MS. 'praepositam,' which would rather describe such an arrangement as that at the funeral of Augustus (Dio, 56. 34, 1), where the position of a waxen effigy on the couch has to be contrasted with that of the real body below; whereas in such a case as this no real body could have been present.

**toro.** Unless 'praepositam' be read, this must be taken as a free use of the abl. of place; as also 'externis terris' above: see Introd. v. § 25.

**meditata,** 'prepared:' so used passively 4. 57, 1; 70, 6, etc., and in several places in Cic.

1. **carmina,** verses to be sung by a choir. Such a poem was composed by Clutorius Priscus, but probably not till afterwards (c. 49, 1).

**et lacrimas.** Nipp. notes that these are not, like the former words, in apposition to 'veterum instituta,' but refer to the conduct of Tiberius and others.

**vel,** 'or even.'

**imitamenta**: cp. 13. 4, 1; 14. 57, 5. The word is not found before Tacitus, and very rarely later.

3. **Gnarum**: cp. 1. 5, 4, etc.

**utque premeret,** 'to repress.' The sense is mostly poetical, and oftener used of self-control (e. g. c. 11, 2; 6. 50, 5).

4. **ob rem publicam obisse,** referring to the inscriptions mentioned in 2. 83, 3.

6. **egregium,** 'honourable:' cp. 'mihi egregium erat' (H. 1. 15, 1), and the subst. c. 70, 4; 6. 24, 3, etc.: apparently a Tacitean sense of the word.

**adiceretur.** Dräger notes that this verb is nowhere else used in this phrase for 'adhibere.'

7. **principibus viris.** Nipp. notes that while this is thrown in to explain his own apparent apathy, the addition of 'imperatori populo' removes the apparent self-exaltation by raising the nation to his level. On the adjectival 'imperator,' cp. Introd. v. § 3: also 'liberator populus' (Liv. 35. 17, 8).

8. **ex maerore solacia.** On the construction, see note on 1. 29, 3. The sentiment resembles that of Ovid (Trist. 4. 3, 38) 'expletur lacrimis egeriturque dolor.'

10. **divus Iulius . . . divus Augustus.** Their firmness on these occasions is dwelt on by Seneca (Cons. ad Marc. 14, 3; 15, 2): also Suetonius says of the latter (Aug. 65), 'aliquanto patientius mortem quam dedecora suorum tulit.' Julia, only daughter of Caesar and wife of Cn. Pompeius, died while her father was in Britain, in 700, B. C. 54. On the death of the grandsons of Augustus, see 1. 3, 3.

13. **amissas nobiles familias,** referring apparently to the story of the Fabii at the Cremera (Liv. 2. 50).

14. **principes**: not here in a special sense, but = 'great men.'

15. **sollemnia,** 'their usual employments.'

**Megalesium.** These began on the

1 **7.** Tum exuto iustitio reditum ad munia, et Drusus Illyricos
ad exercitus profectus est, erectis omnium animis *spe* petendae
e Pisone ultionis et crebro questu, quod vagus interim per
amoena Asiae atque Achaiae adroganti et subdola mora sce-
2 lerum probationes subverteret. nam vulgatum erat missam, ut
dixi, a Cn. Sentio famosam veneficiis Martinam subita morte
Brundisii extinctam, venenumque nodo crinium eius occultatum,
nec ulla in corpore signa sumpti exitii reperta.

1 **8.** At Piso praemisso in urbem filio datisque mandatis per
quae principem molliret ad Drusum pergit, quem haud fratris
interitu trucem quam remoto aemulo aequiorem sibi sperabat.
2 Tiberius quo integrum iudicium ostentaret, exceptum comiter
iuvenem sueta erga filios familiarum nobiles liberalitate auget.

4th of April (Ov. Fast. 4, 179 sqq.); but we can hardly suppose that the mourning had lasted continuously till then (see on 2. 82, 8). Ovid (l. l.) describes the procession at these games, and speaks of scenic and Circensian entertainments: see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 355 sqq.

**suberat**, 'was at hand:' so used by Cic. (Mil. 16, 42) and Caesar (B. G. 3. 27, 2; B. C. 3. 97, 4). The indicative is used because these words are a note by the writer, not a part of the edict.

1. **Illyricos ad exercitus.** On his mission, see 2. 44, etc. He returned again for the trial (c. 11, 1). On the plural 'exercitus,' cp. c. 12, 6; 1. 52, 3, etc.

2. **erectis**, 'roused to energy:' cp. 2. 25, 1, and 'erectus Samnis' H. 3. 59, 2; 'non fregit . . . sed erexit' Nep. Them. 1.

**spe petendae . . . ultionis.** 'Spe' is absent from the MS., but inserted by Orelli and Halm, after Freinsheim. Nipp. retains the MS. text, which can possibly be explained as a strong instance of a gerundive genitive denoting purpose and qualifying the whole sentence (Introd. v. § 37, d): but the sense seems here to require an expression of the instrumental cause of excitement; and 'spe' could most easily have been absorbed between 'animis' and 'petendae.' The more common expression is 'erectus in (or 'ad') spem,' as 2. 71, 1; H. 2. 74, 4, etc.

5. **probationes**, 'proofs,' or 'evidence;' a meaning first found in Quint.

**subverteret**, 'was destroying.' The next sentence explains the word, by supposing that he had caused the death of Martina; but of this there appears to be no evidence beyond that of common talk.

**ut dixi**, 2. 74, 2.

7. **nodo crinium** = *κορύμβῳ*, possibly in a hollow in the *βελόνῃ*. It was thus, according to one version (Dio, 51. 14, 2), that Cleopatra had secreted poison about her.

8. **nec . . . reperta.** The inference would seem to be that she had not committed suicide, but had been murdered in some subtle manner. Nipp., on the other hand, thinks it to be assumed that she had poisoned herself; and that the important admission, that no signs of poison were found in her body, is made to point the other way; as arguing that she must have used drugs that left no trace, which would explain the absence of conclusive evidence in the case of Germanicus (2. 73, 5). 'Sumere mortem' is used of suicide in 13. 30, 3; usually 'sponte' is added, as in 2. 66, 2; 6. 25, 1, etc.

9. **filio**: see 2. 76, 2, etc.

10. **haud . . . quam.** On the abbreviation of comparative clauses, see Introd. v. § 64. Nipp. notes here that the constructions 'haud tam . . . quam,' and 'haud . . . sed,' are mingled—the second clause softening the negation in the first—and compares the use of 'non . . . quam' in Plaut. Rud. 4. 3, 9; Liv. 2. 56, 9; 25. 15, 9.

11. **sperabat**: cp. 2. 56, 4.

12. **integrum**, 'unprejudiced:' cp. 'integris . . . animis' c. 12, 3.

13. **liberalitate**: cp. 2. 37, 2, etc.

Drusus Pisoni, si vera forent quae iacerentur, praecipuum in 3
dolore suum locum respondit: sed malle falsa et inania nec
cuiquam mortem Germanici exitiosam esse. haec palam et 4
vitato omni secreto; neque dubitabantur praescripta ei a Ti-
berio, cum incallidus alioqui et facilis iuventa senilibus tum
artibus uteretur.

**9.** Piso Delmatico mari tramisso relictisque apud Anconam 1
navibus per Picenum ac mox Flaminiam viam adsequitur legio-
nem, quae e Pannonia in urbem, dein praesidio Africae duce-
batur: eaque res agitata rumoribus, ut in agmine atque itinere
crebro se militibus ostentavisset. ab Narnia, vitandae suspicionis 2
an quia pavidis consilia in incerto sunt, Nare ac mox Tiberi
devectus auxit vulgi iras, quia navem tumulo Caesarum adpul-
erat dieque et ripa frequenti, magno clientium agmine ipse,

Nipp. notes that young men of rank in the retinue of provincial magistrates often received a present for their voluntary service to the state.

1. **quae iacerentur,** 'the stories flying about;' used of casual expressions in 1. 10, 7; 2. 55, 5, etc.

4. **secreto,** 'private interview:' cp. 'frequens secretis' 4. 3, 5, etc.

**dubitabantur:** cp. 'ne auctor dubitaretur' 14. 7, 1, and the similar usage with other verbs (Introd. v. § 45).

**ei,** adopted generally, after Lips., for the MS. 'et.'

5. **incallidus,** a rare word, only here in Tacitus; used by Cic. in negative sentences.

**facilis,** 'affable:' cp. 'sermone facilis' Agr. 40, 4. In 4. 2, 4; 5. 1, 5, it means 'compliant,' in rather a bad sense: cp. 'facilitas' (6. 15, 3).

7. **Delmatico mari.** The Adriatic is also called by Tacitus 'Illyricum mare' (H. 3. 2, 4). The point from which Piso crossed was probably Salonae, then a colony and the residence of the governor (cp. Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 145).

8. **Flaminiam viam.** This old and celebrated road left Rome by way of the Campus Martius, on or close to the line of the present Corso, and took a north-easterly course through Umbria to Ariminum. It had been restored under the personal direction of Augustus, whose splendid bridge over the Nar at Narnia is still well known by its ruins. The road from Ancona passing through the north part of Picenum joined it at Nuceria (Nocera), near Assisi. From Narnia the Nar is navigable for small vessels.

**legionem,** the ninth (4. 23, 2), properly belonging to the Pannonian army (1. 23, 6, etc.): see note on 4. 5, 4.

10. **ut,** 'how.' This use of 'ut' in indirect or dependent questions, restricted by Cicero to those following 'video' and 'audio,' is found in Tacitus, where a verb of telling, hearing, or thinking, is expressed or implied; as with 'refero' (1. 61, 9), 'reddo' (2. 4, 5), 'mirum dictu' (H. 1. 79, 4), 'admoneo' (H. 3. 24, 2). In Livy (23. 5, 8) it follows 'veniat in mentem.'

**in agmine atque itinere,** 'as they were marching and on the route.' The latter is a wider term, and would include also their times of halting. This explanation is supported by the similar passage 'in itinere in agmine, in stationibus' (H. 1. 23, 1), where the two latter terms appear to be an expansion of the first. For this use of 'in agmine,' cp. 13. 35, 7; H. 2. 40, 2; Agr. 33, 4, etc.

11. **vitandae suspicionis.** On the genitive, see Introd. ch. 5, § 37, d. The suspicion is that of tampering with the legion, which he here ceases to accompany.

13. **tumulo Caesarum.** The mausoleum itself (c. 4, 1, etc.) did not touch the river, but the pleasure grounds surrounding it (Suet. Aug. 100) must have done so: cp. Verg. Aen. 6, 875.

14. **frequenti.** This is taken both with 'die' and 'ripa.' It was at a busy time of day (cp. 'celeberrimo fori' 4. 67, 6; 'medio ac frequenti die' Suet. Cal. 15),

3 feminarum comitatu Plancina et vultu alacres incessere. fuit
inter inritamenta invidiae domus foro inminens festa ornatu
conviviumque et epulae et celebritate loci nihil occultum.
1 **10.** Postera die Fulcinius Trio Pisonem apud consules postu-
2 lavit. contra Vitellius ac Veranius ceterique Germanicum comi-
tati tendebant, nullas esse partis Trioni; neque se accusatores,
sed rerum indices et testes mandata Germanici perlaturos. ille
3 dimissa eius causae delatione, ut priorem vitam accusaret ob-
4 tinuit, petitumque est a principe cognitionem exciperet. quod
ne reus quidem abnuebat, studia populi et patrum metuens:
contra Tiberium spernendis rumoribus validum et conscientiae
matris innexum esse; veraque aut in deterius credita iudice ab
uno facilius discerni, odium et invidiam apud multos valere.
5 haud fallebat Tiberium moles cognitionis quaque ipse fama

and at a place where the bank was usually crowded; probably at a much used landing-place, at or near the modern Ripetta. Agricola was careful to avoid such suspicion by returning at night (Agr. 40, 3).

1. **alacres**, i. e. not with the demeanour of persons accused: also 'incessere' appears to imply some ostentation.

2. **festa**: cp. 2. 69, 3. Such adornment of a house is described by Juvenal (6, 79), 'ornentur postes et grandi ianua lauro,' and would be natural at the return of its master.

3. **convivium**, 'an assemblage of guests:' cp. 'familias . . . et tota convivia' Pl. N. H. 22. 23, 47, 96.

**celebritate loci nihil occultum**, 'the fact that the publicity of the spot precluded all concealment.' On the construction, see Introd. v. § 55 b, 2; and many other instances here cited by Nipp.

4. **Fulcinius Trio**: see 2. 28, 3, etc.

**apud consules**; to bring the matter before the senate (cp. 2. 28, 5). See Introd. vi. p. 78.

5. **contra . . . tendebant**, 'were opposing him:' a verb of speaking is implied in the expression.

7. **indices et testes**: cp. 'index idem et testis' 4. 28, 2. Usually 'index' means an informer, i. e. one who discloses a crime to which he was privy; here it appears to mean that they were collectors of evidence (cp. 2. 74, 2), as well as actual witnesses of what they knew.

**perlaturos**: cp. 1. 26, 1.

8. **priorem vitam**, i. e. his administration of Spain (c. 13, 2). This, like the attack of Cicero on the 'praetura urbana' of Verres, could only bear on the case by showing the general character of the accused.

9. **cognitionem exciperet**, 'to take up the case.' Thus Nero is said (14. 50, 2), by a similar interposition, 'suscipere iudicium.' On the force of 'cognitio,' cp. 2. 28, 4: on the personal jurisdiction of the princeps, see Introd. v. p. 74; Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 920, foll.

11. **contra**, sc. 'ratus,' supplied from 'metuens.'

**validum**: cp. 'validus . . . spernendis honoribus' 4. 37, 2.

**conscientiae**, 'complicity:' cp. 'est tibi Augustae conscientia' 2. 77, 6.

12. **innexum**, 'implicated in.' The word is frequent in Vergil and other poets; and used in prose by Val. Max. (1. 5, 1, etc), and Col.; also elsewhere by Tacitus (6. 36, 5; 16. 14, 1, etc.).

**in deterius**: cp. 2. 82, 1, etc.

**iudice ab uno**. The princeps would associate assessors with himself, but was not bound by their decision, as the consuls or praetor by that of the senate or iudices. See Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 925. This form of anastrophe (see Introd. v. § 77, 3) is here very fully illustrated by Nipp. from Tacitus, as also from Livy and poets.

14. **qua . . . fama distraheretur**, 'the reports by which his character was being torn to pieces.' This appears here to be the meaning of the word, which is elsewhere used rather of a struggle or doubt within the mind, as in 2. 40, 1; 4. 40, 8;

distraheretur. igitur paucis familiarium adhibitis minas accu- 6
santium et hinc preces audit integramque causam ad senatum
remittit.

**11.** Atque interim Drusus rediens Illyrico, quamquam patres 1
censuissent ob receptum Maroboduum et res priore aestate ges-
tas ut ovans iniret, prolato honore urbem intravit. post quae 2
reo L. Arruntium, P. Vinicium, Asinium Gallum, Aeserninum
Marcellum, Sex. Pompeium patronos petenti iisque diversa ex-
cusantibus M'. Lepidus et L. Piso et Livineius Regulus adfuere,
adrecta omni civitate, quanta fides amicis Germanici, quae fiducia

6. 44, 3, etc. The metaphor in 'differre aliquem rumoribus' (1. 4, 3) appears to be similar (see note there).

1. **paucis familiarium adhibitis.** On the informal, and subsequent formal employment of assessors, see Introd. vi. p. 74.

2. **hinc,** 'from the other side:' cp. 'illic' 1. 70, 6, etc.

**ad senatum remittit.** This becomes a technical expression (see Introd. l. l.; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 863). If the princeps did not himself take up the case or 'remit' it, it seems that it would naturally fall through: cp. 'relationem de eo Caesar ad senatum non remisit' Pl. Epp. 9. 13, 22.

4. **Illyrico.** On the abl. cp. 2, 69, etc.; Introd. v. § 24: on the departure of Drusus, cp. c. 7, 1.

5. **censuissent**: cp. 2. 64, 1. If the view given on 2. 62, 1 of the chronology of these events is correct, 'priore aestate' must either be an interpolation (see note on c. 20, 1), or must be referred to the summer preceding the decree itself.

7. **P. Vinicium.** The MS. has 'fulnicium.' It appears plain that the latter part is a corruption of 'Vinicium,' but there has been much question as to the proper praenomen. See Baiter, in Orelli not. crit. The above is adopted by Halm and Nipp. from Borghesi, as on the whole nearest to the MS., and as the name of the consul of 755, A.D. 2, who is mentioned by M. Seneca (Contr. vii. 11, and other places) and L. Seneca (Ep. 40, 9), as an orator. He was father of the consul of 783, A.D. 30 (Vell. 2. 103, 1). For further particulars respecting the family, see Nipp.'s note.

**Aeserninum Marcellum,** son of the consul of 732, B.C. 22, and, through his mother Asinia, a grandson of Pollio; who is said to have regarded him, even in his boyhood, as the chief heir of his own eloquence (M. Sen. Contr. 4. praef. 3). He was curator riparum et alvei Tiberis, praetor peregrinus (probably in 772, A.D. 19), and cos. suff. in some unknown year (see Nipp.). In 11. 6, 4, his name as an orator is coupled with that of Arruntius, and compared with those of Pollio and Messala.

8. **Sex. Pompeium**: see on 1. 7, 3, and below, c. 32, 2, and note on c. 72, 4. On his proconsulate of Asia, see Introd. vii. p. 96. His 'facundissimus sermo' is mentioned by Val. Max. (2. 6, 8).

**iisque.** Nipp. notes that such an informality of construction as is here caused by the interposition of this abl. abs., bringing in another circumstance, has its parallels in earlier Latinity, as in Sallust, 'dispersos . . . neque minus hostibus conturbatis . . . contrahit' (Jug. 98, 4), and Livy, 'honorem huic petenti, meisque . . . adiectis precibus, mandetis' (5. 18, 5); 'inter exercitus . . . imperatore tanto . . . deleto, et . . . exspectantes' (25. 35, 2); and is a frequent usage in Greek, as in Thuc. 4. 29, 1; 8. 106, 5.

**excusantibus,** 'pleading in excuse:' cp. 5. 2, 1; 15. 61, 1; also in Cic. etc.

9. **M'. Lepidus**: see on c. 32, 2; 1. 13, 2, etc.

**L. Piso**: see on 2. 32, 4; 34, 1. From his being called Γναίου υἱός by Dio (Arg. B. 55), Nipp. infers him to have been a brother of the accused: cp. c. 12, 9.

**Livineius Regulus,** also a consular, probably father of the one alluded to in 14. 17, 1. One of the name is mentioned in Bell. Afr. 89, 3.

10. **adrecta,** 'excited to see.' The construction is such as would follow a verb expressing expectation or wonder. 'Adrigo' is found here alone in Tacitus; also in poets, Sall. and Liv.

**quanta fides . . . quae fiducia.** These

3 reo: satin cohiberet ac premeret sensus suos Tiberius. haud
alias intentior populus plus sibi in principem occultae vocis aut
suspicacis silentii permisit.

1 **12.** Die senatus Caesar orationem habuit meditato tempera-
2 mento. patris sui legatum atque amicum Pisonem fuisse adiu-
toremque Germanico datum a se auctore senatu rebus apud
3 orientem administrandis. illic contumacia et certaminibus as-
perasset iuvenem exituque eius laetatus esset, an scelere extinx-
4 isset, integris animis diiudicandum. 'nam si legatus officii
terminos, obsequium erga imperatorem exuit eiusdemque morte
et luctu meo laetatus est, odero seponamque a domo mea et
5 privatas inimicitias non vi principis ulciscar: sin facinus in cu-
iuscumque mortalium nece vindicandum detegitur, vos vero et
6 liberos Germanici et nos parentes iustis solaciis adficite. simul-
que illud reputate, turbide et seditiose tractaverit exercitus Piso,

should not be taken to be mere synonymous expressions. The 'fides' of the friends of Germanicus is apparently their fidelity to their solemn promise (2. 71, 8); while 'quae fiducia' means 'on what the accused relied,' and seems taken from the Vergilian 'quae sit fiducia capto' (Aen. 2. 75).

1. **cohiberet ac premeret**, 'restrain and suppress:' a rhetorical use of words virtually synonymous, as in Pl. Pan. 4 'cohibet et comprimit.'

**haud alias.** The MS. after 'Tiberius' reads 'ac premeret is haud.' The first words have been generally rejected as an error of repetition; but 'is,' retained by Ritter, Dräger, and formerly by Halm, might well stand; 'fuit' being supplied after 'intentior,' and the sense being completed (as it is with the reading here adopted) by supplying 'haud alias' again with 'plus permisit.' But the ordinary sense of 'intentus' ('on the alert') is far more suitable to the mental attitude of the people than to that of Tiberius. The repetition in sense of 'haud alias,' noted above, is compared by Nipp. to the way in which, in Agr. 18, 7, 'nec' extends its force both to 'usus' and to 'vocabat.'

4. **meditato temperamento**, 'of studied discretion:' cp. 'meditata oratio' 14. 55, 1, etc.; and 'temperamentum fortitudinis' H. 1. 83, 2; 'salubri temperamento' H. 4 86, 2. This word is similarly used to describe the character of M'. Lepidus (4. 20, 4), also in the sense of 'compromise' (11. 4, 7).

5. **legatum.** In the Caesarian province of Hispania citerior or Tarraconensis (c. 13, 2).

**adiutorem.** In 4. 7, 2, Seianus is called 'adiutor imperii;' and Suetonius (Cal. 26) so calls Macro and even Ennia (cp. also Suet. Aug. 39; Tib. 62). In assistants of lower rank, it is often almost a technical term; as Inscr. Orell. 3200, 3462. Such a coadjutor to a younger man is termed 'rector' (c. 48, 2; 1. 24, 3).

9. **integris**, 'unbiassed:' cp. c. 7, 2, etc.

**nam si.** On the abrupt change to 'oratio recta,' cp. Introd. v. § 94.

**officii**, 'his position:' cp. 'fama aucti officii' Agr. 14, 3. This sense is post-Augustan, and especially found in Suet.

10. **imperatorem**, used here, as in c. 14, 1; 2. 76, 4, etc., of Germanicus: see note on 1. 14, 4.

**exuit**, used by zeugma with 'terminos.'

11. **seponam**, i. e. by 'renuntiatio amicitiae:' cp. 2. 70, 3, and note there.

12. **vi principis** = 'potestate principis,' as 5, 5, 2.

**facinus . . . vindicandum**, 'an atrocity, such as in the murder of any human being would demand punishment;' i. e. irrespectively of the rank and position of the person killed: cp. 'quisnam mortalium esset' H. 2. 72, 2.

15. **turbide**, 'in a spirit of mutiny:' 'turbidus' in Tacitus is nearly synonymous with 'seditiosus:' cp. c. 27. 4; 1. 38, 4, etc. 'Exercitus,' the legions: cp. 1. 52, 3.

quaesita sint per ambitionem studia militum, armis repetita
provincia, an falsa haec in maius vulgaverint accusatores, quorum
ego nimiis studiis iure suscenseo. nam quo pertinuit nudare 7
corpus et contrectandum vulgi oculis permittere differrique etiam
per externos tamquam veneno interceptus esset, si incerta adhuc
ista et scrutanda sunt? defleo equidem filium meum semperque 8
deflebo: sed neque reum prohibeo quo minus cuncta proferat,
quibus innocentia eius sublevari aut, si qua fuit iniquitas Ger-
manici, coargui possit, vosque oro ne, quia dolori meo causa
conexa est, obiecta crimina pro adprobatis accipiatis. si quos 9
propinquus sanguis aut fides sua patronos dedit, quantum quis-
que eloquentia et cura valet, iuvate periclitantem: ad eundem
laborem, eandem constantiam accusatores hortor. id solum Ger- 10
manico super leges praestiterimus, quod in curia potius quam in
foro, apud senatum quam apud iudices de morte eius anquiritur;
cetera pari modestia tractentur. nemo Drusi lacrimas, nemo 11
maestitiam meam spectet, nec si qua in nos adversa finguntur.'

**13.** Exim biduum criminibus obiciendis statuitur utque sex 1
dierum spatio interiecto reus per triduum defenderetur. tum
Fulcinius vetera et inania orditur, ambitiose avareque habitam 2

2. **falsa . . . vulgaverint**, i.e. whether the accusers took up a false tale and spread it with further additions. Cp, 'in maius innotuere' (H. 4. 50, 1 and Sall.) and various expressions quoted in Introd. v. § 60 b.

3. **nudare corpus**: see 2. 73, 5.

4. **contrectandum oculis**. The same metaphor is used by Lactantius (de Opif. Dei, 1), and a still bolder one by Cicero (Tusc. 3. 15, 33) 'ad . . . tota mente contrectandas . . . voluptates.'

**differri**, 'that report should be spread:' cp. 'differtur' (4. 25, 5); and note on 1. 4, 3. Dräger notes the change from an active to a passive inf. as a solitary instance in Tacitus, but found in good authors, as in Caes. (B. C. 1. 32, 5; 61, 4) and often in Livy.

5. **interceptus**: cp. 2. 71, 3, and note there.

8. **sublevari**: cp. 'defendendis hominibus sublevandisque' Cic. Div. in Caec. 2, 5.

**iniquitas**, such as formed part of the charges brought by Piso against Germanicus (2. 78, 1).

11. **propinquus sanguis**, alluding to his brother L. Piso (c. 11, 2).

**fides**, 'loyalty,' as to a friend; applying to Lepidus and Livineius Regulus (c. 11, 2). The sense is similar to that in which it is used (l. l.) of the friends of Germanicus.

14. **super leges**, 'beyond ordinary course of law:' see on 2. 79, 2; c. 10, 3; Introd. vi. p. 78.

16. **cetera**, 'the other charges,' as distinct from that 'de morte eius.' It seems better taken thus, than in contrast to 'id solum.'

**pari modestia**, 'with equal moderation:' cp. 'pari secreto' (4. 57, 2), etc. 'Modestia' is used, as in 1. 11, 1, etc., of a demeanour the opposite to overbearing.

17. **adversa finguntur**, 'fictions to our discredit:' alluding to the tales of his joy at, or even complicity in, the death (c. 2, 5, etc.): cp. 'adverso rumore esse' 14. 11, 4; H. 2. 26, 4.

18. **biduum . . . statuitur**. On the change of construction to 'utque,' see Introd. v. § 91, 8. The time fixed was longer than what was usually allowed by such rules as those of the 'lex Pompeia;' cp. Dial. 38, 2; Pl. Epp. 4. 9, 9.

20. **Fulcinius**: see c. 10, 1.

**ambitiose avareque habitam**, 'ad-

Hispaniam; quod neque convictum noxae reo, si recentia purgaret, neque defensum absolutioni erat, si teneretur maioribus
3 flagitiis. post quem Servaeus et Veranius et Vitellius consimili studio, et multa eloquentia Vitellius, obiecere odio Germanici et rerum novarum studio Pisonem vulgus militum per licentiam et sociorum iniurias eo usque conrupisse, ut parens legionum a deterrimis appellaretur; contra in optimum quemque, maxime in comites et amicos Germanici saevisse; postremo ipsum devotionibus et veneno peremisse; sacra hinc et immolationes nefandas ipsius atque Plancinae, petitam armis rem publicam, utque reus agi posset, acie victum.

1 **14**. Defensio in ceteris trepidavit; nam neque ambitionem militarem neque provinciam pessimo cuique obnoxiam, ne con-
2 tumelias quidem adversum imperatorem infitiari poterat: solum veneni crimen visus est diluisse, quod ne accusatores quidem satis firmabant, in convivio Germanici, cum super eum Piso

ministered with intrigue and extortion.' 'Provincia avare habita' is repeated in 13. 30, 1. Here 'ambitiose' might be taken to express his behaviour to his soldiers (cp. 'ambitionem militarem' c. 14, 1), or more probably the two words express his conduct to different classes of provincials, as in Agr. 30, 5 'si locuples hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi.'

1. **convictum**, 'proved:' cp. 14. 5, 1; 40, 5; also Cic., Caes., etc.

2. **defensum**, 'refuted:' cp. 'miscendo quae defendere nequibat' H. 4. 41, 4. This application of the word is rare, but analogous to the sense of repelling or warding off. On the concise use of these participles, cp. Introd. v. § 54.

3. **post quem**. The MS has 'postq;' whence Orelli and Ritter read 'post quae,' following the reading generally received in 2. 57, 4. In c. 33, 1 two similar abbreviations, 'interq;' and 'neq;,' occur in the same sentence, and the general consensus of editors reads the first as 'inter quae,' the second as 'ne quem.' Elsewhere, 'post quae' is found in 1. 13, 1; 2. 86, 1, etc.; 'post quos' in 6. 19, 1; H. 2. 38, 4.

**Servaeus**: see 2. 56, 5. Though apparently less prominent than the two others, he is coupled with them again in c. 19, 1. The speech of Vitellius was extant in the time of Pl. mai.: see note on 2. 73, 5.

6. **parens legionum**: see 2. 55, 4.

8. **devotionibus et veneno**: see 2. 69, 5.

9. **sacra et immolationes**, referring to his thank-offerings (2. 75, 3), called 'nefandae,' as an outrage on public feeling, as well as an impiety to the house of Caesar (cp. 'vox nefaria' c. 50, 1).

10. **petitam armis rem publicam**: see 2, 80; 81.

11. **reus agi**: cp. 14. 18, 2; 15. 20, 1; and 'tamquam reos ageret' (Liv. 24. 25, 1). Ritt. notes this use of 'agere' as an equivalent of διώκειν.

12. **in ceteris**, opposed to 'veneni crimen' below.

**trepidavit**, 'faltered.' The nearest parallel appears to be 'trepidanti inter scelus metumque' (H. 3. 39, 1).

13. **obnoxiam**, 'placed at the mercy of:' cp. 2. 75, 1. It is meant that his mode of courting the soldiers was to let them plunder the subjects: cp. 'per licentiam et sociorum iniurias' c. 13, 3.

15. **visus est**, sc. 'defensor,' supplied from 'defensio.'

16. **firmabant**. The simple verb is here used for 'confirmare,' as in c. 60, 1; 4. 14, 1, etc.; more frequently for 'adfirmare,' as in 1. 81, 1, etc.

**super eum**. The usual arrangement (see Hor. Sat. 2. 8, 20, sqq.) appears to have been departed from, probably on account of the rank of the host. Orelli thinks that Germanicus probably himself occupied the 'locus consularis.'

discumberet, infectos manibus eius cibos arguentes. quippe 3
absurdum videbatur inter aliena servitia et tot adstantium visu,
ipso Germanico coram, id ausum; offerebatque familiam reus et
ministros in tormenta flagitabat. sed iudices per diversa inpla- 4
cabiles erant, Caesar ob bellum provinciae inlatum, senatus num-
quam satis credito sine fraude Germanicum interisse. . . . scrip-
sissent expostulantes, quod haud minus Tiberius quam Piso
abnuere. simul populi ante curiam voces audiebantur: non 5
temperaturos manibus, si patrum sententias evasisset. effigies- 6
que Pisonis traxerant in Gemonias ac divellebant, ni iussu prin-
cipis protectae repositaeque forent. igitur inditus lecticae et a 7
tribuno praetoriae cohortis deductus est, vario rumore, custos
saluti an mortis exactor sequeretur.

**15**. Eadem Plancinae invidia, maior gratia; eoque ambiguum 1
habebatur quantum Caesari in eam liceret. atque ipsa, donec 2
mediae Pisoni spes, sociam se cuiuscumque fortunae et, si ita
ferret, comitem exitii promittebat: ut secretis Augustae preci- 3

1. **discumberet.** This verb is used by post-Augustan writers of a single person, but only where the presence of others is implied: cp. 4. 54, 2; 6. 50, 5.

2. **visu.** This appears to be an extension of the modal ablative (see Introd. v. § 28) to denote an attendant circumstance, such as would usually be expressed by an abl. abs. 'tot adstantibus et videntibus:' see Nipp. on 4, 51.

3. **offerebat**, sc. 'in tormenta.' His own slaves could be questioned as to the procuring and preparing of the poison; and the 'ministri' who waited at table, and who would be servants of Germanicus, could be examined on what had taken place at the meal.

5. **Caesar.** That Tiberius presided at this trial, is shown by his putting the question to the consul (c. 17, 8).

6. **scripsissent expostulantes.** Nipp. appears rightly to argue that the gap here is considerable. So far the accusation and defence appear to have been conducted according to the programme laid down in c. 13, 1. Now we hear that the accusation was renewed and the defence abandoned (c. 15, 4), and the trial still prolonged after Piso's death (c. 17, 6). It is inferred that a 'comperendinatio' had ensued, with introduction of new matter, possibly some charge made by Piso against Germanicus, which had led to a counter-demand for the production of some private letters. 'Expostulantes' is used as in 1. 19, 3; 12. 46, 3; 15. 17, 5, etc.

9. **temperaturos manibus**: cp. 'risui temperare' (13. 3, 2), etc.

10. **Gemonias.** Usually thus abbreviated, as in 5. 9, 3; 6. 25, 4, etc., but in full, 'Gemoniae scalae,' in Val. Max. 6. 3, 3, etc. These stairs, on which the bodies of criminals were exposed, led from the Capitol to the Forum, near the Mamertine prison. This destruction of statues may be illustrated from the description of the fall of Seianus (Juv. 10, 58).

12. **deductus**, 'he was escorted home.' **custos saluti**: see Introd. v. § 19.

13. **mortis exactor**, 'exactor,' by itself, is thus used in 11. 37, 4. The sense appears to originate with Livy, who has 'exactor supplicii' in 2. 5, 5.

15. **quantum . . . liceret**, 'how far Caesar could venture against her:' a bitter allusion to his mother's ascendancy over him (see 4. 57, 4).

16. **mediae**, 'hung in the balance.' **si ita ferret.** This phrase is repeated from H. 2. 44, 4, and appears to occur nowhere else. It is an abbreviation of such forms as 'fors tulit' (Sall. Jug. 78, 2), or 'res tulit' (Liv. 3. 27, 6).

bus veniam obtinuit, paulatim segregari a marito, dividere defen-
4 sionem coepit. quod reus postquam sibi exitiabile intellegit,
an adhuc experiretur dubitans, hortantibus filiis durat mentem
senatumque rursum ingreditur; redintegratamque accusationem,
infensas patrum voces, adversa et saeva cuncta perpessus, nullo
magis exterritus est quam quod Tiberium sine miseratione, sine
ira, obstinatum clausumque vidit, ne quo adfectu perrumperetur.
5 relatus domum, tamquam defensionem in posterum meditaretur,
pauca conscribit obsignatque et liberto tradit; tum solita cu-
6 rando corpori exsequitur. dein multam post noctem, egressa
cubiculo uxore, operiri fores iussit; et coepta luce perfosso iu-
gulo, iacente humi gladio, repertus est.
1 **16**. Audire me memini ex senioribus visum saepius inter
manus Pisonis libellum, quem ipse non vulgaverit; sed amicos
eius dictitavisse, literas Tiberii et mandata in Germanicum con-
tineri, ac destinatum promere apud patres principemque arguere,
ni elusus a Seiano per vana promissa foret; nec illum sponte
2 extinctum, verum inmisso percussore. quorum neutrum adse-
veraverim: neque tamen occulere debui narratum ab iis qui
3 nostram ad iuventam duraverunt. Caesar flexo in maestitiam
ore suam invidiam tali morte quaesitam apud senatum *conquestus
M. Pisonem vocari iubet* crebrisque interrogationibus exquirit,
4 qualem Piso diem supremum noctemque exegisset. atque illo
pleraque sapienter, quaedam inconsultius respondente, recitat

1. **dividere**, 'to separate her defence from his:' cp. 'dividite turbidos' 1. 43, 5.

3. **experiretur**: so in Cic. Cael. 8, 20, etc. For the full expression 'ius experiri,' cp. c. 36, 3.

**durat mentem**: see note on 1. 6, 3: cp. 'cor dura' Plaut. Pseud. 1. 3, 6.

4. **redintegratam accusationem**: see note on c. 14, 4.

5. **nullo**, for 'nulla re.' Nipp. cites several instances of this use from M. and L. Seneca and Quint.; and compares Liv. 2. 59, 8 'nemo ullius nisi fugae memor.'

7. **perrumperetur**, perhaps here best taken, with Louandre, of the force of emotion from within, not suffered to escape him by unguarded expressions. We can also take the word in its more usual sense, and understand it to be meant that he was steeled against any impression of feeling from without.

9. **solita . . . exsequitur**, i.e. he bathed and supped.

13. **Audire me memini**. On other allusions to such floating stories, see Introd. iii. p. 16. Suetonius also alludes to this tradition. but the mutilation of the passage (Tib. 52) prevents us from knowing whether he is following Tacitus or another authority.

16. **destinatum**, sc. 'fuisse:' see Introd. v. § 39 c.

20. **duraverunt**, 'lived on.' The application of the word in this sense to persons appears to be peculiar to Tacitus: cp. Agr. 44, 5; Dial. 17, 4.

21. **apud senatum**. Some verb expressing regret is here lost, as also the name of the person questioned; who would appear to be one of the sons, whose presence is implied in c. 17, 6. Hence the restoration given by Halm in the text is sufficiently probable.

24. **inconsultius**, apparently repeating some words which would have been more discreetly suppressed.

codicillos a Pisone in hunc ferme modum compositos: 'conspi- 5
ratione inimicorum et invidia falsi criminis oppressus, quatenus
veritati et innocentiae meae nusquam locus est, deos inmortales
testor vixisse me, Caesar, cum fide adversum te, neque alia in
matrem tuam pietate; vosque oro liberis meis consulatis, ex
quibus Cn. Piso qualicumque fortunae meae non est adiunctus,
cum omne hoc tempus in urbe egerit, M. Piso repetere Suriam
dehortatus est. atque utinam ego potius filio iuveni quam ille 6
patri seni cessisset. eo inpensius precor ne meae pravitatis poe- 7
nas innoxius luat. per quinque et quadraginta annorum obse-
quium, per collegium consulatus quondam divo Augusto parenti
tuo probatus et tibi amicus nec quicquam post haec rogaturus
salutem infelicis filii rogo.' de Plancina nihil addidit. 8

**17.** Post quae Tiberius adulescentem crimine civilis belli pur- 1
gavit, patris quippe iussa, nec potuisse filium detrectare; simul
nobilitatem domus, etiam ipsius quoquo modo meriti gravem
casum miseratus. pro Plancina cum pudore et flagitio disseruit, 2
matris preces obtendens, in quam optimi cuiusque secreti questus
magis ardescebant. id ergo fas aviae, interfectricem nepotis 3
adspicere, adloqui, eripere senatui. quod pro omnibus civibus
leges obtineant, uni Germanico non contigisse. Vitellii et Veranii 4
voce defletum Caesarem, ab imperatore et Augusta defensam

1. **codicillos**, those written by Piso just before his death (c. 15, 5).

2. **quatenus**, used for 'quoniam,' as in Dial. 5, 2; Vell. 2. 68, 3; Plin. Epp. 3. 7, 14, etc. The use is adopted from poetry, as from Lucr., Hor., Ov.

3. **veritati**, 'uprightness:' cp. 1. 75, 2.

6. **consulatis.** From the ordinary sense of 'consulere alicui,' the verb is often used by Tacitus as equivalent to 'parcere,' as in c. 46, 4; 11. 36, 3; 12. 47, 7; H. 3. 82, 1.

7. **qualicumque**, i.e. 'whether deserved or not.'

8. **M. Piso**: see 2. 76, 2.

9. **dehortatus est.** This verb, not used elsewhere by Tacitus, takes an inf. also in Cato (ap. Gell. 13, 24) and Sall. (Jug. 24, 4). The inf. with 'hortor' and 'moneo' is more common.

11. **quinque et quadraginta.** He appears to date from his entry into public life, which would thus have taken place in 728, B.C. 26.

12. **collegium consulatus.** These words can be satisfactorily explained as referring to his consulship in 747, B.C. 7; which was a mark of approval from Augustus, who conferred it, and a tie of friendship with Tiberius, his colleague in it. Some refer it to the consulship of Cn. Piso with Augustus himself in 731, B.C. 23; but this must apparently be the consulship of the father (see note on 2. 43, 3). This abstract use of 'collegium' (cp. c. 31, 1; H. 1. 52, 8) is rare, but is found in Livy (4. 17, 9, etc.).

16. **iussa**, sc. 'fuisse,' as in c. 16, 1, etc. Orelli takes it less well as depending on 'detrectare,' explaining 'neque' as equivalent to 'ne . . . quidem.'

18. **pudore et flagitio.** The subjective and objective, e.g. the shame which a person feels and the infamy which he incurs, are elsewhere thus concisely coupled; as 'rubore et infamia;' 'pudor ac dedecus' H. 4. 62, 2; 72, 5. Several other instances are noted by Nipp. on 1, 43.

5 Plancinam. proinde venena et artes tam feliciter expertas verteret in Agrippinam, in liberos eius, egregiamque aviam ac
6 patruum sanguine miserrimae domus exsatiaret. biduum super hac imagine cognitionis absumptum, urguente Tiberio liberos
7 Pisonis matrem uti tuerentur. et cum accusatores ac testes certatim perorarent respondente nullo, miseratio quam invidia
8 augebatur. primus sententiam rogatus Aurelius Cotta consul (nam referente Caesare magistratus eo etiam munere fungebantur) nomen Pisonis eradendum fastis censuit, partem honorum publicandam, pars ut Cn. Pisoni filio concederetur isque praenomen mutaret; M. Piso exuta dignitate et accepto quinquagiens sestertio in decem annos relegaretur, concessa Plancinae incolumitate ob preces Augustae.

1 **18.** Multa ex ea sententia mitigata sunt a principe: ne nomen Pisonis fastis eximeretur, quando M. Antonii, qui bellum patriae

1. **proinde.** The MS. has 'perinde;' but in hortatory passages, where an inference is drawn from facts (as in 1. 11, 3; 2. 65, 6, etc.), 'proinde' is required. Ritter shows that these words are constantly confused by copyists, from the close resemblance of their abbreviated forms; and that 'proinde' has here to be restored for 'perinde,' as in 15. 27, 2: the opposite alteration has been oftener made, as in 4. 17, 1; 20, 6; 6. 7, 4; 12. 40, 8; 60, 3; 13. 21, 3; 47, 4; 15. 44, 5.

4. **hac imagine cognitionis**, the trial of Plancina, whose acquittal was already secured. The sentence of Cotta, given below, shows however that no decision had yet been taken respecting the property of Piso or respecting his sons.

6. **perorarent**: cp. 2. 30, 1.

**miseratio quam invidia.** On the omission of 'potius,' see Introd. v. § 64, 1; cp. also c. 32, 2; 4. 61, 1; 13. 6, 6, and Ritter there.

7. **Aurelius Cotta**: see c. 2, 5.

8. **eo etiam munere**, the duty of giving their 'sententia' on the question being put to them. Usually the consuls or tribunes or one of them, themselves made the 'relatio,' putting the question first to the consuls designate (cp. c. 22, 6, etc.); and other magistrates might speak at any time unasked. Nipp. illustrates this order of procedure by reference to Cic. ad Q. F. 2. 1. Tacitus uses the past tense ('fungebantur'), because in his time the princeps, unless he happened to be consul (cp. Pl. Epp. 2. 11, 10), did not preside in person over the senate, but consulted it in writing (see note on c. 32, 1).

9. **eradendum fastis**, sc. 'consularibus.' The MS. has 'radendum;' but the simple verb appears to be thus used only in Ov. Am. 1. 11, 22 ('littera rasa'). The MS. text might however be defended by the general frequency of such uses of simple for compound verbs in Tacitus (Introd. v. § 40).

**partem**, 'half' (cp. 4. 20, 2, etc.). This would be the share of M. Piso (cp. 'paterna bona' c. 18, 2), who was to have a sum given back out of it, as what Seneca (Cons. ad Helv. 12, 4) terms the 'viaticum exulum.'

10. **praenomen mutaret.** Thus the praenomen 'Marcus' was forbidden to the Manlii (Liv. 6. 20, 14). This Piso appears to have taken the praenomen 'Lucius:' see note on 4. 62, 1.

11. **exuta dignitate**, sc. 'senatoria.' 'Exuere ordinem' is thus used of senators (11. 25, 5, etc.).

12. **relegaretur.** This correction of Lips. for 'relegatur' is generally adopted. This mildest form of banishment (cp. Ov. Trist. 2, 137) involved no 'deminutio capitis,' or other penalty beyond itself.

14. **ne eximeretur.** On the repetition of 'exemit,' see note on 1. 81, 2.

15. **M. Antonii.** The Fasti Capitolini show marks of erasure and subsequent restoration in his name (C. I. L. i. p. 440, 466); which was erased in 710 (cp. Cic. Phil. 13. 12, 26), and again apparently at the Actian war; but restored, first at

fecisset, Iuli Antonii, qui domum Augusti violasset, manerent.
et M. Pisonem ignominiae exemit concessitque ei paterna bona, 2
satis firmus, ut saepe memoravi, adversum pecuniam et tum
pudore absolutae Plancinae placabilior. atque idem, cum Va- 3
lerius Messalinus signum aureum in aede Martis Ultoris, Cae-
cina Severus aram ultionis statuendam censuissent, prohibuit,
ob externas ea victorias sacrari dictitans, domestica mala tristitia
operienda. addiderat Messalinus Tiberio et Augustae et An- 4
toniae et Agrippinae Drusoque ob vindictam Germanici grates
agendas omiseratque Claudii mentionem. et Messalinum qui- 5
dem L. Asprenas senatu coram percontatus est an prudens prae-
terisset; ac tum demum nomen Claudii adscriptum est. mihi, 6
quanto plura recentium seu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludi-
bria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur. quippe 7
fama spe veneratione potius omnes destinabantur imperio quam
quem futurum principem fortuna in occulto tenebat.

**19.** Paucis post diebus Caesar auctor senatui fuit Vitellio 1

the beginning of the triumvirate, and afterwards by Augustus. On his son Iulus Antonius, see on 1. 10, 3.

2. **et . . . exemit.** Nipp. compares with this change of construction that in 13. 26, 2 'quibusdam frementibus . . . disserebatur contra.'

**ignominiae**, i.e. from loss of rank and from relegation.

3. **saepe**: cp. 1. 75, 4, and note there; also on c. 23, 3.

4. **Valerius Messalinus.** This may be the other consul of this year (see on c. 2, 5), but is generally taken to be his father (cp. 1. 8, 5), the speaker again in c. 34.

5. **Martis Ultoris**: see on 2. 64, 2.

**Caecina Severus**: see 1. 31, 2, etc.

6. **aram ultionis statuendam.** On such commemorative altars, see note on 1. 14, 3. The MS. text 'ultioni' is retained by Nipp. and need not be altered; but the genitive is more usual.

7. **tristitia.** This abl. can hardly be instrumental like 'opertus infamia' (c. 69, 1), etc., and appears rather to be causal, as equivalent to 'ob tristitiam:' see Introd. v. § 30.

10. **omiserat Claudii mentionem**: see note on 2. 71, 3, and c. 5, 5.

11. **L. Asprenas**: see 1. 53, 9.

13. **plura recentium seu veterum.** On the fondness of Tacitus for such genitives, see Introd. v. § 32. Nipp. notes here the frequency with which he uses neuter plural adjectives in the genit. (as 2. 53, 2, etc.), dat. (as 4. 31, 1; 59, 4, etc.), and abl. (as 4. 3, 4; 58, 3, etc.).

**revolvo**, sc. animo: cp. 4. 21, 2; Agr. 46, 3. This use appears to be adopted from Vergil (Aen. 2, 101) and Ovid (Fast. 4, 667).

**ludibria rerum mortalium.** 'The mockery pervading human affairs:' cp. 'Fortunae ludibria' (Cic. Parad. 1. 1, 9); 'ludibria casus' (Liv. 30. 30, 5). On the fatalism of Tacitus, see Introd. iv. p. 21.

17. **auctor senatui fuit.** Most of the priestly colleges were filled up formerly by popular election out of a list furnished by the 'collegium.' These elections had now, like those of the magistrates, passed to the senate; and we gather from this passage that the princeps, besides, of course, having his right of nomination as a member of the college, had also the right of 'commendatio' (Introd. vi. p. 79). See the speech of Claudius (Tab. Lugd. ii. 13, in App. to Book xi.); Plin. Epp. 4. 8, 3; 10. 13; and other authorities cited by Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. p. 1055). These persons (on whom see c. 13, 3) were probably elected 'supra numerum' (cp. 1. 54, 2); and it is stated by Dio (51. 20, 3), that such elections had become so frequent that the colleges consisted practically of no fixed number.

atque Veranio et Servaeo sacerdotia tribuendi: Fulcinio suffra-
gium ad honores pollicitus monuit ne facundiam violentia prae-
2 cipitaret. is finis fuit *in* ulciscenda Germanici morte, non modo
apud illos homines qui tum agebant, etiam secutis temporibus
3 vario rumore iactata. adeo maxima quaeque ambigua sunt,
dum alii quoquo modo audita pro conpertis habent, alii vera in
4 contrarium vertunt, et gliscit utrumque posteritate. at Drusus
urbe egressus repetendis auspiciis, mox ovans introiit. paucos-
que post dies Vipsania mater eius excessit, una omnium Agrip-
5 pae liberorum miti obitu. nam ceteros manifestum ferro vel
creditum est veneno aut fame extinctos.

1 **20.** Eodem anno Tacfarinas, quem priore aestate pulsum a
Camillo memoravi, bellum in Africa renovat, vagis primum
populationibus et ob pernicitatem inultis, dein vicos exscindere,
trahere graves praedas; postremo haud procul Pagyda flumine
2 cohortem Romanam circumsedit. praeerat castello Decrius im-

1. **suffragium ad honores**, i. e. that he would 'commend' him. Fulcinius became ultimately consul in 784, A. D. 31 (5. 11, 1).

3. **in ulciscenda . . . morte.** Halm considers it necessary, here and in 6. 32, 6 (see note there), to insert the preposition, which is absent in the MS. Such a simple ablative could only by a forced explanation be called quasi-instrumental (see Nipp. and Dräger), and the reference to 'explenda simulatione' (14. 4, 8) is to a questionable parallel, as are also those given by Pfitzner (p. 103), to 'dissimulando metu' (11. 32, 2; 15. 69, 2).

**non modo . . . etiam**: in 4. 35, 1 'sed' is similarly omitted, as is 'etiam' in 1. 60, 1, etc., and perhaps both in G. 10, 5 'non solum apud plebem, apud proceres, apud sacerdotes' (where see Comm. Crit.). The contrast is rhetorically somewhat strengthened by these ellipses.

4. **agebant**: cp. 1. 4, 4; 68, 1. The use of this verb absolutely, for 'vivere' or 'degere,' is very common in Tacitus (e. g. 4. 28, 3; 13. 45, 4; 15. 74, 4, etc.), but otherwise apparently confined to Sallust (Jug. 55, 2; 89, 7, etc.).

5. **iactata**, 'discussed:' so in H. 4. 8, 6, etc.; also Caes. B. G. 1. 18, 1; Liv. 1. 50, 2; 10. 46, 16, etc.

6. **dum**, 'inasmuch as:' cp. 2. 88, 4, etc.

7. **utrumque**, credulity and falsification, the habit of mind of the two classes of persons compared.

7. **posteritate.** The construction appears to be that of an ablative of time, like 'secutis temporibus' above.

8. **repetendis auspiciis.** Supposing him to have had 'proconsulare imperium' (see on 1. 14, 5); it must have been only 'extra urbem' (cp. 12. 41, 2), as distinct from that of the princeps, which did not cease within the pomoerium. More properly, the general is said 'repetere auspicia' at Rome itself (cp. Liv. 8. 30, 2; Mommsen, Staatsr. i. p. 96).

8. **ovans introiit.** An inscription (Henzen 6443) gives the date as v. k. Jun. (May 28).

9. **Vipsania**: see on 1. 12, 6. In what follows, the children of Agrippa by Marcella (Introd. ix. note 19) appear to be ignored; and, of the others, Julia, though dying in exile, and thus hardly 'miti obitu,' is not stated (4. 71, 6) to have died by violence.

12. **priore aestate.** These words are bracketed by Nipp. as an interpolation, and are certainly an error; as the campaign of Camillus is given as having taken place in 770, A. D. 17 (2. 52). Ritter has suggested that the words may mean 'in a former summer,' but Tacitus would hardly give so vague a reference.

15. **Pagyda.** It is suggested by Duebner, that this may be the river Abeadh, in the district of Constantine; but we have no other mention of it.

16. **cohortem Romanam**, apparently a legionary cohort: cp. 1. 60, 2.

piger manu, exercitus militia et illam obsidionem flagitii ratus.
is cohortatus milites ut copiam pugnae in aperto facerent, aciem
pro castris instruit. primoque impetu pulsa cohorte promptus 3
inter tela occursat fugientibus, increpat signiferos quod inconditis
aut desertoribus miles Romanus terga daret; simul exceptat
vulnera et quamquam transfosso oculo adversum os in hostem
intendit, neque proelium omisit, donec desertus suis caderet.

**21.** Quae postquam L. Apronio (nam Camillo successerat) 1
comperta, magis dedecore suorum quam gloria hostis anxius,
raro ea tempestate et e vetere memoria facinore decumum quem-
que ignominiosae cohortis sorte ductos fusti necat. tantumque 2
severitate profectum, ut vexillum veteranorum, non amplius
quam quingenti numero, easdem Tacfarinatis copias praesidium
cui Thala nomen adgressas fuderint. quo proelio Rufus Helvius 3

1. **flagitii**: see Introd. v. §. 35.

2. **copiam pugnae . . . facerent.** Such a phrase is elsewhere used of the general rather than the soldiers: hence Wölfflin (Jahresb. iii. 786) and Nipp. approve of Probst's conjecture 'faceret.'

3. **pro castris**: see on 2. 80, 5.

4. **inconditis aut desertoribus.** The troops of Tacfarinas are stated (2. 52, 2) to have undergone some discipline, but might still be called 'inconditi' as compared with Roman legionaries. Tacfarinas was himself a deserter (l. l.) from Roman service.

5. **exceptat vulnera.** So Halm and Orelli, after Held, for the MS. 'excepta,' which is retained generally by other editors, and defended by Nipp. and by Joh. Müller (Beitr. 3. 25–28), and which is explained either by supplying 'sunt,' or by taking the words as an accusative depending on 'intendit.' Against the first it may be said that, though the change from an active to a passive construction and vice versa is not unusual (e. g. 'quod . . . acceptum, neque prohibuit' c. 76, 3; cp. Introd. v. § 83, 2), the interpolation of a passive clause in the midst of actives is here very awkward. As to the second, the zeugma in 'intendit,' though harsh, could no doubt be paralleled; but 'excepta vulnera . . . intendit' (or 'ostendit') would be weak, with the definite and more forcible 'transfosso oculo adversum os' coupled to it. It is therefore perhaps easier to suppose that Tacitus wrote 'exceptat,' a verb which, though not elsewhere found in his writings, and otherwise rare, occurs in Caes., Cic., and Verg., and is used by Silius (9, 367) in a sense resembling that here required ('per pectora saevas exceptat mortes').

7. **suis.** This must be taken as a dative (cp. 2. 50, 4); unless, as is not improbable, the preposition may have dropped out.

8. **L. Apronio**: see on 1. 56, 1. African coins have been found inscribed 'permissu L. Aproni procos. iii. (Eckhel, iv. 148, etc.), showing that his proconsulship lasted at least beyond two years. He had probably succeeded Camillus in 771, A.D. 18, and was succeeded by Blaesus in 774, A.D. 21 (c. 35): see Introd. vii. p. 96.

10. **decumum quemque.** Decimation for punishment is mentioned as early as 283, B.C. 469 (Liv. 2. 59, 4): see below 14. 44, 6.

11. **sorte ductos fusti necat.** The words are taken verbatim from Sallust (H. 4. 5 D, 27 K, inc. 96 G.) The 'fustuarium' is described by Polybius (6. 37) as inflicted by the fellow-soldiers at a signal from the tribune.

12. **vexillum veteranorum**: see on 1. 17, 4; Introd. vii. p. 106.

**amplius quam quingenti**; so Halm and Orelli, after Weissenborn. The MS. has 'quam' at the end of a line followed by 'genti' at the beginning of the next. The reading of the old editions, 'amplius quingenti,' is retained by Nipp., and such a construction is sufficiently common. The strength mentioned would be about the same as that of a legionary cohort.

14. **Thala**, probably not the wealthy city of the Jugurthine war (Sall. Jug.

gregarius miles servati civis decus rettulit donatusque est ab
4 Apronio torquibus et hasta. Caesar addidit civicam coronam,
quod non eam quoque Apronius iure proconsulis tribuisset,
5 questus magis quam offensus. sed Tacfarinas perculsis Numidis
et obsidia aspernantibus spargit bellum, ubi instaretur, cedens
6 ac rursum in terga remeans. et dum ea ratio barbaro fuit, in-
ritum fessumque Romanum impune ludificabatur: postquam
deflexit ad maritimos locos et inligatus praeda stativis castris
adhaerebat, missu patris Apronius Caesianus cum equite et co-
hortibus auxiliariis, quis velocissimos legionum addiderat, pros-
peram adversum Numidas pugnam facit pellitque in deserta.
1 **22.** At Romae Lepida, cui super Aemiliorum decus L. Sulla

75), but a place further to the north, still bearing the name, on the borders of Africa and Numidia, about Lat. 35°, 40; where inscriptions showing it to have been a military station about that time have been found: see C. I. L. viii. 1. p. 69.

2. **torquibus et hasta.** On the usual 'dona militaria,' see on 1. 44, 7; also Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. pp. 554, foll.

**civicam coronam**: cp. 2. 83, 2; 15. 12, 5; 16. 15, 2. Pliny (N. H. 16. 4, 5, 11) records the honours and privileges attending this decoration. Borghesi notes that Helvius appears to have taken hence the cognomen Civica, and to have lived at Vicovaro (Varium), where an inscription (Murat. 476, 11) has been found—'M. Helvius, M. f., Cam (ilia . . . tribu), Rufus Civica, prim. pil., balneum municipibus et incolis dedit:' see Introd. ii. p. 9.

4. **questus**, i. e. affecting to complain, but really well pleased. That the proconsul of Africa had formally full proconsular power over his soldiers, is implied in the punishment above mentioned. On the subsequent change, see Introd. vii. p. 98. Suetonius (Tib. 35), in referring to this conduct of Tiberius, generalises, as often elsewhere, from a single instance.

5. **spargit bellum,** 'spreads the area of war:' so in Agr. 38, 3. The expression seems taken from Lucan (2, 682; 3, 64), who may have followed Vergil's 'spargam arma per agros' (Aen. 7, 551).

6. **inritum,** 'baffled;' thus used of persons in 1. 59, 7, etc.

8. **et inligatus.** Dräger and Halm insert 'et,' after Haase; Orelli reads 'inligatusque,' with Walther, noting the omission of 'que' in the MS. after 'cui,' 'quis,' and 'cuius' (3. 14, 1; 4. 25, 4; 6. 45, 5). Nipp. retains the MS. text, thinking the beginning of the apodosis at 'missu patris' sufficiently indicated by the sense, as in another somewhat ambiguous passage in H. 3. 13, 4. Joh. Müller, who also defends the MS. text (Beitr. 3. p. 28–30), thinks that in many such passages, oral recitation, in which the emphasis of the reader removes such ambiguity, is presupposed.

9. **Apronius Caesianus**, cos. in 792, A. D. 39 (Fast. Ant. Henzen 6445). Mommsen cites an inscription (Eph. Epig. ii. 264–269), showing him to have been still a youth at the time of this service, and to have been rewarded for it by a place among the 'septemviri epulones.' His age is against the supposition that he is the person mentioned in 1. 29, 2.

10. **legionum.** On the second legion now in Africa, see c. 9, 1, etc. With 'velocissimos' we should rather have expected 'e legionibus;' but the legion is often used for the soldiers composing it.

12. **Aemiliorum decus.** This was now by far the greatest remaining patrician gens (cp. 6. 27, 5; 29, 7), and a mere reference to its chief families, the Lepidi, Paulli, Scauri, etc., will alone serve to indicate its nobility. Mr. Dallin notes that thirty of its members had been consuls, many of them more than once, besides many dictators, censors, 'triumphales,' etc. Among its famous men were the consul who fell at Cannae, the conqueror of Macedon, and (by birth) the younger Scipio Africanus; also Scaurus the last republican 'princeps senatus,' and the triumvir Lepidus. Two great Roman roads perpetuated the name; and even in the fifth century A. D. Jerome speaks of

et Cn. Pompeius proavi erant, defertur simulavisse partum ex
P. Quirinio divite atque orbo. adiciebantur adulteria, venena, 2
quaesitumque per Chaldaeos in domum Caesaris, defendente
ream Manio Lepido fratre. Quirinius post dictum repudium 3
adhuc infensus quamvis infami ac nocenti miserationem addi-
derat. haud facile quis dispexerit illa in cognitione mentem
principis: adeo vertit ac miscuit irae et clementiae signa. de- 4
precatus primo senatum ne maiestatis crimina tractarentur, mox
M. Servilium e consularibus aliosque testes inlexit ad proferenda
quae velut reicere voluerat. idemque servos Lepidae, cum 5
militari custodia haberentur, transtulit ad consules neque per
tormenta interrogari passus est de iis quae ad domum suam

the devout Paulla as 'Gracchorum stirps, suboles Scipionum, Paulli heres' (see Gibbon, c. 31, note 11).

**L. Sulla et Cn. Pompeius proavi.** Faustus Cornelius Sulla, son of the dictator, had married the daughter of Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cp. Bell. Afr. 95, 2). Their daughter Cornelia was mother of Lepida by Q. Aemilius Lepidus, cos. 773, B.C. 21 (Dio, 54. 6, 3; Hor. Ep. 1. 20, 28), whose relationship to the main stem of the Lepidi is uncertain.

1. **defertur.** On the inf. with this verb, cp. 2. 27, 1.

2. **P. Quirinio**: see c. 48; 2. 30, 4.

3. **quaesitumque**, etc. On the Chaldaean astrologers, see 2. 27, 2. To consult them against (or concerning) the imperial family or on the future of the state was made a capital offence, as any sinister prediction was an encouragement to conspiracies. For similar charges, cp. 12. 22, 1; 16. 30, 2. It was still a capital offence at the time of the jurists, as was also, for similar reasons, the enquiry by a slave touching the horoscope of his master: see the authorities cited in Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 91, 92.

4. **Manio Lepido**: see note on c. 32, 2; 1. 13, 2.

**post dictum repudium**, 'after declaration of divorce;' the usual phrase is 'mittere repudium.' The vindictiveness of Quirinius appears to be shown not so much by the prosecution being merely after a divorce, as by its being many years after it. The statement of Suetonius (Tib. 49) that twenty years had intervened, seems exaggerated; as Quirinius can hardly have married her till after the death of L. Caesar in 755, A.D. 2 (cp. c. 23, 1); but Nipp. thinks that the interval may have been fifteen years, and that the words here may be a corruption of 'post quintum decimum repudi annum.' During the interval she had married Mamercus Scaurus: see c. 23, 3.

6. **dispexerit**, potential subjunct. (Introd. v. § 51).

7. **vertit**, sc. 'inter se,' 'showed by turns.'

8. **maiestatis crimina**, i.e. the charge of consulting astrologers respecting his house. Her juvenile betrothal to Lucius Caesar might possibly have strained the charge of adultery into one of treason (cp. 2. 50, 1).

9. **M. Servilium**: see 2. 48, 1.

10. **quae velut reicere voluerat**, 'what he had apparently desired to exclude from the case.' 'Reicere,' which had been corrected to 'reticere' and 'reticeri,' has got back into most texts, except that of Nipp., who reads 'nescire.' We should certainly have rather expected 'velut reiecerat' or 'velut reici voluerat;' but no alteration appears to be really necessary (for further discussion, see Pfitzner, p. 160, 165; Joh. Müller, Beit. 3. p. 31). On the use of 'velut,' see 1. 8, 7. Tiberius had not prohibited, nor, as it seemed, sincerely deprecated the charge.

11. **militari custodia**: cp. 14. 60, 5; H. 4. 11, 4. This custody would be that of the praetorians, who, though not yet collected into their camp (4. 2, 1), must have had some barrack prison (cp. 1. 21, 2) in Rome. The change from this to the custody of the consuls, who were now civil magistrates only, would hardly, in the case of slaves detained for torture, arise from a desire to be lenient to them, but would be significant of Caesar's wish to exercise no influence in the trial.

6 pertinerent. exemit etiam Drusum consulem designatum dicendae primo loco sententiae; quod alii civile rebantur, ne ceteris adsentiendi necessitas fieret, quidam ad saevitiam trahebant: neque enim cessurum nisi damnandi officio.

1 **23.** Lepida ludorum diebus, qui cognitionem intervenerant, theatrum cum claris feminis ingressa, lamentatione flebili maiores suos ciens ipsumque Pompeium, cuius ea monimenta et adstantes imagines visebantur, tantum misericordiae permovit, ut effusi in lacrimas saeva et detestanda Quirinio clamitarent, cuius senectae atque orbitati et obscurissimae domui destinata

1. **exemit . . . dicendae primo loco sententiae.** On the dative with this verb, cp. 1. 48, 2. A famous instance of the old custom here alluded to is the 'sententia' of Silanus as cos. design. on the Catilinarians (Sall. Cat. 50; App. B. C. 2. 5). Appian there explains the practice as grounded on the probability that the responsibility of executing the decree might often devolve on the consuls designate; but it is really a recognition of their position, which, while not entitling them as magistrates to speak unasked (cp. c. 17, 8), was yet quasi-magisterial. Thus Cicero (ad Q. F. 2. 1, 3), when the tribune had already asked the consul-designate, says 'de privatis me primum sententiam rogavit.' For other instances, cp. c. 49, 4; 4. 42, 3; 11. 5, 3; 14. 48, 4.

3. **trahebant**; cp. 1. 62, 3.

4. **neque enim**, etc., 'he would not have devolved on others any duty but that of condemning,' i.e. if he had intended the vote to be for acquittal, he would gladly have made Drusus its spokesman. On the ellipse of 'fuisse,' see Introd. v. 39 c. 'Officio' is abl.; the construction being like that of 'possessione cedere,' etc.

5. **ludorum diebus.** In the absence of any specification, it is probable that the 'Ludi Magni Romani' are meant; which began Sept. 4, and lasted, under one or another name, to the 19th. For four days (cp. Liv. 24. 43. 7) they were scenic, during most of the latter days Circensian. See Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. pp. 477, 478.

**cognitionem intervenerant.** The accusative is not elsewhere found with this verb, but is analogous to that with 'interfluere' (2. 9, 1) and other such verbs (Introd. v. 12 c). The interruption of judicial proceedings by these games may be gathered from Cicero (Verr. 1. 10, 31), who deducts forty days, chiefly for the games vowed by Pompeius and for the Ludi Romani.

7. **ea monimenta . . . visebantur,** i.e. 'cuius erant ea . . . quae visebantur.' A single building might be called 'monimenta' (c. 72, 1; 4. 7, 3); but other buildings, the Curia and Porticus Pompeii, were close by. This theatre, the greatest in Rome, was also the first permanent structure of the kind in the city, and considered a great innovation by severe Romans (see 14. 20, 2). It dates from the second consulship of Pompeius, 699, B.C. 55. For an account of it, see Dyer (in Dict. of Geog.) pp. 834, 844; Burn, Rome and the Campagna, p. 318.

8. **permovit.** On the accus., cp. 1. 21, 4.

9. **detestanda** = 'detestabilia,' as in 4. 69, 3; 16. 28, 2, etc.

10. **obscurissimae domui**: see c. 48, 2. Quirinius is, however, there shown to have been a man of distinguished public career, and no imputation is cast on his general character. Nor does the popular sympathy with Lepida appear really to rest on anything but her rank, and on the long interval of time, perhaps capable of explanation, between some, at least, of her crimes and her trial. Tacitus admits her guilt (c. 22, 3), and yet seems to lean towards this sympathy. The whole narrative thus aptly illustrates the popular respect for noble birth still prevalent under the Empire, as shown by Horace (Sat. 1. 6, 7 foll.), and, much later, by the energy with which Juvenal (Sat. 8) protests against it. See Introd. vii. p. 86; Friedl. i. p. 213.

**destinata**: in Greek the article would stand with the participle thus used (ἡ

quondam uxor L. Caesari ac divo Augusto nurus dederetur.
dein tormentis servorum patefacta sunt flagitia itumque in sen- 2
tentiam Rubelli Blandi, a quo aqua atque igni arcebatur. huic
Drusus adsensit, quamquam alii mitius censuissent. mox Scauro, 3
qui filiam ex ea genuerat, datum ne bona publicarentur. tum 4
demum aperuit Tiberius conpertum sibi etiam ex P. Quirinii
servis veneno eum a Lepida petitum.

**24.** Inlustrium domum adversa (etenim haud multum distanti 1
tempore Calpurnii Pisonem, Aemilii Lepidam amiserant) solacio
adfecit D. Silanus Iuniae familiae redditus. casum eius paucis 2
repetam. ut valida divo Augusto in rem publicam fortuna, ita
domi inprospera fuit ob inpudicitiam filiae ac neptis, quas urbe
depulit adulterosque earum morte aut fuga punivit. nam cul- 3
pam inter viros ac feminas vulgatam gravi nomine laesarum
religionum ac violatae maiestatis appellando clementiam ma-
iorum suasque ipse leges egrediebatur. sed aliorum exitus, 4
simul cetera illius aetatis memorabo, si effectis in quae tetendi

*μνηστευθεῖσα, κ.τ.λ*). Vergil has 'divae Veneris nurus' (Aen. 2, 787).

2. **itum in sententiam.** That this did not always imply unanimity, appears here and in 14. 49, 1.

3. **Rubelli Blandi**: see on 6. 27, 1. According to Borghesi (see Henzen, Inscr. p. 496) he was cos. suff. with Annius Pollio (cp. C. I. L. iv. 1552) during the last six months of this year: see c. 51, 1.

**aqua atque igni arcebatur.** Although the confiscation of property usually involved in such a sentence was here remitted, the penalty was otherwise more severe than that of the 'lex Iulia de adulteriis' (see on 2. 50, 4), and equivalent to that usually inflicted for 'maiestas' (c. 50, 6). A similar severe sentence for adultery is noted in 4. 42, 3.

4. **Scauro.** As no other name is mentioned, he must be the same spoken of in 1. 13, 4, etc. He must have married her after her divorce from Quirinius.

5. **datum ne bona publicarentur.** This act would again show that Tiberius was 'firmus adversum pecuniam,' and makes against the imputation of Suetonius (Tib. 49), that he had procured the condemnation of Lepida to please Quirinius, who was rich and childless.

**tum demum**, etc. It would appear that the slaves of Quirinius had been examined privately by Tiberius; but only those of Lepida at the public trial. It does not necessarily follow that the evidence of the latter had not already established the charge of poisoning. Stahr strangely here refers 'eum' to Tiberius himself, and draws inferences from it as to his clemency.

9. **solacio adfecit.** Nipp. notes that 'solari' or 'consolari' often take an accusative of that for which consolation is given, as in 2. 36, 3; 16. 13, 6; also in Cic., as 'consolatur honestas egestatem' pro Quint. 15, 49.

11. **repetam.** This verb is used of a narrative going back over the past, as in c. 33, 1; 12. 62, 1.

**in rem publicam**: cp. 1. 8, 7.

12. **filiae ac neptis**, the two 'Iuliae:' see on 1. 53, 1; 4. 71, 6. By 'morte' he refers to Iulus Antonius (1. 10, 3); by 'fuga' ('banishment,' as in 14. 64, 5, etc.), to Silanus.

15. **violatae maiestatis**: see on 2. 50, 1.

16. **egrediebatur.** His own law, the 'lex Iulia de adulteriis,' prescribed milder penalties than those which he thus arbitrarily inflicted. On the accus. with this verb, cp. 1. 30, 2, etc.

**sed . . . memorabo.** Neither this promise, nor the earlier one given in H. 1. 1, 5, to write the history of Nerva and Trajan, appears to have been fulfilled.

17. **in quae tetendi**, 'my present object.' Mr. Frost supports the MS. 'tendi'

5 plures ad curas vitam produxero. D. Silanus in nepti Augusti
adulter, quamquam non ultra foret saevitum quam ut amicitia
Caesaris prohiberetur, exilium sibi demonstrari intellexit, nec
nisi Tiberio imperitante deprecari senatum ac principem ausus
est M. Silani fratris potentia, qui per insignem nobilitatem et
6 eloquentiam praecellebat. sed Tiberius gratis agenti Silano
patribus coram respondit se quoque laetari, quod frater eius e
peregrinatione longinqua revertisset; idque iure licitum, quia
7 non senatus consulto, non lege pulsus foret: sibi tamen adversus
eum integras parentis sui offensiones, neque reditu Silani dis-
soluta quae Augustus voluisset. fuit posthac in urbe neque
honores adeptus est.

1 **25.** Relatum dein de moderanda Papia Poppaea, quam senior
Augustus post Iulias rogationes incitandis caelibum poenis et
2 augendo aerario sanxerat. nec ideo coniugia et educationes
liberum frequentabantur, praevalida orbitate: ceterum multitudo

by the doubtful reading 'tendisti' (v. l. 'nexisti') in Prop. 3. 8, 37.

1. **curas.** This word is used for literary work in 4. 11, 5; Dial. 3, 3; 6, 5; and, apparently, so elsewhere only in Ov. ex P. 4. 16, 39.

2. **amicitia . . . prohiberetur**: see c. 12, 4; 2. 70, 3.

3. **demonstrari**, 'was indicated by it.'

5. **fratris potentia.** In 4. 43, 4 'potentia' is a causal abl. It might be so taken here, with 'ausus,' as meaning that the influence of his brother emboldened him to entreat. It would appear, however, that he entreated, not in person, but through his powerful brother. 'Potentia' would thus mean 'per potentiam,' and would be a quasi-instrumental abl. Neither view seems wholly satisfactory, and the suggestion that 'fretus' has been lost is tempting, though some other order of words (as 'fratris potentia fretus') is more probable than the immediate juxtaposition ('fratris fretus') of Bezzenberger, and would equally suggest a possibility that 'fretus' might have been dropped out or corrupted. The M. Silanus here meant is not the consul of the preceding year (2. 59, 1), but the father-in-law of Gaius (see on 6. 20, 1), and was cos. suff. in 768, A.D. 15 (Henzen 6442).

8. **peregrinatione**, emphatic, as his absence was voluntary: 'longinqua' is used of time; cp. 1. 53, 3.

9. **non senatus consulto, non lege**, 'neither by decree of the senate, nor by sentence of the law-court.' See 1. 6, 3, and note there.

**sibi tamen**, etc., 'for himself, his father's resentment towards him survived in its fulness; and the return of Silanus implied no relaxation of any intention of Augustus', i.e. the renouncement of friendship would be maintained. It is to be remarked that this ban was of itself sufficient to exclude him from all the magistracies of the state.

13. **Papia Poppaea.** On this and the previous 'Iuliae rogationes' see the Excursus appended to this Book. The plural used here of the latter appears hardly to be such a rhetorical plural as 'Oppiis . . . legibus' (c. 33, 4), but may denote that Augustus had passed more than one marriage law in his own name.

14. **incitandis . . . poenis**, 'to encourage the enforcement of penalties on celibacy.' Some penalties had already existed, but fresh vitality was given to them by the reward held out to informers.

16. **praevalida.** This is commonly taken to mean 'continued to prevail;' but the analogy of 'praevalida vitia' (c. 53, 2), 'nomina' (12. 60, 6), 'pars' (H. 2. 52, 2), and of 'praevalere' (1. 58, 7, etc.), suggests a better interpretation, that childlessness gave such a power in society as to frustrate the law. That such was the fact, is abundantly shown

periclitantium gliscebat, cum omnis domus delatorum interpre-
tationibus subverteretur utque antehac flagitiis, ita tunc legibus
laborabatur. ea res admonet ut de principiis iuris, et quibus 3
modis ad hanc multitudinem infinitam ac varietatem legum per-
ventum sit, altius disseram.

**26.** Vetustissimi mortalium, nulla adhuc mala libidine, sine 1
probro, scelere, eoque sine poena aut coercitionibus agebant.
neque praemiis opus erat, cum honesta suopte ingenio peteren- 2
tur; et ubi nihil contra morem cuperent, nihil per metum veta-
bantur. at postquam exui aequalitas et pro modestia ac pudore 3

in literature. 'A rich, childless old man was a domestic tyrant, and his power increased with his years and infirmities' (Gibbon, c. 6). See 13. 52, 3; 15. 19, 3; H. 1. 73, 2; Hor. Sat. 2. 5, 28; Sen. ad Marc. 19; Petron. Sat. 116; Juv. 4, 19; 12, 99 (where see Mayor's note). Many other illustrations are given by Friedländer, Sitteng. i. p. 367, foll.

1. **periclitantium**, 'exposed to prosecution:' cp. 5. 8, 2; 6. 16, 5. Dräger notes the particular application of 'periculum' to a lawsuit in Cic. (de Imp. Pomp. 1, 2, etc.).

**interpretationibus**, 'constructions,' i. e. by straining the technicalities of the law, to bring all possible cases under it.

2. **legibus laborabatur**, 'we were overburdened with laws.' With this sentiment may be compared that of Livy (Praef. 9) 'haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus.'

3. **ea res**, 'this fact (i.e. the oppressive working of this law) suggests a deeper discussion on the origin of civil law,' etc.: 'ius,' as the whole body of law, is here distinguished from the several enactments ('leges'). 'Altius disserere' appears to be a new phrase, but analogous to others, as 'altius exponere' c. 62, 4: see note on 1. 32, 7.

6. **Vetustissimi mortalium**, etc. The view here given by Tacitus appears to be not so much drawn from older poets (as Ov. Met. 1, 89, etc.), as to be an echo of the Stoicism of his day. A similar picture is drawn by Seneca (Ep. 90), who explains and comments on Posidonius: 'Primi mortalium quique ex his geniti naturam incorruptam sequebantur, eundem habebant et ducem et legem, commissi melioris arbitrio:' see also Sall. Cat. 2. With this may be contrasted the Epicurean view, as set forth in Lucr. 5, 1105–1160, and humorously touched in a few lines by Horace, 'Quum prorepserunt,' etc. (Sat. 1. 3, 99, foll.) On the whole subject of the supposed Law of Nature, only a reference can here be given to Sir H. Maine, Ancient Law, ch. iii, etc.

**adhuc**, 'up to that time:' so used, without any reference to the present, in c. 42, 3; 4. 23. 1, etc, also in Livy.

8. **neque**. This answers to 'et . . . nihil (equivalent to 'neque . . . quidquam') . . . vetabantur,' reward and punishment, laws to encourage or intimidate, were equally needless.

**suopte ingenio**. This is generally rendered 'virtue was sought from (i. e. from a love for) its own qualities:' cp. 'camporum suopte ingenio umentium' (H. 5. 14, 3); also the general use of 'ingenium' of inanimate things (6. 41, 1, etc.), and the apparent reminiscence of Sallust (Introd. v. § 97, 1). The difficulty of the ablative has led Nipp. now to adopt the other interpretation, 'by men's own instinct,' such a personal subject being implied in 'peterentur' (cp. 'ex se metus' 2. 38. 6). But such an abl. of the objective cause may be justified by examples (cp. Introd. v. § 30).

10. **exui aequalitas**: cp. 1. 4, 1, and, on the historical inf. here, Introd. v. § 45 c. The sense is here no doubt that of the juridical maxim 'omnes homines natura aequales sunt' (on which see Maine, Anc. Law, ch. iv. p. 92, etc.) Mr. Dallin notes that there is probably a special reference to the community of goods which philosophers (as Sen. Ep. 90, 38–40), no less than poets (as Verg. G. 1, 125, etc.), imagined to have existed in the golden age.

**modestia**, the opposite to 'ambitio,' as 'pudor' to 'vis:' cp. 1. 11, 1.

ambitio et vis incedebat, provenere dominationes multosque
apud populos aeternum mansere. quidam statim, aut postquam
4 regum pertaesum, leges maluerunt. hae primo rudibus hominum
animis simplices erant; maximeque fama celebravit Cretensium,
quas Minos, Spartanorum, quas Lycurgus, ac mox Atheniensi-
5 bus quaesitiores iam et plures Solo perscripsit. nobis Romulus,
ut libitum, imperitaverat: dein Numa religionibus et divino iure
6 populum devinxit, repertaque quaedam a Tullo et Anco. sed
praecipuus Servius Tullius sanctor legum fuit, quis etiam reges
obtemperarent.

1 **27.** Pulso Tarquinio adversum patrum factiones multa popu-
lus paravit tuendae libertatis et firmandae concordiae; creatique
decemviri et accitis quae usquam egregia compositae duodecim

1. **dominationes**, 'despotisms.' The absolute monarchies of the old world are meant, rather than the 'tyrannies' proper of later Greek history. Some of them, as he says, survived; the Parthian of his own day being the representative of the old Eastern despotisms. He goes on to say that the first codes of law grew up either 'at once' (i.e. during the regal period, as he shows to have been the case at Rome), or after the expulsion of kings (as he appears to think was mostly the case with the early Greek codes).

2. **aeternum**: cp. 12. 28, 2; Introd. v. § 5.

4. **Cretensium.** These are placed first as supposed to be the earliest. For an account of them, see Ar. Pol. 2. 10; Polyb. 6, 45–48. On the institutions of Lycurgus, see especially Grote, Hist. ch. 6.

5. **ac mox**, etc. Here 'quas' is again to be supplied in sense. Nipp. notes that a new turn is thus given to the sentence (cp. Introd. v. § 91, 1) without risk of ambiguity. In giving these instances, Tacitus appears still to follow Seneca (l. l. 6), who makes the need of law arise in all cases from the degeneration of the kingship into tyranny. Lucretius (l. l.) traces it to anarchy consequent on the mob-rule which had overthrown the monarchies.

6. **Romulus.** Other traditions (as Liv. 1. 8) and jurists (Pomp. Dig. 1. 2, 1) have imagined Romulus also as a law-giver. A collection of 'leges regiae' had been made, under the title of 'ius Papirianum,' at an uncertain date (Dion. Hal. 3. 36), on which Granius Flaccus had written a commentary at the time of Julius Caesar (Dig. 50. 16, 144). Both are now lost.

8. **a Tullo et Anco.** A law of the former is referred to in 12. 8, 2; the latter is credited with democratic tendencies by Vergil (Aen. 6, 816), which may represent a tradition of popular laws ascribed to him.

9. **praecipuus . . . sanctor**: cp. 'praecipuus . . . auctor' c. 55, 5. 'Sanctor' is apparently a word invented by Tacitus (Introd. v. § 69) and is ἅπ. εἰρ.

11. **multa populus paravit.** By 'populus,' Tacitus appears here to mean the πολῖται, or body politic in general, without distinguishing 'populus' and 'plebs.' He would refer no doubt to such enactments as those which established the republican constitution and enlarged the senate (Liv. 2. 1), and to the 'leges Valeriae' of 245, B.C. 509 (Id. c. 8), passed against such 'patrum factiones' as desired to restore the kings. It is more doubtful whether he means to speak in the same unqualified praise of the 'lex sacrata' instituting the tribunate (Id. c. 33), or the 'lex Publilia' giving the election of plebeian magistrates to the tribes (Id. c. 57); though these may be regarded as carried against 'patrum factiones,' i.e. against an extreme section of that body.

12. **creati . . . decemviri**: see Liv. 3. 33–57: cp. also Mommsen (Hist. B. ii. ch. 2, p. 290), who shows that the apparent design in this movement was to substitute for tribunician intercession a limitation of the consular powers by written law. A good general sketch of what is known to us of the contents of the

tabulae, finis aequi iuris. nam secutae leges etsi aliquando in 2
maleficos ex delicto, saepius tamen dissensione ordinum et
apiscendi inlicitos honores aut pellendi claros viros aliaque ob
prava per vim latae sunt. hinc Gracchi et Saturnini turbatores 3

Twelve Tables will be found in Arnold, Hist. vol. i. c. 14. In its general character, this, like the early codes of other nations, was probably a natural consequence of the diffusion of the art of writing, leading to a demand for such engraved tablets, published and accessible to all, in place of customary law, known only to privileged exponents. It was thus more probably grounded on existing usages than an eclectic code ('accitis quae usquam egregia'); but some evidence for the tradition that its framers had studied contemporary Greek models may be found in its arrangement, apparently more systematic than that of other early codes: see Maine, Anc. Law, ch. i. esp. pp. 14, 15.

1. **finis aequi iuris**, 'the close of equitable law.' That such is the meaning of Tacitus would appear from the following sentence, stating that the subsequent course of legislation, except such as was directed to the repression of crime, aimed at personal or party objects, rather than the welfare of the whole state. It is easy to point to laws which cannot be justly so described; and Tacitus may have really meant no more than that the enactment of this code was the last occasion on which all orders had united in a comprehensive attempt at legislation. He appears to know nothing of the distinction implied in the narrative of Livy and asserted by Cicero (de Rep. 2. 37, 63), that the two last Tables were 'iniquissimae.' The general Roman reverence for the code is expressed by Cicero, and also by Livy, who calls the first ten Tables 'fons omnis publici privatique iuris' (3. 34, 7). The division of periods is here obscure; for the conflict of patricians and plebeians (cp. 'dissensione ordinum et apiscendi illicitos honores') belongs to the century immediately succeeding the decemvirate, while some of the remarks on the 'secutae leges' appear to refer to later dates than even that of the Gracchi, and 'alia prava' might have very wide reference.

**in maleficos.** This might refer to old laws 'de ambitu;' to the 'lex Fabia de plagiariis' in 571, B.C. 183; the 'lex Calpurnia de repetundis' in 605, B.C. 149 (omitting later laws).

2. **ex delicto**, 'according as crimes arose:' cp. 'ex re' (1. 24, 1), etc.

**dissensione ordinum**, causal abl.: cp. c. 26, 2, and references there. The 'lex Canuleia de connubio ordinum' would be an instance, as also those opening the magistracies; the words 'et apiscendi,' etc. being explanatory of, rather than distinct from, 'dissensione ordinum.'

3. **apiscendi inlicitos honores.** This construction, so frequent with the gerundive (Introd. v. § 37 d), is rare with the gerund. The laws referred to are those opening the various magistracies to plebeians, as the Licinian rogations (Liv. 6. 35–42), 'lex Publilia' (Id. 8. 12), and 'Ogulnia' (Id. 10. 6–9). The admiration of Tacitus for the later aristocracy leads him even to sympathise with the struggle of the patriciate against the plebeian houses. Livy also at times speaks of the old plebeians as if they were a rabble (e. g. 3. 35, 5, etc.).

**pellendi claros viros.** The known instances of such banishment by special decree or privilegium belong to later date, and are more distinctly alluded to below; but the words may contain a loose and inaccurate reference to such cases as the banishment of Camillus, the retirement of Scipio Africanus, the 'repulsa' of Aemilius Paullus, the popular attacks on Scipio Aemilianus, together with more appropriate instances, such as the exile of Metellus Numidicus, nearer to the time of Sulla.

4. **hinc**, 'hence ensued.' This marks a new period, but one which was the outcome of previous party conflicts. In reality a long lull had succeeded the equalisation of the orders, until the rise of new grievances demanding redress, which are here persistently ignored.

**Gracchi et Saturnini.** It is natural to suppose both the Gracchi to be spoken of, but the rhetorical plural 'Saturnini' (cp. 1. 10, 3) would suggest that 'Gracchi' also is to be similarly taken, and Gaius Gracchus alone intended. On the persons and their policy, see Mommsen, Hist. B. iv. c. 2, 3, 6. The injustice to Gracchus of thus ranking him on an equality with one morally and intellectually so inferior to him as Satur-

plebis, nec minor largitor nomine senatus Drusus; corrupti spe
4 aut inlusi per intercessionem socii. ac ne bello quidem Italico, mox civili omissum quin multa et diversa sciscerentur, donec L. Sulla dictator abolitis vel conversis prioribus, cum plura addidisset, otium eius rei haud in longum paravit, statim turbidis Lepidi rogationibus, neque multo post tribunis reddita licentia
5 quoquo vellent populum agitandi. iamque non modo in commune, sed in singulos homines latae quaestiones, et corruptissima re publica plurimae leges.

ninus has often been noted. Caesar indeed couples their names (B. C. 1. 7, 4), but only to speak of their violent deaths.

1. **Drusus.** The description would suit either the rival of Gaius Gracchus or his more famous son. From the position of the name between that of Saturninus and the Italian war, the son would seem to be meant, but it is possible that Tacitus has confused them. In either case, 'nec minor largitor' is an understatement: see Mommsen, Hist. B. iv. c. 3, 6.

2. **socii**, the Italians, who 'were bribed by hope of the franchise, and cheated by a veto.' Thus the elder Drusus vetoed in 632, B.C. 122, the proposals of his colleague Gracchus. Those of the younger Drusus were cut short by his death in 663, B.C. 91.

**bello Italico . . . civili.** The former lasted from 663-666, B.C. 91–88; the latter, that of Marius and his successors against Sulla, from 666–672, B.C. 88–82.

3. **multa et diversa.** The 'many and conflicting enactments' of this period seem to be a vague description, both of the laws passed to meet the Italian outbreak ('lex Iulia,' and 'lex Plautia (or 'Papiria') de civitate,' 654, 655, B.C. 90, 89), and of the 'leges Sulpiciae' of 666, B.C. 88, repealed by Sulla. Other 'leges,' now forgotten, may have been passed by the Marian party during their rule.

4. **L. Sulla.** On his dictatorship from 672–675, B.C. 82–79, and his enactments ('leges Corneliae'), see Mommsen (Hist. B. iv. ch. 10), who describes his ordinances as to the Quaestiones as 'the first Roman code after the Twelve Tables, and the first criminal code specially issued at all' (p. 373).

5. **eius rei**, i. e. a repose from fresh legislation.

**statim turbidis . . . rogationibus.** This is best taken, with Nipp., as a sentence in the abl. abs., of which 'turbidis,' in an active sense, forms the predicate; and which explains 'non in longum;' 'the proposals of Lepidus immediately throwing all into disorder.' M. Lepidus, father of the triumvir, proposed, as consul in 676, B.C. 78, to rescind various enactments of Sulla. His speech and that of Philippus in reply to him are among the extant fragments of Sallust. On his insurrection and death, see Mommsen, Hist. B. v. c. 1.

6. **neque multo post.** In 684, B.C. 70, 'M. Crassus et Cn. Pompeius consules tribunitiam potestatem restituerunt' (Liv. Epit. B. 97): i. e. they restored what Sulla had taken away. Cicero (de Legg. 3. 9) describes Sulla with approval, 'qui tribunis plebis . . . iniuriae faciendae potestatem ademerit, auxilii ferendi reliquerit.' The speech of Lepidus in Sallust describes the people as 'agitandi inops' (H. 1. 41, 11 D, 45 K, p. 141 G): cp. also Caes. B. C. 1. 5, 1; Vell. 2. 30. Mommsen shows, especially from the 'plebiscitum de Thermensibus,' passed in 683, B.C. 71 (Inscr. Orell. 3673; C. I. L. i. 204), that the tribunes could consult the people, but, apparently, only with consent of the senate, as the formula 'de senatus sententia' is added (Hist. B. iv. c. 10, p. 364).

8. **in singulos**, i. e. 'privilegia.' The laws of the Twelve Tables 'in privatos homines leges ferri noluerunt' (Cic. Legg. 3. 19, 44); and the banishment of Cicero by the bill of Clodius in 696, B.C. 58, appears here to be especially alluded to.

**quaestiones**, 'impeachments' or 'attainders.' Ritter is perhaps right in taking the expression to be shortened for 'leges latae, ut . . . quaestiones haberentur.'

**corruptissima re publica**, abl. abs., 'in the greatest decay of the republic most laws were made.'

**28.** Tum Cn. Pompeius tertium consul corrigendis moribus 1
delectus, set gravior remediis quam delicta erant suarumque
legum auctor idem ac subversor, quae armis tuebatur, armis
amisit. exim continua per viginti annos discordia, non mos, 2
non ius; deterrima quaeque inpune ac multa honesta exitio
fuere. sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae se- 3
curus, quae triumviratu iusserat abolevit deditque iura, quis pace

1. **tertium consul.** In 702, B.C. 52, Pompeius was created consul 'absens et solus, quod nulli alii umquam contigit' (Liv. Epit. B. 107). He was appointed 'corrigendis moribus,' i.e. to stop the violence prevalent at recent elections. He retained the proconsulate of Spain with this virtual dictatorship, which from the first of August became an ordinary consulship, by being shared with Q. Metellus Scipio. On the history of the year, see Mommsen, Hist. B. v. ch. 8; Watson, Select Letters of Cicero, Introd. to Part ii (where full references to authorities are given).

2. **gravior remediis, etc.**; by his severe and retrospective laws 'de vi' and 'de ambitu;' by the trials held under them; by his military rule in Rome; by overawing the court on the trial of Milo by presence of a guard (see references above). Tacitus, who elsewhere calls Pompeius 'occultior, non melior' (sc. 'Mario et Sulla'), had formed a very different estimate of him from Livy (see below, 4. 34, 4); but appears to show no real perception of the magnitude of the evils which had then to be dealt with: see Merivale, ch. xiii. p. 46.

3. **auctor . . . subversor.** In violation of his own laws against riot and corruption, he sent into court a written commendation in favour of Plancus Bursa, and prevented the conviction of his father-in-law Scipio. Also, in violation of his law 'de iure magistratuum,' which provided that candidates should canvass in person, and that five years should intervene between the tenure of office at Rome and the government of a province; he secured for himself for another five years the government of Spain, and was a party to the dispensation from personal canvass given to Caesar. See the authorities referred to in Watson, l. l.

**quae armis tuebatur.** This refers not only to his military rule during his consulship (see above), but also to his position afterwards with 'proconsulare imperium' outside the gates of Rome (Caes. B. G. 6. 1, 2), and to the troops held in his name by his legati in Spain (Id. B. C. 1. 85, 8; Vell. 2. 48, 1).

4. **per viginti annos,** from Pharsalia to the sixth consulship of Augustus, 706–726, B.C. 48–28. It is indeed astonishing, that Tacitus should regard the dictatorship of Caesar as merely part of this general anarchy, and that in a review of Roman legislation his 'Leges Iuliae' should be altogether ignored. For an account of them, see Watson, Part iv. Appendix ix. That the triumvirate should be also thus dealt with is not remarkable, owing to the general cancelling of its enactments by Augustus, as here mentioned. On some of its usurpations, especially that of the appointment of magistrates, see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 711, 877.

**non mos, non ius,** sc. 'fuit,' 'there was neither morality nor law.'

5. **inpune,** sc. 'fuere:' 1. 72, 3.

6. **sexto demum consulatu.** It was in this year that the acts of the triumvirate were cancelled at a stroke (Dio, 53. 2, 5), and the foundations laid of the principate, which formally begins with the following year (see Introd. vi. p. 65); but the laws of which Tacitus speaks were mostly of later date.

**potentiae securus.** The genitive with 'securus' is poetical and post-Augustan, and usually denotes the evil or danger against which precaution is not taken. As an instance apposite to the use here, Mr. Dallin notes 'securus veniae' in Luc. 8, 784; so here, 'sure of his ascendancy.'

7. **triumviratu,** abl. of time during which (cp. Introd. v. § 26).

**dedit iura,** 'established principles of law,' or 'imposed a constitution.' The authority 'dare leges' belonged regularly, in respect of 'socii,' to Romans possessed of 'imperium' (see Introd. vi. p. 73; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 852, etc.). 'Iura dare' is perhaps more strictly used of the magistrate administering the law by jurisdiction (cp. Verg. Aen. 8, 670); but, in the sense given above, Romulus

4 et principe uteremur. acriora ex eo vincla, inditi custodes et
lege Papia Poppaea praemiis inducti, ut, si a privilegiis paren-
tum cessaretur, velut parens omnium populus vacantia teneret.
5 sed altius penetrabant urbemque et Italiam et quod usquam
6 civium corripuerant, multorumque excisi status. et terror omni-
bus intentabatur, ni Tiberius statuendo remedio quinque con-
sularium, quinque e praetoriis, totidem e cetero senatu sorte
duxisset, apud quos exsoluti plerique legis nexus modicum in
praesens levamentum fuere.

is said 'iura dare,' in Liv. 1. 8, 1; and to do so is often spoken of by Vergil (e. g. Aen. 1. 293; 3. 137; 5. 758) as a kingly function. It is perhaps here implied that Augustus enacted these laws, without senate or comitia, by some survival of his power 'reipublicae constituendae.' See Mommsen, Staatsr. i. p. 723.

**queis pace et principe uteremur.** The simplest explanation of these words would be to take 'queis' as an instrumental abl., and 'pace et principe' as depending on 'uteremur.' Against this may be urged that for 'queis' we should rather expect 'per quas;' and that 'legibus uti' is a known phrase (e.g. Lucr. 5, 1143). This would favour the interpretation of Nipp. and others, by which 'queis' depends on 'uteremur' and 'pace et principe' is an abl. abs., 'for us to enjoy in peace and under a prince.' Such a construction, though usual for 'pace,' is certainly harsh for 'principe;' but this word, on either interpretation, is to be taken as thrown in bitterly and *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*.

1. **acriora ex eo vincla**, 'thenceforward restraints were stricter.' Allusion is probably intended generally to the stretch of arbitrary power (cp. *ἐκ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι αὖθις ἀκριβῶς ἤρξαντο* Dio, 52. 1, 1), and specially to the 'lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus' and any similar enactments before it, or to any edicts or 'senatus consulta' interfering with private life.

**inditi custodes**, 'watch was set over us:' cp. 'castella rupibus indita' 4. 46, 5; and 'additus' in 4. 67, 6; 6. 14, 3, etc. The delators are called 'custodes legum' by Tiberius (4. 30, 4); and we gather that they were already active before the 'lex Papia Poppaea' assigned definite rewards to them.

2. **praemiis.** Their amount may be estimated from the fact that Nero reduced them to one fourth (Suet. Ner. 10); which appears to have been the informer's minimum under the law of 'maiestas' (cp. 4. 20, 3).

**ut . . . teneret**, 'in order that, if men neglected to earn the rewards of paternity, the state as the common parent might possess the unowned properties:' 'vacantia' does not refer to 'privilegia,' but to some such word as 'bona.' On these penalties and forfeitures, see the Excursus at the end of this Book.

4. **altius penetrabant**: cp. 2. 36, 2. Here it appears to mean that they forced their way further into private life than the law had contemplated, laying information (cp. 'corripio' c. 49, 1; 2. 28, 4, etc.), against all citizens (to whom alone the law applied) throughout the empire.

5. **multorum . . . excisi status**, 'many had their position undermined.' For instance, in some cases the possession of a senatorial or equestrian census, in others the 'status' of a freedman, etc., might depend on bequests that could be invalidated. Cp. H. 1. 10, 2 'attritis opibus, lubrico statu,' and the similar language above (c. 26, 2) 'cum omnis domus . . . subverteretur;' also Plin. Pan. 48 'nulla iam testamenta secura, nullius status certus.'

8. **exsoluti . . . nexus.** Orelli notes other similar metaphors: cp. 'vinclis exsolutis' (c. 33, 4); and 'enodandos . . . iuris laqueos' (Gell. 13. 10, 1); 'qui iuris nodos et legum aenigmata solvat' (Juv. 8, 50); 'iurisdictionis retia et . . . nodos resolventes' (Cod. 4. 29, 23, pr.). Walther and Mr. Dallin take 'nexus' in the strict legal sense (='obligations'); but these commissioners appear not so much to have released men from any obligations contracted, as to have 'loosed many snares' woven out of the law by the subtlety of informers; declaring such cases not to come within its intention.

**29.** Per idem tempus Neronem e liberis Germanici, iam in- 1
gressum iuventam, commendavit patribus, utque munere capes-
sendi vigintiviratus solveretur et quinquennio maturius quam
per leges quaesturam peteret, non sine inrisu audientium postu-
lavit. praetendebat sibi atque fratri decreta eadem petente 2
Augusto. sed neque tum fuisse dubitaverim, qui eius modi
preces occulti inluderent: ac tamen initia fastigii Caesaribus
erant magisque in oculis vetus mos, et privignis cum vitrico
levior necessitudo quam avo adversum nepotem. additur ponti- 3
ficatus et quo primum die forum ingressus est congiarium plebi
admodum laetae, quod Germanici stirpem iam puberem aspicie-
bat. auctum dehinc gaudium nuptiis Neronis et Iuliae Drusi 4
filiae. utque haec secundo rumore, ita adversis animis accep- 5
tum, quod filio Claudii socer Seianus destinaretur. polluisse 6

This would be, as is here stated, a partial and temporary relief, not amounting to any alteration of the law itself.

1. **Neronem.** On his age, etc., see Introd. ix. note 11.

3. **vigintiviratus.** On the separate magistracies thus collectively designated, see Introd. vii. p. 77; on the qualifications for the candidates for the quaestorship, Id. p. 80; Momms. Staatsr. i. p. 526, foll.

4. **per leges.** The old 'lex Villia Annalis' of 574, B.C. 180 (Liv. 40. 44, 1), had now been modified, probably by Augustus. Tiberius, who is here stated to have himself had only the same privilege as that which he requests, was quaestor in his nineteenth year (Vell. 2. 94, 1). Maecenas is represented (Dio, 52. 20, 1) as recommending twenty-five as the earliest age for a senator. It would thus appear that the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year was at this time the earliest legal or customary age for the quaestorship.

**non sine inrisu**; because a request which could not be refused was a mockery.

5. **praetendebat**: so, with inf., 6. 18, 4: cp. c. 59, 6. The dispensing decrees passed for Tiberius and Drusus in 730, 735, B.C. 24, 19, are mentioned in Dio, 53. 28, 3; 54. 10, 4. Germanicus appears to have had a similar privilege, and to have held the consulship immediately after the quaestorship (Suet. Cal. 1).

7. **ac tamen**, i.e. yet such a request was not then so ludicrous for a refusal was not so out of the question. Three reasons are given for this difference.

**initia fastigii Caesaribus erant,** 'the supremacy of the Caesars was but beginning:' cp. 'praeumbrante imperatoris fastigio' 14. 47, 1; also c. 56, 2; 73, 3; 6. 32, 1, etc.

9. **levior necessitudo,** 'the tie of connexion was slighter.' Thence it might be supposed that Augustus cared less about the request than Tiberius.

**pontificatus.** It would appear from inscriptions that Tacitus confuses the priestly offices given to Nero, with those of his brother Drusus. See Introd. ix. notes 11, 12.

10. **quo primum die,** etc. This 'dies tirocinii' (Suet. Tib. 54) is shown by a fragmentary kalendar to have been June 7: 'vii Idus Iun. Nero to[gam virilem] sumpsit cong. d.' (Henzen 6443). These 'congiaria,' formerly gifts of oil, wine, etc. (Liv. 25. 2, 8; Pl. N. H. 14. 14, 17, 96) were now usually given in money: see Mon. Anc. iii. 7–21; also 12. 41, 3; Suet. Ner. 7; and a full account of them in Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 132, etc.

12. **Iuliae Drusi filiae**: see Introd. ix. note 34. On an earlier betrothal of Nero to the daughter of Creticus Silanus, see 2. 43, 3.

13. **secundo rumore,** 'with approbation.' The expression had been used by Vergil (Aen. 8, 90), who, as also Horace (Epp. 1. 10, 9), appears to have followed an old formula, 'populi rumore secundo,' appearing in Ennius (Ann. 260, Vahl.): cp. 'adverso rumore' 14. 11, 4, etc.

14. **filio Claudii.** Suetonius, speaking of the family of Claudius (Cl. 27), says, 'Drusum . . . impuberem amisit . . . cui

nobilitatem familiae videbatur suspectumque iam nimiae spei
Seianum ultra extulisse.
1 **30.** Fine anni concessere vita insignes viri L. Volusius et
2 Sallustius Crispus. Volusio vetus familia neque tamen prae-
turam egressa: ipse consulatum intulit, censoria etiam potestate
legendis equitum decuriis functus, opumque, quis domus illa
3 inmensum viguit, primus adcumulator. Crispum equestri ortum
loco C. Sallustius, rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor,
4 sororis nepotem in nomen adscivit. atque ille, quamquam
prompto ad capessendos honores aditu, Maecenatem aemulatus
sine dignitate senatoria multos triumphalium consulariumque
potentia anteiit, diversus a veterum instituto per cultum et mun-
5 ditias copiaque et afluentia luxu propior. suberat tamen vigor

et ante paucos dies filiam Seiani despondisset.' Yet it is implied in 4. 7, 3, perhaps in 4. 39, 4, that the boy was still at that time alive: also the only known daughter of Seianus is still called a mere child eleven years later (5. 9. 2), and must at this time have been only just born. It may be supposed that 'destinare' here means only an informal expression of intention; and that the actual betrothal was some years later.

2. **ultra extulisse**, 'to have raised even beyond his hopes.' Nipp. thinks this would be untrue, and that 'ultra,' taken in any other way, would be pleonastic; and therefore prefers, with Alciatus, to read 'ultro.'

5. **consulatum.** The fragmentary Fasti (Henzen 6440; C. I. L. i. p. 546) appear to make him one of the coss. suff. of 742, B.C. 12. Nipp. cites Borghesi and other authorities, who show from coins and inscriptions that he was proconsul of Africa in 748, B.C. 6, legatus of Syria in 758, A.D. 5, and one of the 'septemviri epulones.' On his son and grandson, also consulars, cp. 12. 22, 2, etc.; 13. 25, 1, etc.

**censoria etiam potestate.** Mommsen (Staatsr. i. 343, n. 6) notes that the inscriptions of his freedmen (C. I. L. vi. 1, 1883 a) flatter Volusius by styling him censor.

6. **legendis equitum decuriis.** The 'decuriae' of persons of equestrian census, selected for judicial purposes (see Introd. vii. p. 87) are to be distinguished from the 'turmae' (see on 2. 83, 5) consisting of those selected for the 'equus publicus.' Suetonius (Aug. 37) ascribes to Augustus the institution of a 'triumviratus recognoscendi turmas equitum,' which is apparently the censorial function exercised by Volusius, and more than once speaks of the revision of 'decuriae' as a function discharged by the princeps personally (Aug. 32; Tib. 41; cp. Pl. N. H. 33. 1, 30). Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. 919, n. 1) notes that the 'decuriae' appear later to have been selected from the 'equites equo publico.' If this were so at the time of Tacitus and Suetonius, a confusion of 'turmae' and 'decuriae' becomes more probable.

7. **inmensum**, adv., as c. 52, 1; 4. 27, 3, etc. (cp. Introd. v. § 5). The wealth of Volusius is mentioned in 14. 56, 2, as the result of his parsimony.

**adcumulator**, ἅπ. εἰρ.

**Crispum.** Horace (Od. 2. 2, 2) addresses him as 'inimice lamnae . . . nisi temperato splendeat usu.' Nipp. notes also an epigram of Krinagoras addressed to him.

8. **C. Sallustius.** The historian died in 720, B.C. 34. Though Tacitus mentions him here only, he has throughout shown his appreciation of him by frequent imitation: see Introd. v. § 97, 1.

**florentissimus.** This term is constantly used by Tacitus of famous and distinguished persons, e.g. 4. 68, 4; 71, 7; 11. 37, 4; 16. 33, 1, etc.

9. **adscivit**, 'adopted;' cp. 1. 31, 5; 2. 60, 3, etc.

12. **diversus**: cp. 'diversus a maiorum institutis' 2. 2, 5.

**cultum et munditias**; these are nearly synonyms, as are also 'copia et afluentia,' 'somnum et inertiam.'

13. **luxu propior**, 'inclined to luxury:' cp. 'famae propior' (Agr. 6. 4). Tacitus uses this form of the dative in c. 33, 3;

animi ingentibus negotiis par, eo acrior, quo somnum et inertiam
magis ostentabat. igitur incolumi Maecenate proximus, mox 6
praecipuus cui secreta imperatorum inniterentur et interficiendi
Postumi Agrippae conscius, aetate provecta speciem magis in
amicitia principis quam vim tenuit. idque et Maecenati acci- 7
derat, fato potentiae raro sempiternae, an satias capit aut illos,
cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos, cum iam nihil reliquum est
quod cupiant.

**31.** Sequitur Tiberi quartus, Drusi secundus consulatus, 1
patris atque filii collegio insignis. nam triennio ante Germanici
cum Tiberio idem honor neque patruo laetus neque natura tam
conexus fuerat. eius anni principio Tiberius quasi firmandae 2

34, 9; 12. 62, 2; 15. 48, 4; H. 2. 71, 2; but does not seem to be constant to it in any word (e.g. 'luxui' 14. 15, 3). Gellius (4. 16) treats the question between the forms in -'u' and -'ui' as an open one, giving instances of the former not only from Lucilius and Vergil, but from Caesar; but, on the strength of a dictum of Priscian (7, § 88), that such forms are poetical, editors (as Ritter 1864) have sometimes corrected those in prose.

**suberat tamen vigor**, etc. The same contrast of outward effeminacy and latent energy is noted in Maecenas: cp. Vell. 2. 88, 2 'ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sane exsomnis, providens atque agendi sciens; simul vero aliquid ex negotiis remitti posset, otio et mollitiis paene ultra feminam fluens.'

2. **mox.** The death of Maecenas took place in 746, B.C. 8 (Dio, 55. 7, 1). His retirement from public affairs, alluded to below and in 14. 53, 3 (cp. Suet. Aug. 66; Dio, 54. 19, 6), had taken place eight years earlier.

3. **interficiendi . . . Agrippae**: cp. 1. 6, 6; 2. 40, 3.

6. **fato.** This appears to be a causal ablative; another alternative cause being suggested by 'an satias capit' (cp. 'pavore an . . . retinens' 2. 38, 9): 'from the fatality by which influence is rarely permanent, or because,' etc. 'Fatum' is often with Tacitus assumed as a cause of what he cannot explain (see Introd. iv. p. 22); to which here, as in 13. 12, 2, the alternative of some traceable cause is added.

**satias**: cp. c. 54, 9; 6. 38, 1; 16. 16, 1. The word is chiefly archaic and post-classical.

**illos . . . hos**, 'the one . . . the other;' i. e. the giver and the receiver, implied in the sense. Such a mere gradual decay of friendship and influence as Tacitus here notes is widely different from the daily peril of imminent ruin, causing the 'miserae magnaeque pallor amicitiae' of the courtiers of Domitian (Juv. 4, 74).

9. **Tiberi quartus Drusi secundus**: see 2. 53, 1; 1. 55, 1. Dio (57. 20, 1) represents people as already saying that it was ominous to be consul with Tiberius, a foreboding which the seqnel of this and of his fifth consulship in 784, A.D. 31, bore out; it being a strange coincidence that, of all his colleagues, four (Quintilius Varus, Cn. Piso, Drusus, and Seianus) were known, and the fifth (Germanicus) popularly believed, to have died violent deaths. On the use of 'collegium,' cp. c. 16, 7.

10. **triennio.** Halm follows Nipp. in this reading for the MS. 'biennio;' which has been defended as possibly meant to express an interval of two clear years. A similar difficulty (or perhaps error of the writer) is noted on 12. 25, 3. Ritter here thinks the whole sentence 'nam . . . fuerat' an interpolation.

11. **neque natura tam conexus**, 'nor so close an association in respect of birth.' The expression is inexact through brevity; the meaning being that the association in distinction was not then that of persons of so near a natural relationship. For this sense of 'natura,' compare the phrase 'natura pater' (Ter. Ad. 1. 2, 46; 5. 7, 4). The word is here thrown in, because Germanicus also was a son, but only by adoption.

valetudini in Campaniam concessit, longam et continuam ab-
sentiam paulatim meditans, sive ut amoto patre Drusus munia
3 consulatus solus impleret. ac forte parva res magnum ad cer-
tamen progressa praebuit iuveni materiem apiscendi favoris.
4 Domitius Corbulo praetura functus de L. Sulla nobili iuvene
questus est apud senatum, quod sibi inter spectacula gladia-
5 torum loco non decessisset. pro Corbulone aetas, patrius mos,
studia seniorum erant: contra Mamercus Scaurus et L. Arruntius
6 aliique Sullae propinqui nitebantur. certabantque orationibus et
memorabantur exempla maiorum, qui iuventutis inreverentiam
gravibus decretis notavissent, donec Drusus apta temperandis
animis disseruit; et satisfactum Corbuloni per Mamercum, qui
patruus simul ac vitricus Sullae et oratorum *ea* aetate uberrimus
7 erat. idem Corbulo plurima per Italiam itinera fraude mancipum
et incuria magistratuum interrupta et inpervia clamitando, exsecu-

1. **in Campaniam.** He addresses the senate by letter during his absence (c. 32, 1; 47, 1; 52, 4; 56, 1; 59, 2), which lasted till the next year (c. 64, 1). His final departure was four years after that time (4. 57, 1).

2. **meditans,** 'practising' (= μελετῶν); as in the expressions 'meditari praelia,' etc. (Verg. and Juv.)

5. **Domitius Corbulo.** This person, who had already been 'praetor,' and would seem to have been somewhat elderly, can hardly be the famous general (cp. 11, 18, etc.) who perished still in the vigour of life forty-six years later, but may well have been his father. It has been thought (see Momms. Staatsr. i. 1030, n. 2) that the two have been confused; the story given below in this chapter being apparently that told by Dio (59. 15, 3; 60. 17, 2), who says that the attacks of Corbulo on the contractors continued till the time of Gaius, who eagerly employed his services, and rewarded him with the consulship in 792, A.D. 39; but that Claudius afterwards refunded, and forced him to refund, the sums extorted. The above consulship, the only one recorded in the family, must apparently be that of the son.

**L. Sulla.** Nipp. follows Borghesi in making him great grandson of the P. Sulla, nephew of the dictator, whom Cicero defended, and doubts his identity with the consul of 786, A.D. 33 (6. 15, 1).

**iuvene.** We should infer that he was not a senator. It is probable, as suggested by Lipsius, that the reservation of seats for senators at all 'spectacula,' enjoined by Augustus (Suet. Aug. 47), may have applied only outside Rome. At the circus they had not reserved seats till the time of Claudius (Suet. Cl. 21).

10. **exempla maiorum**: cp. Cic. de Sen. 18, 63; and the rule (De Inv. 1. 30, 48) 'ut maioribus natu adsurgatur;' also Juv. 13, 55, where several other illustrations are collected by Prof. Mayor.

**inreverentiam,** used absolutely only here and in 13. 26, 2; H. 3. 51, 1. Pliny (Epp. 6. 2, 5) has 'inreverentia studiorum periculorumque.'

13. **patruus simul ac vitricus.** Scaurus would thus appear, after having divorced Lepida (cp. c. 23, 3), to have married the widow of L. Sulla (cos. 749, B.C. 5), who must have been his half-brother on the mother's side, and also father of this Sulla. This wife of Scaurus may probably be the Sextia of 6. 29, 7.

14. **mancipum,** 'contractors,' the 'redemptores' of Hyginus, etc.: cp. 'mancipi viae Appiae' Inscr. Orell. 3221.

15. **magistratuum,** the 'curatores viarum,' to whom these contractors were responsible. These are distinct from the board of four forming part of the vigintivirate (Introd. vi. p. 77), whose sphere of duties lay within the city. The chief Italian roads appear each to have had their own curator; the office, in respect of the greater roads, being one of much dig-

tionem eius negotii libens suscepit; quod haud perinde publice
usui habitum quam exitiosum multis, quorum in pecuniam atque
famam damnationibus et hasta saeviebat.

**32.** Neque multo post missis ad senatum literis Tiberius 1
motam rursum Africam incursu Tacfarinatis docuit, iudicioque
patrum deligendum pro consule gnarum militiae, corpore vali-
dum et bello suffecturum. quod initium Sex. Pompeius agitandi 2
adversus Marcum Lepidum odii nanctus, ut socordem, inopem
et maioribus suis dedecorum eoque etiam Asiae sorte depellen-

nity (Pl. Ep. 5. 14). It had existed under the Republic (Cic. Att. 1. 1, 2, etc.); but appears to have been so far reorganized by Augustus as to be looked upon as his institution (Suet. Aug. 37).

**inpervia**: so 'iter inpervium' Quint. 12. 11, 11; 'impervius amnis' Ov. Met. 9, 106.

**exsecutionem**, 'judicial prosecution:' cp. 'exsecutio delicti' Dig. 47. 1, 1, etc., and a frequent similar meaning of 'exsequi.' Nipp. takes it to mean 'jurisdiction' (see his note on 15. 25, 5); but Corbulo seems rather to have been the accuser than the judge.

1. **publice usui**, 'for the public advantage.' On the dative, cf. Introd. v. § 23.

2. **habitum**, 'was managed:' cp. 4. 6, 1, etc.

**multis**, i.e. the 'curatores' and 'mancipes.'

3. **damnationibus et hasta**, 'convictions and auctions,' i.e. of the property of those who did not make good their defalcations.

4. **missis . . . literis.** On the right of the princeps to consult the senate in writing ('relationem facere'), see Introd. vi. p. 71; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 861. The deliverer of such missives was usually one of the 'quaestores Caesaris' (cp. 16. 27, 2; Suet. Aug. 65; Ner. 15; Tit. 6, etc.).

5. **motam rursum Africam**: see c. 20, 1.

**iudicio patrum**, i.e. by selection, not by lot. The princeps sometimes directly prohibits a person from the lot for a province (as 6. 40, 3); usually the decision is left to the senate, or jointly arranged: cp. c. 35, 1, and Insc. Henzen 6450, recording a proconsul sent to Cyprus 'extra sortem auctoritate Aug. Caesaris et S. C.'

7. **bello suffecturum**, 'who would be competent for war:' so 'sufficere' with dat. c. 72, 4; 16. 5, 1; H. 4. 8, 2; Cic., Caes., etc.

**Sextus Pompeius**: cp. c. 11, 2.

8. **Marcum Lepidum.** The praenomen of this person is here alone given in full, the praenomen 'Manius' in full in c. 22, 2. The Fasti give M. Lepidus as consul in 759, A.D. 6; M'. Lepidus in 764, A.D. 11. Elsewhere in this MS. the praenomen of Lepidus is constantly read as M.; but two distinct persons are thus named. The one is sent this year to Asia, the other is one of the two selected for Africa (c. 35, 1), and becomes proconsul of Asia five years later (4. 56, 3). One is of moderate ability and narrow means (as here and c. 72, 3; 2. 48, 1), the other one of the foremost men of the age (1. 13, 2, etc.). As the Fasti recognise as consulars of this time not two Marci Lepidi, but Marcus and Manius, the praenomen in the MS. must in some places be altered. It appears on the whole best to suppose the one mentioned here and in c. 72, 3; 2. 48, 1, clearly also in 6. 40, 4, to be Marcus; and that Manius Lepidus is the distinguished senator (1. 13, 2), praised alike for his independence and discretion (4. 20, 4; 6. 27, 4), the defender of Cn. Piso (c. 11, 2) and his sister Lepida (c. 22, 2), who interposed on behalf of Clutorius Priscus (c. 50, 1), was considered capable of service in Africa (c. 35, 1), and subsequently governed Asia (4. 56, 3). Consequently in all these places M. has been altered to M'. Ritter, who had formerly taken a different view, now follows this reading.

9. **dedecorum.** Only here and in 12. 47, 5; Plaut. Bacch. 5. 2, 74 (where the reading is questioned).

**etiam Asiae sorte**, i.e. even from the lot for a peaceful province. Asia and Africa were given annually by lot to the two senior consulars who had not yet held either. As Africa was now to be given 'extra sortem,' there were really no lots to be drawn, and Lepidus would have

dum incusavit, adverso senatu, qui Lepidum mitem magis quam
ignavum, paternas ei angustias, et nobilitatem sine probro actam
3 honori quam ignominiae habendam ducebat. igitur missus in
Asiam, et de Africa decretum ut Caesar legeret cui mandanda
foret.

1 **33.** Inter quae Severus Caecina censuit ne quem magistratum,
cui provincia obvenisset, uxor comitaretur, multum ante repetito
concordem sibi coniugem et sex partus enixam, seque quae in
publicum statueret domi servavisse, cohibita intra Italiam, quam-
quam ipse pluris per provincias quadraginta stipendia exple-
2 visset. haud enim frustra placitum olim ne feminae in socios
aut gentes externas traherentur: inesse mulierum comitatui
quae pacem luxu, bellum formidine morentur et Romanum
3 agmen ad similitudinem barbari incessus convertant. non in-
becillum tantum et inparem laboribus sexum, sed si licentia
adsit, saevum, ambitiosum, potestatis avidum; incedere inter
milites, habere ad manum centuriones; praesedisse nuper femi-

Asia as matter of course. Five consulars junior to M. Lepidus had already held Asia or Africa: see Introd. vii. p. 95–97, and the explanation there suggested.

2. **paternas . . . angustias**: cp. 1. 75, 5, where 'esse,' here supplied, is expressed. Borghesi notes that his father and grandfather (see on 72, 3) had been proscribed, and though their lives were spared, had probably suffered in property.

3. **honori quam ignominiae.** On the omission of 'potius,' cp. c. 17, 7, and on the dative, Introd. v. § 23.

**habendam ducebat.** From this 'habebat' is supplied with 'Lepidum' etc.

6. **Inter quae.** It is shown, from c. 34, 1, that this was an 'egressio relationis:' see on 2. 33, 2; 37, 3; 38, 3.

**Severus Caecina**: cp. c. 18, 3.

7. **obvenisset**, sc. 'sorte,' as 4. 56, 3; Caes. B. C. 1. 6, 5, etc. The proposal is thus limited to senatorial provinces, it being no function of the senate to make rules for those of Caesar.

**multum ante repetito**, 'recounting in a long preamble.' On the abl., see Introd. v. § 31 a; on the use of 'repetere,' c. 24, 2.

8. **concordem**, not elsewhere with dat.; but cp. 'discors' c. 42, 3.

**in publicum**, 'for the community:' 'publicum' stands in contrast to 'domi' in c. 70, 4.

9. **cohibita** = 'cum cohibuisset:' cp. Introd. v. § 31 c.

10. **quadraginta**, apparently a round number for 41: cp. 1. 64, 6; 2. 6, 1.

11. **frustra**: cp. c. 1. 30, 3.

**placitum olim.** The old rule (cp. M. Sen. Controv. 9. 25, 251), though it had such signal exceptions as Livia, Agrippina, Plancina, etc., was still on the whole prevalent (cp. Suet. Aug. 24). Ulpian (Dig. 1. 16, 4, 2), while stating that the wife might go with her husband to a province, thinks he would be better without her, and mentions the decree passed (see on 4. 20, 6) making him responsible for her conduct. The wife of Pilate was with him (Matt. 27, 19), Drusilla with Felix (Acts 24, 24), Calpurnia with Pliny (Epp. 10. 120, 121).

13. **pacem**, 'peaceful duties:' cp. 'pacis impedimentum' c. 34, 3.

14. **barbari incessus**, 'the progress of a barbaric king,' with his train of women, servants, etc.

16. **ambitiosum**, 'intriguing:' cp. 'ambitiose' c. 13, 2, etc.

17. **ad manum**, 'at their beck.'

**nuper**: cp. 2. 55, 5: 'praesedisse' is somewhat an exaggeration. Caecina, though here and in c. 18, 3 speaking as an enemy of the enemies of Germanicus, may have been unfriendly to Agrippina,

nam exercitio cohortium, decursu legionum. cogitarent ipsi, 4
quotiens repetundarum aliqui arguerentur, plura uxoribus ob-
iectari; his statim adhaerescere deterrimum quemque provinci-
alium, ab his negotia suscipi, transigi; duorum egressus coli,
duo esse praetoria, pervicacibus magis et inpotentibus mulierum
iussis, quae Oppiis quondam aliisque legibus constrictae, nunc
vinclis exsolutis domos, fora, iam et exercitus regerent.

**34.** Paucorum haec adsensu audita: plures obturbabant, ne- 1
que relatum de negotio neque Caecinam dignum tantae rei
censorem. mox Valerius Messalinus, cui parens Messalla inerat- 2
que imago paternae facundiae, respondit multa duritiae veterum
*in* melius et laetius mutata; neque enim, ut olim, obsideri
urbem bellis aut provincias hostilis esse. et pauca feminarum 3

and may have meant to glance at her conduct (1. 69, 2). On the dative 'decursu,' cp. c. 30, 4.

2. **plura uxoribus obiectari.** Prior to this date, no other instance but that of Plancina seems to be known to us. Afterwards the case of Sosia (4. 19, 4) may be cited, also those of Paxaea (6. 29, 1; Dio, 58. 24, 3), of Cornelia, wife of Calvisius Sabinus (Dio, 59. 18, 4), and of the wife of Classicus (Pl. Epp. 3. 9, 19). Juvenal also (8, 128) pictures the governor's wife hovering as a harpy over provincial towns.

4. **negotia**, especially (as Nipp. notes) such transactions as the prosecutor on a charge of 'repetundae' would cite.

**duorum egressus**, etc., 'there were two to be escorted to public places, two centres of government.' 'Praetorium' is the regular term for the governor's residence (as in N. T. etc.), and hence used of other mansions: see Prof. Mayor on Juv. 1, 75. Here it is explained by the 'mulierum iussa,' more persistent and imperious than those of their husbands.

6. **Oppiis**, the plural, here and in c. 34, 6, is probably to be taken as rhetorical (cp. 1. 10, 3). The 'lex Oppia,' restraining the ornaments, dress, and vehicles of women, was passed by a tribune 'in medio ardore Punici belli' in 691, B.C. 215, and was repealed twenty years later, in spite of the vehement protest of Cato, represented in a speech by Livy (34. 1–8): see also Val. Max. 9. 1, 3.

**aliis**; as for instance the 'lex Voconia,' limiting the right of women to inherit, a law which though unrepealed appears to have been very inoperative: see Long, Orations of Cic. vol. i. p. 172.

8. **obturbabant**, 'were interrupting' (cp. 6. 24, 4), with such remarks as follow.

**neque relatum**: see c. 33, 1.

10. **censorem**, used invidiously; the only censorial functions being now vested in Caesar. Tiberius himself says (2. 33, 6) 'non id tempus censurae.'

**Valerius Messalinus**: see on 1. 8, 5.

**Messalla.** M. Valerius M. f. M. n. Messalla Corvinus, the celebrated orator and friend of Horace, Ovid, and Tibullus, was born in 695, B.C. 59, was consul with Caesar in the year of Actium, and died about 764, A.D. 11. On his 'praefectura urbis,' see 6. 11, 5.

11. **multa duritiae**, partitive gen. like 'multa laudis et artium' (c. 55, 6). Beroald. had printed 'duritie,' whence the attempts to emend by insertion of a preposition. We have a genitive depending on a genitive, as 'veterum' here, in 11. 33, 2, etc.

12. **in melius . . . mutata.** Here and in 14. 43, 1 ('deterius mutari') 'in' has been generally inserted by editors. Pfitzner (p. 106), noting that 'peius mutata res est' has been allowed to stand in Liv. 1. 47, 3, considers that the MS. readings may stand in these places, as analogous to 'bene mutari' in c. 44, 3. Here, however, the result of the change seems to be distinctly expressed, and the preposition to be required, as in c. 54, 9, etc.

**obsideri bellis**, 'had war at its gates.' The MS. has 'absidere,' with 'o' and 'i' written above the first and last letters. The alternative corrections 'adsidere' and 'adsideri' derive support from the frequent confusion of 'ab' and 'ad' in the MS. (1. 10, 4; 2. 4, 3; 37, 7; 4. 35, 3;

necessitatibus concedi, quae ne coniugum quidem penates, adeo
socios non onerent; cetera promisca cum marito, nec ullum in
4 eo pacis impedimentum. bella plane accinctis obeunda: sed
revertentibus post laborem quod honestius quam uxorium leva-
mentum? at quasdam in ambitionem aut avaritiam prolapsas.
5 quid? ipsorum magistratuum nonne plerosque variis libidinibus
6 obnoxios? non tamen ideo neminem in provinciam mitti. cor-
ruptos saepe pravitatibus uxorum maritos: num ergo omnis
caelibes integros? placuisse quondam Oppias leges, sic tempori-
bus rei publicae postulantibus: remissum aliquid postea et miti-
7 gatum, quia expedierit. frustra nostram ignaviam alia ad vo-
cabula transferri: nam viri in eo culpam, si femina modum
8 excedat. porro ob unius aut alterius inbecillum animum male
9 eripi maritis consortia rerum secundarum adversarumque. simul
sexum natura invalidum deseri et exponi suo luxu, cupidinibus
10 alienis. vix praesenti custodia manere inlaesa coniugia: quid
fore, si per plures annos in modum discidii obliterentur? sic

6. 3, 4), and the latter further from Sall. H. 4. 42 D, 1 K, 44 G 'Amisum adsideri . . . audiebat,' and from the transitive use of the active by Tacitus in 4. 58, 4; 6. 43, 1. All these readings would alike express the condition of Rome when the Oppian law was passed (cp. c. 33, 4), and 'provincias hostiles' a later period before the empire was permanently consolidated.

1. **necessitatibus**, 'requirements.' The 'luxus' alleged in c. 33, 2 is alluded to.

**penates** = 'rem familiarem.' It is used of the house and its position in 2. 84, 1 (where see note).

**adeo non**, 'much less:' so in H. 3. 39, 4: cp. 'adeo numquam' 6. 15, 6, and 'adeo' (= 'much more') in H. 1. 9, 1; 4. 39, 4; 80, 1 (see Gerber and Greef, Lex. s. v.). The usage is post-Augustan, found also in Vell., Curt., Pl. mai., and Quint.

2. **cetera promisca**, 'all else is shared with her husband,' i.e. would be given to her husband, were he alone, in contrast with the few special indulgences ('pauca') above: cp. 'actiones promiscas' 13. 26, 3.

3. **pacis**: cp. 'pacem' c. 33, 2.

**plane**, concessive, like 'sane' (c. 5, 4, etc.) or 'sine dubio' (1. 10, 3, etc.).

**accinctis**, 'in marching order,' i.e. without superfluities.

4. **uxorium levamentum**, 'the relaxation of a wife's society:' cp. the similar sentiment in 12. 5, 5, and the use of 'levaretur' 4. 58, 1: 'levamentum' is supplied again with 'quod.'

5. **at**, meeting an objection, as in 11. 24, 8, etc., 'at enim' 4. 40, 8, etc. The reasoning here must be taken as addressed to a very favourable audience.

7. **obnoxios**, 'liable:' cp. 'lubidini obnoxius' Sall. C. 52, 21.

11. **frustra . . . transferri**, 'it is useless to put other names on our own indolence:' a novelty of expression, as Nipp. notes, for 'alia vocabula ad nostram ignaviam transferri,' or 'nostrae ignaviae imponi.'

13. **porro**, 'besides:' cp. Agr. 15, 6; 31, 4; Juv. 3, 126, etc.

**unius aut alterius**, 'one or two:' so Agr. 15, 5; 40, 4, etc., and 'unus alterve' in c. 47, 2, etc. Nipp. notes that where a copulative particle is used, as 'unus alterque' (13. 46, 3), 'unus atque alter' (H. 5. 6, 4), 'unus et alter' (Dial. 21, 1), the meaning is distinctly 'more than one.'

15. **luxu**, dative: cp. c. 30, 4.

16. **praesenti custodia**, 'with the guardian on the spot:' cp. 'praesentia' 1. 30, 5, etc., 'praesenti opera' 14. 57, 2 (Lips., Halm).

17. **in modum discidii**, 'by a virtual divorce:' cp. 2. 86, 2.

**obliterentur**, 'become forgotten:' cp. 2. 83, 5, etc.

**sic . . . ut**, 'let them so deal with faults abroad as not to forget enormities

obviam irent iis quae alibi peccarentur, ut flagitiorum urbis
meminissent. addidit pauca Drusus de matrimonio suo; nam 11
principibus adeunda saepius longinqua imperii. quotiens divum 12
Augustum in occidentem atque orientem meavisse comite Livia!
se quoque in Illyricum profectum et, si ita conducat, alias ad 13
gentes iturum, haud semper aequo animo, si ab uxore carissima
et tot communium liberorum parente divelleretur. sic Caecinae
sententia elusa est.

**35.** Proximo senatus die Tiberius per literas, castigatis obli- 1
que patribus quod cuncta curarum ad principem reicerent, M'.
Lepidum et Iunium Blaesum nominavit, ex quis pro consule
Africae legeretur. tum audita amborum verba, intentius ex- 2
cusante se Lepido, cum valetudinem corporis, aetatem liberum,
nubilem filiam obtenderet, intellegereturque etiam quod silebat,
avunculum esse Seiani Blaesum atque eo praevalidum. respondit 3
Blaesus specie recusantis, sed neque eadem adseveratione, et con-
sensu adulantium haud adiutus est.

**36.** Exim promptum quod multorum intimis questibus tege- 1

at home.' 'Meminissent' answers to an imperfect, as 'memini' to a present.

3. **principibus**, 'members of the imperial family:' cp. c. 6, 5, etc.

5. **Illyricum**: cp. 1. 24, 1; 2. 44, 1; 3. 7, 1.

7. **tot.** Even his three children (cp. 2. 84, 1, etc.) were a family beyond that of Augustus or Tiberius, or of other members of the house, except Germanicus.

8. **elusa est**, 'was parried:' cp. 'refellere aut eludere' (c. 67, 2) and other similar uses, as 14. 41, 2; H. 1. 26, 3. The above reading is adopted by Halm, after Freinsh., for the MS. 'elusa . et,' which is retained by Orelli and Nipp., 'et' being placed at the beginning of the next chapter. The reading 'interfectusque . et,' in 6. 18, 1, has been similarly corrected, after Bezzenberger: it being supposed that the insertion of such a dot is intended by an old reviser of the MS. to indicate an error (Pfitzner, p. 18).

9. **Proximo senatus die**: so Halm and Nipp., after Freinsh., for the MS. 'proximi,' from comparison of 2. 33, 1; 50, 3. Tiberius here gives an answer to the recent decree (c. 32, 3).

10. **cuncta curarum.** On the genitive, see Introd. v. § 32 b.

**M'. Lepidum**: see on c. 32, 2.

11. **Iunium Blaesum**: see 1. 16, 2.

12. **intentius**: cp. 1. 52, 3, etc.

13. **aetatem**, i. e. that their youth made his presence still needful.

14. **nubilem filiam**, i. e. that he had to arrange a marriage for her. It is thought by Borghesi that she was the Lepida afterwards married to Galba (Suet. Galb. 5).

16. **adseveratione**: cp. 2. 31, 4.

17. **haud adiutus est**: so Halm; the MS. has 'haut iustus,' with a marginal correction 'auditus,' whence J. F. Gron. reads 'adiutus,' with the meaning that the flatterers of Blaesus supported his candidature. A correction departing less from the MS. text is that of Jac. Gron., adopted by Orelli and Nipp., 'haut iutus est;' this participle being found in the MS., and retained by most editors, in 14. 4, 1. Either this or the reading above given would mean that the flatterers of Blaesus unanimously refrained from supporting, or rather overruled, his insincere objections.

18. **promptum** = 'prolatum est:' cp. 'promere' in 1. 6, 8, etc.; here in contrast to 'quod . . . tegebatur,' 'a grievance stifled in the whispered murmurs of many.'

batur. incedebat enim deterrimo cuique licentia impune probra
et invidiam in bonos excitandi arrepta imagine Caesaris; liber-
tique etiam ac servi patrono vel domino, cum voces, cum manus
2 intentarent, ultro metuebantur. igitur C. Cestius senator dis-
seruit principes quidem instar deorum esse, sed neque a dis nisi
iustas supplicum preces audiri, neque quemquam in Capitolium
aliave urbis templa perfugere, ut eo subsidio ad flagitia utatur.
3 abolitas leges et funditus versas, ubi in foro, in limine curiae ab
Annia Rufilla, quam fraudis sub iudice damnavisset, probra sibi
et minae intendantur, neque ipse audeat ius experiri ob effigiem
4 imperatoris oppositam. haud dissimilia alii et quidam atrociora
circumstrepebant, precabanturque Drusum daret ultionis ex-
emplum, donec accitam convictamque attineri publica custodia
iussit.

1 **37.** Et Considius Aequus et Caelius Cursor equites Romani,

1. **incedebat,** 'was spreading:' cp. c. 26, 3; 2. 55, 5, etc.

**deterrimo cuique.** This dative is best taken with 'incedebat,' such a construction being common in other authors, and analogous to many usages of Tacitus; though he elsewhere (1. 16, 1, etc.) uses this verb with the accusative.

2. **arrepta imagine Caesaris.** Out of such general sanctity as attached to effigies of the ruling prince or 'divi Caesares' (see 1. 73, 2, and note there), appears to have grown a privilege of asylum (cp. c. 60, 2), such as was given to the temple of 'divus Iulius' by the triumvirs (Dio, 47. 19, 2). Hence Agrippina is advised 'celeberrimo fori effigiem divi Augusti amplecti' (4. 67, 6). The evidence on the subject is chiefly of later date (see Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 736, n. 3), and stories such as that of Philostratus (Vit. Apoll. 1, 15), that it was an offence to have beaten a slave who held a coin of Tiberius, seem incredible exaggerations; but that, as in the camp (12. 17, 3) and the provinces (c. 63, 6), so at Rome, some form of this privilege existed, is indisputable, however it might be disregarded by those who (as here Drusus; see also Suet. Aug. 17) had no fear of a charge of 'maiestas.' Probably many statues of gods or 'divi' were excepted by inscriptions such as have been found 'a servo non tangi.' See Lips. Exc. on this passage; Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 444. The explanation of Nipp., making the expression a metaphor = 'seizing the phantom of Caesar,' i. e. 'holding out an imaginary charge of maiestas,' does not seem adequate to the language or the facts, though such threats would seem to have formed part of the insults here complained of.

4. **ultro metuebantur,** i. e. not only had themselves nothing to fear, but even caused fear, by the threats above alluded to.

**C. Cestius,** probably the one mentioned as 'pater' in 6. 7, 3, who is thought to be the same as the consul of 6. 31, 1, and father of the legatus of Syria under Nero (H. 5. 10, 1). On the use of 'senator,' see 1. 75, 3.

7. **subsidio,** 'refuge,' as in c. 60, 2.

8. **versas**: cp. 2. 42, 4.

9. **damnavisset,** 'had caused to be convicted.' Such terms are used of a prosecutor (cp. 4. 42, 3; 66, 1), as are 'arcere' (c. 23, 2), 'concedere' (4. 20, 3) of the proposer of a sentence: such persons being said to do that which they cause or recommend to be done.

10. **ius experiri**: cp. c. 15, 4, etc. Here it apparently means to prosecute the new charge arising from these 'probra et minae:' cp. below, 'accitam convictamque.'

13. **attineri**: cp. 1. 35, 5, etc.

**publica custodia,** 'the common prison,' which was under charge of the consuls (c. 22, 5).

quod fictis maiestatis criminibus Magium Caecilianum praetorem
petivissent, auctore principe ac decreto senatus puniti. utrum- 2
que in laudem Drusi trahebatur: ab eo in urbe, inter coetus et
sermones hominum obversante, secreta patris mitigari. neque 3
luxus in iuvene adeo displicebat: huc potius intenderet, diem aedificationibus, noctem conviviis traheret, quam solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus maestam vigilantiam et malas curas exerceret.

**38.** Non enim Tiberius, non accusatores fatiscebant. et An- 1
charius Priscus Caesium Cordum pro consule Cretae postulaverat repetundis, addito maiestatis crimine, quod tum omnium accusa-
tionum complementum erat. Caesar Antistium Veterem e 2

2. **auctore principe ac decreto senatus.** Ablatives of different kinds are thus coupled in 1. 55, 1 (whence see Nipp.), and below, c. 39, 2.

**utrumque**, i. e. both the punishment of Annia Rufilla (c. 36, 4) and the missive from his father against these persons, presumed to have been procured by his influence.

4. **secreta patris mitigari**, 'the solitary plans of his father were made less cruel.' Nipp. compares 'secretum' in Agr. 22, 5; 39, 3; Pl. Pan. 53.

5. **huc . . . intenderet**, 'he had better give his mind to this:' cp. 2. 6, 1.

6. **aedificationibus.** To explain this we must suppose that Drusus, in contrast to the parsimony of Tiberius (6. 45, 1), had a passion for building, probably for the erection of such mansions as were a leading extravagance of the age (cp. c. 53, 5; Hor. Od. 3. 1, 33–37; Vell. 2. 33, 4, etc.), and spent his days in planning them. Other accounts mention no such passion, but describe him as addicted to pantomimes (Dio, 57. 14, 10); whence it has been thought that Tacitus may have written 'ludicris factionibus,' or may have invented such a plural as 'ludificationibus' or 'laetificationibus.' Lips. reads 'editionibus,' referring to the propensity noted in 1. 76, 5; but this word does not seem able to stand by itself for 'gladiatorial exhibitions,' nor 'agitationibus' (Urlichs) by itself for 'driving.'

**conviviis.** He is described as *μέθῃ κατακορής* (Dio, l. l.).

**traheret**: so Halm and Nipp., etc., after Lips. for the MS. 'trahere,' which is retained by Orelli, and might be taken as an explanatory infinitive following on 'huc.'

7. **malas**, 'pernicious,' illustrated by 'non enim,' etc. following.

9. **fatiscebant**, 'were becoming exhausted:' so in 6. 7, 6; 14. 24, 1; 16. 5, 1, etc. The sense is a metaphor from the literal meaning found in Vergil (G. 1, 180, etc.).

**et**: see note on 2. 50, 1.

**Ancharius Priscus.** Borghesi (v. 307) thinks from the surname that he was of municipal origin, akin to a T. Ancharius T. f. Pal(atina) Priscus, recorded in an inscription at Pisaurum (Pesaro). The 'gens Ancharia' at Rome has no cognomen.

10. **Cretae.** This island had been constituted into a province by Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus in 687, B. C. 67 (Vell. 2. 34). It was now combined with Cyrene (see c. 70, 1) into a senatorial province, governed by proconsuls of praetorian rank.

**postulaverat.** The result of this accusation is given in c. 70, 1. No abl. of this kind is used elsewhere with this verb except such a general term as 'crimine' (Apul. Met. 3. 6, 183; 7. 3, 450); and the nearest parallel is 'damnatus repetundis' (Suet. Oth. 2). Elsewhere the verb is used by Tacitus with gen. (as 1. 74, 1, etc.), and by Cicero with 'de,' which Nipp. inserts here.

12. **complementum**, 'the makeweight.' The same expression is cited from Cod. Th. 9. 24, 3. Elsewhere the word occurs only in Cic. Or. 69, 230 ('inania . . . verba . . . quasi complementa numerorum).' On the frequent addition of this charge to others, cp. 2. 50, 1; c. 22, 2; 67, 3, etc. A similar rhetorical exaggera-

primoribus Macedoniae, absolutum adulterii, increpitis iudicibus ad dicendam maiestatis causam retraxit, ut turbidum et Rhescuporidis consiliis permixtum, quae tempestate Cotye [fratre] inter-
3 fecto bellum adversus nos volverat. igitur aqua et igni interdictum reo, adpositumque ut teneretur insula neque Macedoniae
4 neque Thraeciae opportuna. nam Thraecia diviso imperio in Rhoemetalcen et liberos Cotyis, quis ob infantiam tutor erat Trebellienus Rufus, insolentia nostri discors agebat neque minus Rhoemetalcen quam Trebellienum incusans popularium iniurias
5 inultas sinere. Coelaletae Odrusaeque et Dii, validae nationes, arma cepere, ducibus diversis et paribus inter se per ignobili-
6 tatem; quae causa fuit ne in bellum atrox coalescerent. pars turbant praesentia, alii montem Haemum transgrediuntur, ut remotos populos concirent; plurimi ac maxime compositi regem

tion is seen in Pliny, who calls it (Pan. 42) 'unicum crimen eorum qui crimine vacarent.' See Introd. viii. p. 121.

**e primoribus Macedoniae.** It is very possible that he was a Macedonian who, through a patronus of that name, had received the civitas, and had thus the privilege of trial before the praetor's court at Rome (cp. 'increpitis iudicibus'); but, as such persons more commonly take only the gentile name of their patronus, like Julius Sacrovir, Orelli may be right in supposing him to be a Roman resident in Macedonia.

3. **consiliis permixtum**: cp. 'negotiis permixtos' 4. 40, 8, 'moribus . . . nostris mixti' 11. 24, 10.

**[fratre]**. This has generally been taken to be a blundering interpolation, as Tacitus would hardly have forgotten that he had made Cotys the nephew of Rhescuporis (2. 64, 3).

4. **bellum . . . volverat,** 'had contemplated war:' cp. 'animus . . . bellum volvebat' H. 1. 64, 2, 'volvens' 1. 64, 7, etc.

**aqua et igni interdictum reo**, the usual phrase (cp. c. 68, 2; 4. 21, 5; Cic. Phil. 6. 4, 10), varied by Tacitus to 'arceri' (c. 23, 2; 50, 6) or 'prohiberi' (16. 12, 1). This was the ordinary and proper penalty for 'maiestas' (cp. c. 50, 6).

5. **adpositum,** 'it was added.'

6. **opportuna,** 'convenient,' i.e. 'near:' cp. 'locorum opportuna' 4. 24, 2.

**diviso imperio, etc.**: cp. 2. 67, 4.

8. **insolentia nostri.** This genit. is here more distinctly objective than that of the personal pronoun in 2. 54, 3, etc., like 'insolens contumeliae' 6. 34, 1, etc, and similar instances in Cic., Caes., etc. The Roman rule so new to them was that of Trebellienus, whose position was that of a governor; the princes in whose name he ruled being not only minors, but absent in Rome (see note on 2. 67, 4).

**discors,** 'seditious:' cp. 1. 38, 1, etc.

9. **popularium iniurias . . . sinere.** The sentence is obscure from its brevity. Trebellienus is accused of oppressing the people, and Rhoemetalces of permitting it. The inf. is only here found with 'incusare,' only, apparently, in 4. 22, 4; 14. 18, 1, with 'accusare.'

10. **Coelaletae.** In Pl. N. H. 4. 11, 11, 41, this name is generally read 'Celaletae;' Ryck. would here read 'Coeletae,' adapted to the Κοιλητικὴ στρατηγία of Ptol. 3. 11, 9. In Dio, 54. 34, 6, we have mention of Σιαλέται, which some MSS. read in Pl. l.l.

**Dii.** The MS. has 'alii,' for which Lips. restores this name from Thuc. 2. 96, 2, where the Dii of Rhodope are joined with the Odrysae, the chief tribe ἐντὸς . . . Αἵμου καὶ . . . Ῥοδόπης.

11. **paribus . . . per ignobilitatem,** 'equally undistinguished,' so that none could assert a preeminence and combine all under him.

13. **praesentia,** 'their neighbourhood,' as opposed to 'remotos,' a sense of the word nearly similar to that in c. 34, 10, etc.

urbemque Philippopolim, a Macedone Philippo sitam, circumsidunt.

**39.** Quae ubi cognita P. Vellaeo (is proximum exercitum 1
praesidebat), alarios equites ac levis cohortium mittit in eos qui
praedabundi aut adsumendis auxiliis vagabantur, ipse robur
peditum ad exsolvendum obsidium ducit. simulque cuncta 2
prospere acta, caesis populatoribus et dissensione orta apud ob-
sidentes regisque opportuna eruptione et adventu legionis. neque 3
aciem aut proelium dici decuerit, in quo semermi ac palantes
trucidati sunt sine nostro sanguine.

**40.** Eodem anno Galliarum civitates ob magnitudinem aeris 1
alieni rebellionem coeptavere, cuius exstimulator acerrimus inter

1. **Philippopolim,** 'Philippopoli,' in the upper valley of the Hebrus (Maritza), still one of the most important towns of Roumelia.

**Philippo,** the father of Alexander the Great.

**sitam:** cp. 1. 39, 4. Tacitus nowhere else (cp. 2. 7, 3; 4. 55, 6; 6. 41, 2, etc.) uses this participle with the prep. and abl.: whence some would read 'positam' (see Halm, Comm. Crit.), on the analogy of 'posuere' in 12. 63, 1.

3. **P. Vellaeo.** He appears to have succeeded Flaccus in Moesia (see 2. 66, 3; also note on 1. 80, 1). He has been thought to have been the brother of the historian, and to have been praetor with him in 767, A. D. 14 (Vell. 2. 124, 4). Nipp. thinks him probably brother to C. Vellaeus Tutor (cos. suff. in 781, A. D. 28), who was one of the authors of the 'lex Iunia Vellaea.'

**exercitum praesidebat.** Tacitus uses the accus. with this verb in the Annals (4. 5, 1; 72, 6; 12. 14, 7; 29, 3), after Sall. (H. 2. 28 D, 34 K, 52 G), and analogously to his usage with many other verbs (Introd. v. § 12 c).

4. **alarios equites ac levis cohortium,** i. e. auxiliaries, as opposed to the legion mentioned below ('robur peditum'): cp. 12 31, 5. On the genitive, cp. Introd. v. 32 c.

5. **praedabundi,** those described (c. 38, 6) as 'turbantes praesentia.'

8. **regis . . . eruptione.** Mommsen cites (Eph. Epig. ii. p. 256) an inscription commemorating the preservation of Rhoemetalces, and of Pythodoris (see on 2. 56; 67), who had been besieged with him. 'Eruptione' and 'adventu' are instrumental ablatives, but are coupled to the abl. abs. preceding (cp. c. 37, 1).

9. **aciem aut proelium,** 'pitched battle or even conflict.'

**dici.** The inf. pass. after 'decet' is rare, but in Cic. Tusc. 1. 14, 32; Verg. Aen. 12, 797.

11. **Galliarum.** Of the four Gallic provinces, two are wholly unaffected by this rising, namely, the senatorial Gallia Narbonensis, and the Caesarian province of Aquitania in the south west: but the rebellion embraced, or was intended to embrace, considerable part of the other two; of which Gallia Lugdunensis included the country between the Loire, Seine, and Saone; and Belgica all between the Seine and Rhine, except what belonged to the 'Germaniae' (see on 1. 31, 2). To the former province belong the Aedui, also the Andecavi and Turoni (c. 41, 1); to the latter the Treveri.

**aeris alieni.** Such indebtedness was not uncommon among provincial states and individuals. Thus the Allobroges in Catiline's time were 'publice privatimque aere alieno obpressi' (Sall. Cat. 40). Besides the general causes mentioned by Nipp. (cp. also Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 400), such as financial mismanagement, official extortion, heavy tribute, and usurious interest, may probably here be added a special cause arising from the requisitions of Germanicus (cp. 2. 5, 3). The claims, however usurious, of Roman creditors against provincials, were backed by the whole force of government (e. g. the claim of Brutus on the Salaminians of Cyprus, Cic. Att. 5. 21; 6. 2); so that rebellion was the only refuge. Dio (62. 2, 1) assigns the usury of Seneca

2 Treveros Iulius Florus, apud Aeduos Iulius Sacrovir. nobilitas ambobus et maiorum bona facta, eoque Romana civitas olim 3 data, cum id rarum nec nisi virtuti pretium esset. ii secretis conloquiis, ferocissimo quoque adsumpto aut quibus ob egestatem ac metum ex flagitiis maxima peccandi necessitudo, com- 4 ponunt Florus Belgas, Sacrovir propiores Gallos concire. igitur per conciliabula et coetus seditiosa disserebant de continuatione tributorum, gravitate faenoris, saevitia ac superbia praesiden- 5 tium; et discordare militem audito Germanici exitio. egregium resumendae libertati tempus, si ipsi florentes, quam inops Italia,

as a cause of the British rebellion of 814, A. D. 61.

1. **Treveros**: the name is also written Treviri, which Nipp. here adopts. This people were among the chief Gallic tribes in Caesar's time and extended then from the Upper Meuse on both sides of the Mosel probably to the Rhine; but subsequently lost territory in that direction by German settlements. Their chief town was the 'Colonia,' or 'Augusta Treverorum' (H. 4. 62, etc.; Mela 3. 2), now Trier or Treves. Their country was chosen as the refuge of Agrippina (1. 41, 2), and they must have been then thought trustworthy. Afterwards they are frequently mentioned in the rebellion of Civilis. By the time of Tacitus (G. 28, 4) they counted themselves to be of German origin, which would show that they had become much mixed with German blood.

**Iulius Florus**. Florus is a family name at Rome, but no Iulius Florus is known before the one addressed by Horace (Ep. 1. 3, 1; 2. 2, 1), as a companion of Tiberius in the East in 734, B.C. 20. M. Seneca (Controv. 9. 25, 258) mentions one of the name as a pupil of Porcius Latro; and Quintilian (10. 3, 13) one who practised oratory in Gaul and became its foremost rhetorician. The two last, or perhaps all three, may be the same person, who may have been son of some Gaul who had received citizenship from Julius Caesar; and this rebel chief may represent a third generation.

**Aeduos**. This people, also called Haedui, and so prominent in the time of Julius Caesar, extended from the Loire to the Saone, having for their chief city Augustodunum (c. 43, 1), the modern Autun, identified with the Bibracte of Caesar (B. G. 1. 23, etc.). In spite of the national load of debt complained of, they are still called rich (c. 43, 1; 46, 4), and their nobles were subsequently the first of 'Gallia comata' to become senators of Rome (11. 25, 1).

**Iulius Sacrovir**. This name again, as also that of Iulius Indus (c. 42, 3), suggest a gift of citizenship by Julius or perhaps Augustus: the cognomen here may indicate that the first who bore it was a priest.

2. **bona facta**, i.e. services to Rome: cp. 'bona societas' (1. 57, 7).

3. **cum id rarum**. Citizenship had certainly been freely bestowed by the dictator Caesar, and after his death lavished (Cic. Phil. 1. 10, 23; 2. 36, 92) or sold (Id. 5. 4, 11) by Antonius in his name. Augustus however, according to Suetonius (Aug. 40), 'civitatem parcissime dedit,' and Tiberius probably followed his example: but in the time of Claudius, according to Dio (60. 17, 5), citizenship was purchased wholesale through Messalina and the freedmen, at first μεγάλων χρημάτων (cp. also Acts 22, 28), afterwards for a trifle.

5. **metum ex flagitiis**: cp. 'ex duce metus' (1. 29, 3), etc.

**componunt**, 'they agree.' The use is like that of συντίθεσθαι in Xen., etc. Nipp. notes the use of 'compositum' (4. 10, 2; 68, 3, etc.), and 'composito (or 'ex composito') facere aliquid' (H. 4. 66, 2). These phrases are frequent in Sallust and Livy.

7. **conciliabula et coetus**. Nipp. appears rightly to distinguish these, the former as public gatherings, markets, etc., utilised by the conspirators, the latter as meetings specially convened.

**continuatione**, 'perpetuity,' when relaxation might have been expected.

9. **discordare**, 'was mutinous:' cp. 1. 16, 3; also 'discors' 1. 38, 1, etc.

quam inbellis urbana plebes, nihil validum in exercitibus nisi quod externum, cogitarent.

**41.** Haud ferme ulla civitas intacta seminibus eius motus 1
fuit: sed erupere primi Andecavi ac Turoni. quorum Andecavos 2
Acilius Aviola legatus, excita cohorte quae Lugduni praesidium
agitabat, coercuit. Turoni legionario milite, quem Visellius Varro 3
inferioris Germaniae legatus miserat, oppressi eodem Aviola
duce et quibusdam Galliarum primoribus, qui tulere auxilium,
quo dissimularent defectionem magisque in tempore efferrent.
spectatus et Sacrovir intecto capite pugnam pro Romanis ciens, 4
ostentandae, ut ferebat, virtutis: sed captivi, ne incesseretur
telis, adgnoscendum se praebuisse arguebant. consultus super eo
Tiberius aspernatus est indicium aluitque dubitatione bellum.

**42.** Interim Florus insistere destinatis, pellicere alam equi- 1
tum, quae conscripta e Treveris militia disciplinaque nostra
habebatur, ut caesis negotiatoribus Romanis bellum inciperet;

1. **nihil in exercitibus.** Not only the auxiliary forces, but to a great extent the legions, had come to be recruited from the provinces (see Introd. vii. p. 108). The 'urbana plebes' had been drafted into the ranks on emergency (cp. 1. 31, 4); but the old Italian recruiting grounds of the Republic now, 'vix seminario exiguo militum relicto' (Liv. 6. 12, 3), barely served to keep up the praetorian and urban cohorts (4. 5, 5).

4. **Andecavi ac Turoni.** These answer to the provinces of Anjou, on the right of the lower Loire, and Touraine, on both sides of that river, above it. Their capitals, Angers and Tours, are known from the time of Ptolemy (2. 8, 8, 14) as Juliomagus and Caesarodunum.

5. **Acilius Aviola.** He was then legatus of Gallia Lugdunensis; and was afterwards cos. suff. (Marquardt, i. p. 122). He is thought by Nipp. not to be the consular of that name, mentioned by Val. Max. (1. 8, 12) and Pl. mai. as a signal instance of suspended animation; but the father of the consul of 807, A.D. 54 (12. 64, 1).

**cohorte.** The 'cohors xiii. urbana' (see on 4. 5, 5) is mentioned in inscriptions (e.g. Henzen 6808) as at Lugdunum (Lyons), then the capital, and the town from whence the province is named. In H. 1. 64, 6 the cohort there seems wrongly written as the eighteenth.

6. **legionario milite.** This force would appear from (c. 46, 3) to have been a single legionary cohort; but see note there.

**Visellius Varro.** C. Visellius C. f. C. n. Varro, cos. 765, A.D. 12, with Germanicus (Orell. Insc. 4717, etc.), father of the consul of 777, A.D. 24 (4. 19, 1). He must have succeeded to Caecina Severus (1. 31, 2, etc.).

9. **in tempore,** 'opportunely:' cp. 1. 19, 2.

**efferrent,** 'proclaim it:' cp. 6. 9. 1; also 'id quidem minime est opus . . . efferri' Ter. Ad. 4. 4, 17, 'effert animi motus' Hor. A. P. 111; and a similar use of ἐκφέρειν.

11. **ostentandae . . . virtutis:** see Introd. v. § 37 d.

13. **dubitatione,** 'indecision.' He allowed the insurrection to gather strength while he could not make up his mind how to deal with it.

14. **insistere:** cp. 2. 21, 3.

**alam equitum.** The 'ala Treverorum' is mentioned in 822, A.D. 69 (H. 2. 14, 2; 4. 55, 1), 'ala equitum Trevirorum' in a Rhenish inscription (see Orelli and Nipp.). The words here, 'quae . . . habebatur,' imply that it was, like so many other 'alae' and 'cohortes' mentioned in inscriptions, no less a standing force than the legions.

16. **negotiatoribus:** cp. 2. 62, 4, etc. These Roman capitalists in the provinces are constantly mentioned by Cicero (see Ernesti, clavis) and others. They would usually be of the equestrian order, and are

2 paucique equitum corrupti, plures in officio mansere. aliud vulgus obaeratorum aut clientium arma cepit; petebantque saltus quibus nomen Arduenna, cum legiones utroque ab exercitu, quas Visellius et C. Silius adversis itineribus obiecerant,
3 arcuerunt. praemissusque cum delecta manu Iulius Indus e civitate eadem, discors Floro et ob id navandae operae avidior,
4 inconditam multitudinem adhuc disiecit. Florus incertis latebris victores frustratus, postremo visis militibus qui effugia insederant, sua manu cecidit. isque Treverici tumultus finis.

1 **43.** Apud Aeduos maior moles exorta, quanto civitas opulentior et comprimendi procul praesidium. Augustodunum caput

generally distinguished both from 'publicani' and 'mercatores,' though they may sometimes have practised such professions in addition to their own, which was that of bankers or money lenders. Their activity in the old 'provincia Narbonensis' about the year 685, B.C. 69, is described by Cicero (pro Fonteio 1, 1) 'referta Gallia negotiatorum est, plena civium Romanorum. Nemo Gallorum sine cive Romano quidquam negotii gerit; nummus in Gallia nullus sine civium Romanorum tabulis commovetur.' See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 400.

1. **aliud vulgus**, etc, 'the rest, the common herd,' etc. The use of 'aliud' does not imply that the 'equites' also belonged to the 'vulgus;' several other instances being noted by Nipp., in which 'alius' stands thus, in apposition, with one only of the parties mentioned, as 'primores populorum . . . vulgus aliud armatorum' (Liv. 7. 8, 1). Such use of ἄλλος, as μήτηρ . . . οὐδ' ἄλλαι δμωαί (Hom. Od. 2, 412), is more common.

2. **obaeratorum aut clientium.** The debtors (who were virtual bondsmen), and clients of a Gallic noble are spoken of by Caesar, B. G. 6. 13, 2; 19, 4; 7. 40, 7, etc. Orgetorix collected a similar band to that here mentioned (Id. 1. 4, 2).

3. **Arduenna**, Ardennes. The name was that of a much larger district then than now, as Caesar (B. G. 5. 3, 4; 6. 29, 4) describes this forest as extending throughout the country of the Treveri, from the Rhine to the Remi and Nervii (the neighbourhood of Rheims and Bavay).

4. **C. Silius**: see 1. 31, 2, etc. He was still legate of Upper Germany.

5. **delecta manu**, called 'una ala' (c. 46, 3). Several inscriptions (see Introd. ii. p. 9) speak of an 'ala Indiana,' evidently raised by and called after this person; which is, no doubt, the force here meant.

6. **discors Floro.** For the dative, cp. 2. 56, 1.

7. **inconditam multitudinem adhuc.** Nipp. has here thought it necessary to place 'adhuc' before 'multitudinem,' but the 'incondita multitudo' may have been conceived as a single idea, such as might have been represented by one word ('a rabble'); or the inversion may be a mere affectation of style, as in 1. 67, 1. On the use of 'adhuc,' cp. c. 26, 1.

**incertis latebris**, repeated from H. 1. 81, 4, where it appears not to mean (as Ern. takes it here) 'often changed,' but 'untraceable hiding places.'

8. **visis militibus**: cp. 'visa caede' 2. 31, 3; H. 3. 62, 2. This passive use is chiefly poetical (as in Verg. Aen. 1, 326, etc.) and post-Augustan.

9. **tumultus**, used strictly of a Gallic, as also of an Italian rising: see Cic. Phil. 8. 1, 2.

10. **quanto.** On the abbreviation of the comparative sentence, see Introd. v. § 64.

**opulentior.** Nipp. takes this to mean 'more powerful' (cp. 'opulentia' 2. 60, 4), but their wealth is distinctly mentioned in c. 46, 4, and would be shown by their having raised so large a force and armed part of it so completely. Caesar (B. G. 6. 12, 9) describes them as being in his time 'longe principes' of all the Gauls, the Remi standing next to them.

11. **procul**, i.e. in the armies of the 'Germaniae.' The small forces employed against the Andecavi and Turoni (c. 41, 2) are here treated as of no account.

**Augustodunum**: see on c. 40, 1.

gentis armatis cohortibus Sacrovir occupaverat, nobilissima Galli-
arum subole liberalibus studiis ibi operata, ut eo pignore pa-
rentes propinquosque eorum adiungeret; simul arma occulte
fabricata iuventuti dispertit. quadraginta milia fuere, quinta sui 2
parte legionariis armis, ceteri cum venabulis et cultris quaeque
alia venantibus tela sunt. adduntur e servitiis gladiaturae desti- 3
nati, quibus more gentico continuum ferri tegimen: cruppel-
larios vocant, inferendis ictibus inhabiles, accipiendis inpenetra-
biles. augebantur eae copiae vicinarum civitatum ut nondum 4
aperta consensione, ita viritim promptis studiis, et certamine
ducum Romanorum, quos inter ambigebatur utroque bellum

1. **nobilissima Galliarum subole,** etc. The emendations proposed for the MS. reading 'nobilissimarum,' evidently an error of assimilation, are numerous. For a discussion of them, see Pfitzner, p. 19; Joh. Müller, Beitr. sect. 3. p. 33. Most editors adopt 'nobilissimam,' with a copulative particle; 'occupaverat' being taken by zeugma with 'subolem' in some such sense as that of 'copias occupavisse' (1. 10, 1). But it appears awkward to introduce a new object after an apparently completed sentence. This would be in favour of Bezzenberger's suggestion (followed by Nipp.) 'ut nobilissimam' (followed by 'et eo pignore'), or of the text above, adopted by Halm from Heins. and Haase: a still nearer approach might be made to the MS. by following Müller in resolving 'nobilissimarum' into 'nobilissima cum.' Some form of words must clearly have been used which would imply the acquisition of the parents and relations, rather than of the youths, to be the primary object.

2. **liberalibus studiis,** etc. This school, which must have been founded by Augustus, made Augustodunum the great Roman seminary in Gaul; as Massilia (Strab. 4. 1, 5, 181) was the centre of Greek culture. That the school still flourished till the end of the third century is attested by an oration of Eumenius, delivered when he was appointed by Constantius to preside over it, on its restoration after the sack of Augustodunum by barbarians (Panegyrici veteres, iii: see also Lips. Exc. on this passage).

**operata**: so 'conubiis arvisque novis operata iuventus' (Verg. Aen. 3, 136; cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 2, 29).

4. **quadraginta milia.** This must be taken as the sum of all the Aeduan forces. At the rising of Vercingetorix their first contingent, with that of those subordinate to them, was fixed at 10000 foot and 800 horse, to which was added a further levy of 35000 for the final crisis (Caes. B. G. 7, 64; 75).

**quinta parte sui legionariis armis,** 'to the extent of one fifth, armed as legionaries.' 'Legionariis armis' appears to be rightly explained by Joh. Müller and Nipp. as an abl. of quality, similar to 'ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris' Agr. 36, 1, etc. (cp. Introd. v. § 29); but there is an unusual harshness in its immediate proximity to another abl., that of the part referred to.

6. **gladiaturae,** found nowhere else in any author of repute. 'Lanistatura' occurs in the 'Tabulae Heraclaeenses,' and Dräger notes that several such forms are introduced in later Latin.

7. **gentico,** only found in 6. 33, 3; Tert. de An. 39.

**cruppellarii.** This Celtic word occurs nowhere else. The same men are called 'ferrati' in c. 45, 3, and such a kind of unwieldy plate armour ('cataphracta') is described as worn by Sarmatian chiefs in H. 1. 79, 5. The gladiators called 'mirmillones' were supposed to represent the usual Gaulish military equipment.

8. **accipiendis inpenetrabiles.** No other instance of this construction appears to be found; but an ordinary dative ('inpenetrabilis irae') in Sil. 7, 561.

9. **ut . . . ita**: cp. 1. 12, 1, etc.

10. **viritim,** 'of individuals.' Nipp. notes that in 11. 24, 2 'singuli viritim' stand in opposition to 'terrae, gentes;' in Bell. Al. 65, 4 'et viritim et publice' are contrasted: cp. 'ipsum viritim' ('himself individually') Vell. 2. 16, 3.

sibi poscente. mox Varro invalidus senecta vigenti Silio concessit.

1 **44.** At Romae non Treveros modo et Aeduos, sed quattuor
et sexaginta Galliarum civitates descivisse, adsumptos in so-
cietatem Germanos, dubias Hispanias, cuncta, ut mos famae, in
2 maius credita. optumus quisque rei publicae cura maerebat:
multi odio praesentium et cupidine mutationis suis quoque peri-
culis laetabantur, increpabantque Tiberium, quod in tanto rerum
3 motu libellis accusatorum insumeret operam. an Sacrovirum
maiestatis crimine reum in senatu fore? extitisse tandem viros
4 qui cruentas epistulas armis cohiberent. miseram pacem vel
bello bene mutari. tanto inpensius in securitatem conpositus,
neque loco neque vultu mutato, sed ut solitum per illos dies
egit, altitudine animi, an conpererat modica esse et vulgatis
leviora.

1 **45.** Interim Silius cum legionibus duabus incedens, praemissa
auxiliari manu vastat Sequanorum pagos, qui finium extremi et
2 Aeduis contermini sociique in armis erant. mox Augustodunum
petit propero agmine, certantibus inter se signiferis, fremente
etiam gregario milite, ne suetam requiem, ne spatia noctium
opperiretur: viderent modo adversos et aspicerentur; id satis

3. **quattuor et sexaginta**, 'the sixty-four,' i. e. all the Gallic tribes. This number agrees with that of Ptolemy (2. 7–9), who makes seventeen ἔθνη in Aquitania, twenty-five in Lugdunensis, and twenty-two in Belgica; the old 'Provincia Narbonensis' forming no part of this reckoning. Strabo (4. 3, 2, 192) speaks of an altar at Lugdunum inscribed with the names of sixty ἔθνη, probably a round number. See Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 117. Nipp. notes that the greater only are reckoned, not the lesser tribes under their 'clientela.'

6. **credita**: from this is supplied 'creditum' with 'descivisse,' etc.

9. **libellis**, 'informations:' cp. 2. 29, 3.

**an Sacrovirum.** The words are thus read in the MS. but with a mark of omission between them, and 'et' written above in a later hand. Orelli receives this into the text.

11. **cruentas epistulas**. The only missive mentioned that could answer to this description would be that against Antistius Vetus (c. 38, 2): the others from Tiberius during this absence had dealt with other matters, or had even punished informers (c. 37, 1); so that language suitable to his later years seems here inserted.

12. **inpensius in securitatem conpositus**, 'with a more studied air of unconcern:' so 'in dissimulationem sui compositus' 13. 25, 1; cp. 1. 7, 2; 2. 34, 6; 4. 31, 4, etc.

14. **altitudine animi.** The application of this term to Domitian (H. 4. 86, 3), and the explicit reference of 'altitudo ingenii incredibilis' to the dissimulation of Sulla (Sall. Jug. 95, 3), suggest that here also it means 'profound reserve.' βαθύτης, in Cic. Att. 4. 6, 3, may also probably be thus explained.

17. **Sequanorum**. This people, belonging to Gallia Belgica, occupied a tract answering on the whole to the province of Franche Comté between the Jura and the Saone, their chief town being Vesontio (Besançon). They are constantly mentioned by Caesar, in whose day they reached to the Rhine (B. G. 1. 1, 4).

**pagos**: cp. 1. 56, 5.

**finium**, sc. 'Galliae.' Their country lay between the province of Upper Germany and the Aedui.

21. **adversos**, 'face to face:' 'videre et adspici' are joined in Agr. 45, 2.

ad victoriam. duodecimum apud lapidem Sacrovir copiaeque 3
patentibus locis apparuere. in fronte statuerat ferratos, in cornibus cohortes, a tergo semermos. ipse inter primores equo in-
signi adire, memorare veteres Gallorum glorias quaeque Romanis 4
adversa intulissent; quam decora victoribus libertas, quanto intolerantior servitus iterum victis.

**46.** Non diu haec nec apud laetos: etenim propinquabat le- 1
gionum acies, inconditique ac militiae nescii oppidani neque oculis
neque auribus satis conpetebant. contra Silius, etsi praesumpta 2
spes hortandi causas exemerat, clamitabat tamen, pudendum ipsis quod Germaniarum victores adversum Gallos tamquam in
hostem ducerentur. 'una nuper cohors rebellem Turonum, una 3
ala Treverum, paucae huius ipsius exercitus turmae profligavere
Sequanos. quanto pecunia dites et voluptatibus opulentos, tanto 4
magis inbelles Aeduos evincite et fugientibus consulite.' ingens 5

1. **duodecimum**, i.e. from Augustodunum.

2. **ferratos**, the 'cruppellarii' (c. 43, 3): cp. 'agmina . . . ferrata' Hor. Od. 4. 14, 30.

3. **cohortes**, those who had 'legionaria arma' (c. 43, 2).

**primores.** In Liv. 1. 1, 7 ('processisse Latinum inter primores'), and Id. 3. 18, 8 ('inter primores pugnam ciens'), the word is best taken to mean 'the front rank;' and such may probably be the meaning here; but Nipp. takes the expression in each instance to mean 'surrounded by the princes.'

4. **adire**, sc. 'singulos:' cp. the description of Arminius (2. 45, 4).

**glorias.** Nipp. notes that the glory of each success is separately thought of: cp. 'infamias' 4. 33, 4, 'gloriae triumphique' Sall. Jug. 41, 7.

5. **intolerantior**, here and in 11. 10, 5 ('subiectis intolerantior'), this word is generally explained to mean 'more intolerable.' Gellius also (19. 7, 10) thought that Laevius so used 'curis intolerantibus,' and apparently (13. 8, 5) himself so used 'nihil . . . intolerantius.' Nipp. however thinks that Gellius misunderstood Laevius, and that all good authors take the word actively. He would here explain it to mean a slavery more intolerant, more arbitrary on the master's part.

9. **conpetebant**, 'were competent neither as regards their eyes nor ears,' i. e. could use neither rightly. The expression is closely repeated from H. 3. 73, 1, and appears taken from Sallust (see Introd. v. § 97, 1). Livy (22. 5, 3) has 'ut vix . . . conpeteret animus;' also (5. 42, 3) 'ne auribus quidem atque oculis satis constare poterant.'

**praesumpta spes.** This expression, found also in Sil. 7, 582, seems to contain a reminiscence of the Vergilian 'spe praesumite bellum' (Aen. 11, 18): cp. also 'praesumpta suspicio' (2. 73, 6).

11. **Germaniarum**: see note on 2. 73, 3.

12. **una . . . cohors.** The 'legionarius miles' of c. 41, 3 may well have been a single cohort; but it is very probable that the Andecavi and Turoni are rhetorically named together, and that the cohort employed against the former is here meant.

**una ala**: cp. c. 42, 3.

13. **paucae . . . turmae**, the 'auxiliaris manus' of c. 45, 1.

14. **dites . . . inbelles.** These words are used of the Gauls in general in 11. 18, 1, and describe the effect of long peace on them.

15. **evincite.** Halm and Orelli here retain the MS. text. The verb may have the force of 'devinco;' the participle being often in Tacitus (e.g. 4. 57, 5, etc.), as in Verg., Ov., etc., equivalent to 'victus' or 'devictus.' Others, as Nipp., here insert 'esse' before 'Aeduos' or 'evincite,' and translate 'prove them to be;' as 'ratio esse evincet' Hor. Sat. 2. 3, 250.

**consulite** = 'parcite' (cp. c. 16, 5), i.e. 'make them prisoners.' The difference

ad ea clamor, et circumfudit eques frontemque pedites invasere;
6 nec cunctatum apud latera. paulum morae attulere ferrati
restantibus lamminis adversum pila et gladios; set miles correptis
securibus et dolabris, ut si murum perrumperet, caedere tegmina
et corpora; quidam trudibus aut furcis inertem molem prosternere, iacentesque nullo ad resurgendum nisu quasi exanimes
7 linquebantur. Sacrovir primo Augustodunum, dein metu de-
ditionis in villam propinquam cum fidissimis pergit. illic sua
manu, reliqui mutuis ictibus occidere: incensa super villa omnes
cremavit.

1 **47.** Tum demum Tiberius ortum patratumque bellum senatu
scripsit; neque dempsit aut addidit vero, sed fide ac virtute
2 legatos, se consiliis superfuisse. simul causas, cur non ipse, non
Drusus profecti ad id bellum forent, adiunxit, magnitudinem
imperii extollens, neque decorum principibus, si una alterave
3 civitas turbet . . . omissa urbe, unde in omnia regimen. nunc quia
non metu ducatur, iturum, ut praesentia spectaret componeret-

between such a command and that of Germanicus (2. 21, 3) may be due partly, as Nipp. thinks, to contempt for such an enemy, and to the absence of such vindictiveness as was felt towards the Germans; partly, perhaps, also to the covetousness by which Silius was held to have marred his victory (4. 19, 4).

1. **circumfudit**, 'spread round the flanks.' Elsewhere, in this sense, the verb takes an accusative, as in 12. 38, 3; 13. 40, 2; but the intransitive use of such verbs is common in Tacitus (Introd. v. § 41).

**eques . . . pedites.** On the interchange of sing. and pl. see Introd. v. § 2.

2. **cunctatum**, nowhere else passively used, for 'dubitatum' (which stands thus in 2. 80, 7; 12. 69, 3). Nipp. justifies it by the passive use of many other deponent participles, and notes the archaic form 'cuncto.' Wölfflin (see Halm, Comm. Crit.) suggests 'diu certatum.' The first hand in the MS. has 'tunctatum.'

3. **restantibus** = 'resistentibus;' an apparently archaic use (Enn. and Lucr. 2, 450), followed by Sall. (H. 1. 75 D, 74 K, 100 G) and often by Livy.

5. **trudibus**, from Verg. (Aen. 5, 208); who, as Nipp. thinks, took the word from the language of common life.

6. **nullo . . . nisu**, 'without an effort.' Their armour deprived them of all power to rise.

9. **super**: cp. 1. 68, 2. Livy (21. 14, 4) has 'domos super seipsos concremaverunt.'

11. **patratum**: cp. 2. 26, 2.

**senatu**, dative: cp. c. 30, 4, etc. Halm, Orelli, and Nipp., read this as nearest to the MS. 'senatus' (the final 's' being repeated from 'scripsit'); others adopt the marginal correction 'senatui.'

12. **dempsit**, sc. 'quidquam.'

13. **superfuisse**, 'had got the better' = περιγενέσθαι. Nipp. notes that this verb expresses preeminence in Agr. 44, 2 'gratia oris supererat;' also in Cic. ap. Gell. 1. 22, 7 'maioribus . . . Tubero . . . doctrina etiam superfuit.' The whole chapter in Gell. is a curious disquisition on this word.

15. **principibus**, here used to include Drusus: cp. c. 34, 11.

16. **turbet**, absol. as 4. 1, 1; Ter., etc.

**omissa urbe**: cp. 'omittere caput rerum' 1. 47, 1. Most editors mark a 'lacuna' before 'omissa' (as Halm and Nipp.), or (as Orelli) after 'regimen,' where the dot or point in the MS. (Pfitzner, p. 20) may be taken to indicate a gap. But the explanation of Pichena, by which 'proficisci' is supplied from above, is capable of justification by the nearness and prominence in the sentence of 'profecti forent.'

17. **metu**, 'a state of panic:' cp. 1. 40, 1.

que. decrevere patres vota pro reditu eius supplicationesque et
alia decora. solus Dolabella Cornelius, dum anteire ceteros 4
parat, absurdam in adulationem progressus, censuit ut ovans
e Campania urbem introiret. igitur secutae Caesaris literae,
quibus se non tam vacuum gloria praedicabat, ut post ferocis- 5
simas gentes perdomitas, tot receptos in iuventa aut spretos
triumphos, iam senior peregrinationis suburbanae inane prae-
mium peteret.

**48.** Sub idem tempus, ut mors Sulpicii Quirini publicis exse- 1
quiis frequentaretur, petivit a senatu. nihil ad veterem et patri- 2
ciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius pertinuit, ortus apud muni-
cipium Lanuvium: sed impiger militiae et acribus ministeriis
consulatum sub divo Augusto, mox expugnatis per Ciliciam

**praesentia**: cp. 1. 30, 5, etc.

1. **decrevere . . . decora**: cp. 'decora . . . tribui' c. 5, 4. The word hardly seems used in contrast (as Doed. thinks) to the 'indecora adulatio' of Dolabella.

2. **Dolabella Cornelius.** P. Cornelius P. f. P. n. Dolabella was cos. in 763, A. D. 10 (C. I. L. i. p. 550): a Dalmatian inscription (Orelli 2365) records him as one of the 'septemviri epulones' and 'sodales Titii,' as well as legatus of Augustus and Tiberius (in 767, A. D. 14) in that province (cp. Vell. 2. 125, 5). He was proconsul of Africa in 777, A. D. 24 (4. 23, 2). Some other inscriptions referring to him are cited by Nipp., who thinks him to have been father of the friend of Galba (H. 1. 88, 1). Other extravagant 'sententiae' proposed by him are given in c. 69, 1; 11. 22, 3: in 4. 66. 2 he is mentioned as going out of his way to accuse a near relation.

5. **ferocissimas gentes perdomitas**, etc. See Introd. viii. pp. 113–115. Velleius (2. 122, 1) alleges, that although he was contented with three triumphs, he could have claimed seven.

9. **Sulpicii Quirini**: see c. 22, 1; 2. 30, 4.

**publicis exsequiis.** It was the opinion of Lipsius that any 'indictivum funus' (Festus, etc.), i. e. any to which all were summoned by public notice, might be called 'publicum;' but the term is evidently restricted to the funerals of those who, for their services, were buried at the public cost. Thus Velleius (2. 62, 4) says, 'Pansae atque Hirti corpora publica sepultura honorata;' and Valerius Maximus (5. 2, 10), 'praetore funus Hirtio et Pansae iussu senatus locante.' On the question whether the same is meant by 'censorium funus,' see 4. 15, 3.

10. **frequentaretur**, 'should be celebrated.' Tacitus has 'celebrare mortem' (6. 27, 2); and 'frequento' has the general force of 'celebro,' and may be predicated even of a single person (14. 4, 1, etc.); but either verb would be more properly used of the funeral than of the death.

11. **familiam**, for 'gentem;' cp. 2. 52, 8, etc. This gens, though chiefly patrician, had noble families of both orders, the 'Camerini, Galbae, Rufi,' etc.

12. **impiger.** The relative genitive with this word, found only here and H. 1. 87, 4, is analogous to many others (Introd. v. § 33, d $\gamma$).

**acribus ministeriis.** Certain successes over the Garamantes and Marmaridae of Libya, ascribed to Quirinius by Florus (2. 31 = 4. 41), are assigned by Mommsen (Comm. on Mon. Anc. App. p. 119, 120) to a time before his consulship, when he may have been praetorian proconsul of Cyrene.

13. **consulatum**, in 742, B. C. 12 (Dio, 54. 28, 2).

**mox**, etc. Cilicia belonged to Syria (cp. 2. 78, 3, etc.); so that these victories would have been gained by him during his tenure of that province, with which a vexed question of chronology (St. Luke 2. 2, etc.) is involved. It has been most fully investigated by Mommsen (l. l. pp. 111–125), who assigns to Quirinius an inscription, now nameless, which would make him twice legatus of Syria. He is

Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphi adeptus, datusque
3 rector Gaio Caesari Armeniam optinenti. Tiberium quoque
Rhodi agentem coluerat: quod tunc patefecit in senatu, laudatis
in se officiis et incusato M. Lollio, quem auctorem Gaio Caesari
4 pravitatis et discordiarum arguebat. sed ceteris haud laeta
memoria Quirini erat ob intenta, ut memoravi, Lepidae pericula
sordidamque et praepotentem senectam.

1 **49.** Fine anni Clutorium Priscum equitem Romanum, post

known from Josephus (Ant. 17. 13, 5; 18. 1, 1; 2, 1) to have held this province in 759, A. D. 6. But these Cilician victories appear from the order of mention to have preceded his service with Gaius Caesar in the east; and are thus to be assigned to his first tenure of Syria, which Mommsen places in 751, 752, B. C. 3, 2.

**per Ciliciam.** Haupt's suggestion 'super' is adopted by Nipp. and supported by Mommsen (l. l. p. 121). The Homonadenses were not strictly within Cilicia, but in Pisidia or Isauria, though reckoned as a Cilician race (cp. Strab. 12. 6, 5, 569; Plin. N. H. 5. 27, 23, 94). The MS. text would imply, and Tacitus may have thought, that they were spread over parts of Cilicia itself. Mommsen suggests, but appears rightly to disapprove of, another interpretation, by which 'per' might mean 'passing through,' as 'per circum' 1. 15, 4.

1. **Homonadensium,** restored, for the MS. 'Onomadensium,' from Strabo (l. l.), who says that Quirinius starved them into submission, and distributed 4000 of them as colonists in the vicinity, leaving none behind in the prime of life. He describes them as mere cave dwellers; but Pliny (l. l.) speaks of a town, Omana, and forty-four 'castella.'

**datusque rector.** Mommsen (l. l. p. 123) dates this appointment in 755, A. D. 2, after the death of Lollius, who is mentioned below. Gaius could then be strictly spoken of as 'Armeniam optinens,' being actually in military possession of that country: cp. 'Armenios ... optinebat' 12. 44, 2.

2. **Tiberium quoque.** I have followed Mommsen in the punctuation of this passage. The return of Tiberius to Rome belongs to the same year as the death of Lollius; so that Quirinius, if not till that year sent to the east, is hardly likely to have found him still at Rhodes. The mutilated inscription already referred to would make Quirinius to have been at some time proconsul of Asia, probably between 747–751, B. C. 7–3; in which capacity he may have paid to Tiberius the respect here mentioned.

4. **M. Lollio.** M. Lollius M. f. was in 729, B. C. 25, the first governor of Galatia (Eutrop. 7, 10), consul in 733, B. C. 21, legatus in Germany in 738, B. C. 16 (1. 10, 3). His antipathy to Tiberius is mentioned by Suetonius (Tib. 12); and his character is drawn in the blackest colours not only, as might be expected, by Velleius (2. 102, 1), but also by Pliny (N. H. 9. 35, 58, 118), who states that he committed suicide from poison after Gaius had renounced his friendship for his perfidy and corruption. Horace, on the other hand, praises him highly (Od. 4. 9, 34–44).

5. **pravitatis et discordiarum,** 'perverseness and animosity;' or perhaps, as a hendiadys, 'perverse animosity.' The same words are coupled in Liv. 4. 26, 6.

6. **ut memoravi**: see c. 22, 3.

7. **praepotentem.** His childlessness (l. l.) increased his influence (cp. c. 25, 2).

8. **Clutorium.** This, the MS. text, has been written in many editions as 'C. Lutorium,' to agree with Dio (57. 20, 3), who gives the full name Gaius Lutorius Priscus. But it would be unusual for Tacitus, in speaking of a somewhat obscure person, to mention him in these two chapters twice by three and twice by two names. Ritter, who noted this, and in his former edition omitted 'C' throughout, now follows the MS. form, which Nipp. supports by inscriptions (Rhein. Mus. xvi. 291), showing that 'Clutorius' is a Roman name. The name appears also to occur in Pl. N. H. 7. 39, 40, 129, where the MSS. have 'utorio' and 'sutorio.'

celebre carmen, quo Germanici suprema defleverat, pecunia do-
natum a Caesare, corripuit delator, obiectans aegro Druso com-
posuisse quod, si extinctus foret, maiore praemio vulgaretur. id 2
Clutorius in domo P. Petronii, socru eius Vitellia coram multis-
que inlustribus feminis, per vaniloquentiam iecerat. ut delator 3
extitit, ceteris ad dicendum testimonium exterritis, sola Vitellia 4
nihil se audivisse adseveravit. sed arguentibus ad perniciem
plus fidei fuit, sententiaque Haterii Agrippae consulis designati
indictum reo ultimum supplicium.

**50**. Contra M'. Lepidus in hunc modum exorsus est: 'si 1
patres conscripti, unum id spectamus, quam nefaria voce Clu-
torius Priscus mentem suam et aures hominum polluerit, neque
carcer neque laqueus, ne serviles quidem cruciatus in eum suffe-

1. **pecunia donatum.** These 'honoraria' from the Caesars to men of letters seem to have been common. New-fledged poets are bidden to weep for the death of Claudius (Sen. Lud. 12, v. 56); and such liberality was the sole hope of struggling literature in Juvenal's time (7, 1–21).

2. **corripuit**: cp. 2. 28, 4.

**composuisse**, sc. 'eum,' 'that he had written another, which' etc.

3. **maiore praemio vulgaretur**, 'might be published and more liberally rewarded.' The charge would imply that he had speculated on the death of Drusus, which would lead to an inference that he had desired it; as in the case of those who consulted astrologers 'in domum Caesaris' (c. 22, 2, etc.).

4. **P. Petronii**, mentioned again in 6. 45, 4, father of P. Petronius. Turpilianus, distinguished under Nero (14. 29, 1, etc.), and of the first wife of Vitellius (H. 2. 64, 1). Inscriptions (see Nipp.) show him to have been augur, cos. suff. in 772, A.D. 19, and proconsul of Asia for the unusual period of six years (Introd. vii. p. 96); after which he was legatus of Syria under Gaius (Jos. Ant. 18. 8, 2, etc.); in which capacity he is praised by Philo (Leg. ad Gai. 1022, foll.). He was also a friend of Claudius, during whose rule he died (Sen. Lud. 14).

**Vitellia.** Nipp. thinks her to have been great-aunt of the emperor Vitellius.

5. **iecerat.** 'Vaniloquentia,' found once in Plaut. and once in Liv., is elsewhere used by Tacitus only in 6. 31, 2; from which passage 'iecerat' has been here adopted by Ritt., Halm, and Nipp. for the MS. 'legerat.' Clutorius is more likely to have talked of such a poem than actually to have recited it, and would have more strictly shown 'vaniloquentia' in doing so; nor is it easy to see how Vitellia could have pretented not to have heard what had been formally recited in her presence; though a similar plea is advanced in respect of a poem read at a large banquet (14. 48, 4). Such an expression as 'iacere carmen' may be compared to 'veteres . . . terminos . . . iaciebat' (6. 31, 2), and the verb may in both places have a force approaching that of 'iactare' (as in c. 66, 2). He may have mentioned his poem, boasted of it, and quoted bits of it.

6. **ad dicendum . . . exterritis**: cp. 2. 62, 3.

7. **arguentibus ad perniciem**, 'evidence supporting the charge to his destruction.'

8. **Haterii Agrippae**: see on 1. 77, 3. On the vote of the cos. design., see c. 22, 6.

9. **ultimum**: so 'summum supplicium' (6. 3, 5), 'ultima poena' (Liv. 3. 58). This was beyond the proper sentence, even for 'maiestas' (see c. 50, 6).

10. **M'. Lepidus**: see on c. 32, 2. This speech illustrates the discretion ('temperamentum') ascribed to him in 4. 20, 4.

11. **nefaria.** The poem must have been complimentary; but any language treating Drusus as already dead would be ominous, and therefore shocking.

13. **carcer . . . laqueus.** These are parts of the same punishment; the prison being the 'Tullianum' or 'well-house' (see Burn, p. 81), in which criminals were strangled (cp. 4. 29, 2; 5. 9, 2; 6. 40, 1; 11. 2, 5; and the description in Sall.

2 cerint. sin flagitia et facinora sine modo sunt, suppliciis ac
remediis principis moderatio maiorumque et vestra exempla
temperant, et vana a scelestis, dicta a maleficiis differunt, est
locus sententiae, per quam neque huic delictum impune sit et
3 nos clementiae simul ac severitatis non paeniteat. saepe audivi
principem nostrum conquerentem, si quis sumpta morte miseri-
4 cordiam eius praevenisset. vita Clutorii in integro sit, qui neque
servatus in periculum rei publicae neque interfectus in exemplum
5 ibit. studia illi, ut plena vaecordiae, ita inania et fluxa sunt;
nec quicquam grave ac serium ex eo metuas, qui suorum ipse
flagitiorum proditor non virorum animis sed muliercularum ad-
6 repit. cedat tamen urbe et bonis amissis aqua et igni arceatur:
quod perinde censeo ac si lege maiestatis teneretur.'

1 **51.** Solus Lepido Rubellius Blandus e consularibus adsensit:
ceteri sententiam Agrippae secuti, ductusque in carcerem Priscus
2 ac statim exanimatus. id Tiberius solitis sibi ambagibus apud
senatum incusavit, cum extolleret pietatem quamvis modicas
principis iniurias acriter ulciscentium, deprecaretur tam prae-
cipitis verborum poenas; laudaret Lepidum, neque Agrippam
3 argueret. igitur factum senatus consultum, ne decreta patrum

Cat. 55). It still exists as the lowest portion of the Mamertine prison near the Capitol.

**serviles . . . cruciatus**, the rack and the cross.

1. **sin flagitia**, etc. The apodosis does not begin till 'est locus,' and the protasis is to be taken as if it had been divided, as 'sin flagitia quidem . . . suppliciis vero,' etc. 'If, though outrage and crime are unlimited, the prince's clemency and our precedents yet limit penalties and redress, and lines are drawn between folly and wickedness, between word and deed.'

4. **impune**: cp. 1. 72, 3.

5. **audivi**: cp. c. 16. 3, 2; 2. 31, 4.

7. **in integro**, 'yet untouched;' cp. 15. 2, 4; H. 3. 2, 9.

**qui neque**, etc., 'whose survival will not be in its issue dangerous to the state, nor his execution exemplary;' i.e. he is too insignificant for either result: cp. 'voluptates ituras in dolorem' Sen. Ep. 121, 4; 'in scelus it' Luc. 10, 343.

9. **studia**, so used of compositions in 16. 4, 2.

**fluxa**, used of the honours decreed to Poppaea (15. 23, 4): cp. 'fluxa mens' (6. 38, 2). Here it is used of 'fugitive pieces' that would soon be forgotten.

11. **animis . . . adrepit**: cp. 1. 74, 2.

13. **quod perinde**, etc., 'this I propose, as if he were guilty under the law of treason.' We gather from 4. 34, 3, that 'maiestas' was strictly applicable only to what touched the princeps and his parent; but it does not appear that any such limitation was observed in practice. Again, loss of goods and 'exilium' were at this time the recognised penalties; though that of death was often inflicted, especially in the later years of Tiberius, and is subsequently recognised as usual: cp. Paul. Sent. Rec. v. 29, 1 'antea in perpetuum aqua et igni interdicebatur; nunc vero humiliores bestiis obiciuntur vel vivi exuruntur, honestiores capite puniuntur.'

**teneretur**: cp. 2. 50, 1.

14. **Rubellius Blandus**: see c. 23, 2.

16. **ambagibus**, 'circumlocution.' Dio (57. 20, 4) assigns as the motive for his displeasure, that punishment of death had been inflicted without his leave: yet he is generally represented as only too ready to devolve such responsibilities.

ante diem *decimum* ad aerarium deferrentur idque vitae spatium
damnatis prorogaretur. sed non senatui libertas ad paeniten- 4
dum erat, neque Tiberius interiectu temporis mitigabatur.

52. C. Sulpicius D. Haterius consules sequuntur, inturbidus 1
externis rebus annus, domi suspecta severitate adversum luxum,
qui inmensum proruperat ad cuncta quis pecunia prodigitur.
sed alia sumptuum, quamvis graviora, dissimulatis plerumque 2
pretiis occultabantur; ventris et ganeae paratus adsiduis ser-
monibus vulgati fecerant curam, ne princeps antiquae parsimo-
niae durius adverteret. nam incipiente C. Bibulo ceteri quoque 3
aediles disseruerant, sperni sumptuariam legem vetitaque uten-
silium pretia augeri in dies, nec mediocribus remediis sisti posse.
et consulti patres integrum id negotium ad principem distulerant.

1. **ante diem decimum.** The latter word, absent from the MS., must evidently have stood in the original text before or after 'diem,' as appears from Suet. Tib. 75; Dio, l. l. Pfitzner (p. 97) shows that, according to Quint. Decl. 313, the interval appears later to have been extended to thirty days.

**ad aerarium.** The registration of a decree of the senate in the 'aerarium' was essential to its validity: cp. 13. 28, 3; Livy, 39. 4, 8; Suet. Jul. 28.

2. **non . . . libertas.** On the prerogative of pardon, now vested in Caesar, see Introd. vi. p. 73. It is evident, here and elsewhere, that the senate had still liberty of choice in the original sentence.

3. **interiectu.** The use of this word of an interval of time, in the abl., is especially Tacitean (cp. 3. 67, 4; 6. 39, 2), and is copied once by Aur. Vict.

4. **C. Sulpicius**, the same person who is called 'C. Galba' in 6. 40, 3, the elder brother of the emperor Galba (Suet. Galb. 3). On the other consul, see c. 49, 4.

**inturbidus . . . annus.** The construction is here somewhat strained for conciseness of expression; 'annus' stands in apposition to 'consules,' as 'consules' to 'annum' in Liv. 4. 30, 12, and the ablatives follow as if the words had been 'turbidus non externis rebus sed suspecta severitate.' 'Inturbidus' is wholly a Tacitean word, used passively here and in 14. 22, 5; actively in H. 3. 39, 4.

5. **suspecta severitate**, 'through an apprehension of strict measures:' cp. the use of 'suspectus' with 'insidiae' (4. 70, 7), 'proditio' (12. 14, 3), 'iracundia' (H. 1. 10, 2), etc.

6. **prodigitur**: cp. H. 1. 20, 3; the verb had been used in this sense by Sallust (oratio Lepidi 17), and before him by Plautus.

7. **alia sumptuum.** On the genitive, cp. Introd. v. § 32 b.

8. **ganeae**, strictly = 'popinae,' but used generally of feasting in H. 2. 95, 4, etc. Orelli notes that coarse words are used to show contempt.

**paratus**: cp. 'lauto cenare paratu' Juv. 14, 13; also c. 55, 3, etc.

9. **princeps antiquae parsimoniae**: cp. 'antiqua parsimonia' 12. 53, 5, and 'antiquo cultu victuque' c. 55, 5. On the example set by Tiberius in the expenses of the table, see Suet. Tib. 34.

10. **adverteret**: cp. 2. 32, 5.

11. **aediles.** It was part of their duty to regulate the market: see Introd. vi. p. 76; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 489, etc.

**sumptuariam legem.** Gellius (2. 24) mentions a 'lex Iulia' of Augustus and an edict by him or by Tiberius, both of which limited the amount that might be spent on the dinner for common or festal days. This 'lex,' which is probably the one here referred to, was passed in 732, B.C. 22 (Dio, 54. 2, 3; Suet. Aug. 34).

**utensilium**: cp. 1. 70, 6. Suet. (Tib. 34) speaks of three mullets having been at that time sold for 30,000 H. S. Another story is told by Seneca (Ep. 95, 42) of P. Octavius buying by auction for 5000 H. S. a single mullet, which had been presented to Tiberius and sold by his order.

12. **sisti posse**, sc. 'rem.' Tacitus follows Livy, who has 'ut consuetis remediis sisti posset' (3. 20, 8).

13. **consulti patres.** Nipp. notes that as the aediles had not themselves

4 sed Tiberius saepe apud se pensitato, an coerceri tam profusae
cupidines possent, num coercitio plus damni in rem publicam
ferret, quam indecorum adtrectare quod non obtineret vel reten-
tum ignominiam et infamiam virorum inlustrium posceret, postre-
mo literas ad senatum composuit, quarum sententia in hunc
modum fuit.

1 **53.** 'Ceteris forsitan in rebus, patres conscripti, magis expe-
diat me coram interrogari et dicere quid e re publica censeam:
in hac relatione subtrahi oculos meos melius fuit, ne denotanti-
bus vobis ora ac metum singulorum, qui pudendi luxus argue-
2 rentur, ipse etiam viderem eos ac velut deprenderem. quod si
mecum ante viri strenui, aediles, consilium habuissent, nescio an
suasurus fuerim omittere potius praevalida et adulta vitia quam
hoc adsequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus.
3 sed illi quidem officio functi sunt, ut ceteros quoque magistratus
sua munia implere velim: mihi autem neque honestum silere
neque proloqui expeditum, quia non aedilis aut praetoris aut
4 consulis partis sustineo. maius aliquid et excelsius a principe
postulatur: et cum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam trahant,
5 unius invidia ab omnibus peccatur. quid enim primum prohi-

the 'ius relationis,' they may be supposed to have mentioned the matter 'per egressionem,' and asked for a 'relatio' from the consuls (see on 2. 38, 3).

**distulerant**, 'differre' is elsewhere equivalent to 'reicere,' but with reference to a place or time rather than a person, as 'legationes . . . distulit ad Tarraconem' Liv. 26. 51, 10, 'legati . . . ad novos magistratus dilati erant' Id. 41. 8, 5. The construction appears here to be pregnant = 'distulerant et ad principem reiecerant.'

1. **pensitato**: cp. Introd. v. § 31 a. This sense of the verb is found first in Livy.

2. **in rem publicam**, probably not used as in c. 24, 2, but with the force of a simple dat. (Introd. v. § 60 b).

3. **obtinere**, 'to maintain:' cp. 'ad obtinendas iniquitates' H. 2. 84, 2, 'obtinendis quae percurrerat' Agr. 23, 1. The verb is varied in the next line to 'retentum,' used concisely for 'si retentum esset.'

5. **in hunc modum.** Tacitus here professes to give the substance only.

8. **e re publica**: cp. 2. 33, 2. Here 'e' is omitted in the MS.

9. **subtrahi oculos**: cp. 'Nero . . . subtraxit oculos' (Agr. 45, 2).

**denotantibus**, 'marking,' by looking at them and making them conspicuous: cp. 'denotandis tot hominum palloribus' Agr. 45, 2. 'Ora et metum' are a hendiadys for 'metum in ore.'

13. **suasurus . . . omittere.** The inf. with this verb is poetical and post-Augustan. Dräger notes that Tacitus uses it in the Annals only (13. 37, 6; 15. 63, 6; 16. 9, 3).

14. **flagitiis impares**: so 'impar curis' 14. 54, 3; 'dolori' 15. 57, 1, etc.

17. **quia non**, etc. These words are taken only with 'nec proloqui expeditum.'

18. **a principe.** On the conception of this dignity as a magistracy, see Introd. vi. p. 68.

19. **sibi quisque . . . trahant**, 'each appropriates to himself:' so in H. 3. 33, 3; cp. 'in se trahere' 1. 2, 1 and 'trahere' Liv. 6. 40, 18, etc.

20. **unius invidia.** The preposition 'cum' might have been expected; but such quasi-absolute ablatives of attendant circumstance are found in Tacitus, as 'multa . . . pernicie' H. 4. 30, 1. It is

bere et priscum ad morem recidere adgrediar? villarumne in-
finita spatia? familiarum numerum et nationes? argenti et auri
pondus? aeris tabularumque miracula? promiscas viris et feminis
vestes atque illa feminarum propria, quis lapidum causa pecu-
niae nostrae ad externas aut hostilis gentes transferuntur?

**54.** Nec ignoro in conviviis et circulis incusari ista et modum 1
posci: set si quis legem sanciat, poenas indicat, îdem illi civita-
tem verti, splendidissimo cuique exitium parari, neminem cri-
minis expertem clamitabunt. atqui ne corporis quidem morbos 2
veteres et diu auctos nisi per dura et aspera coerceas: corruptus
simul et corruptor, aeger et flagrans animus haud levioribus
remediis restinguendus est quam libidinibus ardescit. tot a 3
maioribus repertae leges, tot quas divus Augustus tulit, illae

meant that all social vices were ascribed to laxity in the princeps, who alone had power to check them.

1. **ad morem recidere**, pregn. constr. for 'recidendo reducere.'

**villarum . . . spatia.** Sallust speaks (Cat. 12, 3) of villas 'in urbium modum exaedificatas,' and similar language is used by Horace (Od. 2. 15 and 17), and later by Seneca (de Ben. 7. 10, 5), and Juvenal (14, 86). See Friedl. iii. p. 89, foll.

2. **familiarum numerum et nationes,** 'the host of slaves of all nations:' cp. 'nationes in familiis habemus' 14. 44, 5. Pliny (N. H. 33. 10, 47; 135) mentions a person who, at his death in 746, B.C. 8, left 4116 slaves. For later instances, see 14. 43, 5; Athenaeus, 6, p. 272 d. They were of all nationalities, Greeks, Syrians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, Thracians, Aethiopians, etc. See Introd. vii. p. 90; Marquardt, ii. p. 118; Friedl. i. p. 53.

**argenti et auri pondus,** taken from Verg. Aen. 1, 359. The quantity of plate is alluded to in 2. 33, 2.

3. **aeris**: cp. Suet. Tib. 34 'Corinthiorum vasorum pretia in inmensum exarsisse graviter conquestus.'

4. **vestes**: cp. 2. 33, 1.

**quis.** Nipp. refers this to 'illa . . . propria;' 'the special extravagances of women, through which,' etc.

**lapidum causa.** Pliny (N. H. 9. 35, 58, 117) speaks of having seen Lollia Paulina covered with jewels estimated to have cost forty million H. S.; and elsewhere (12. 18, 41, 84) estimates the annual drain of money to the East for such extravagances at 100 million H. S.

5. **externas aut hostilis,** 'foreign to the empire, if not hostile.'

6. **in conviviis et circulis**: a common form of expression, found in Cic. (Balb. 26, 57; ad Att. 2. 18, 2), and often in Livy, etc.

8. **verti**: cp. 2. 42, 4, etc.

10. **coerceas,** poetical subjunct. (Introd. v. § 51); so also 'timeas' below.

**corruptus simul et corruptor.** Tacitus thus joins 'corrumpere' and 'corrumpi' in 14. 20, 5; G. 19, 3. Bentley has collected (on Hor. Od. 4. 9, 39) many of the expressions in Latin poetry or rhetoric in which the mind is personified, as 'aestimator,' 'carnifex,' 'censor,' etc.

11. **aeger et flagrans,** 'enfeebled and feverish,' i. e. full of passionate longings, but without healthy energy.

12. **restinguendus,** 'to be cooled:' the metaphor of a fever is carried through the sentence.

**libidinibus,** attracted for 'libidines quibus.'

**tot a maioribus repertae.** The earliest appears to have been the 'lex Oppia' (c. 33, 4). Others, dating between the end of the second Punic war and the death of Sulla, are the 'leges' 'Orchia,' 'Fannia,' 'Didia,' 'Licinia,' 'Cornelia,' 'Aemilia,' 'Antia.' On their provisions, see Gell. 2. 24; Macrob. 2. 13. A 'lex Iulia' was also passed by the dictator Caesar (Dio, 43. 25, 2; Suet. Jul. 43), who complained of its neglect (Cic. Att. 13. 7, 1).

13. **tot quas divus Augustus tulit.** No others are known but his 'lex Iulia' already mentioned (c. 52, 3); so that the language seems rhetorical.

oblivione, hae, quod flagitiosius est, contemptu abolitae securio-
4 rem luxum fecere. nam si velis quod nondum vetitum est,
timeas ne vetere: at si prohibita impune transcenderis, neque
metus ultra neque pudor est. cur ergo olim parsimonia pollebat?
5 quia sibi quisque moderabatur, quia unius urbis cives eramus;
ne inritamenta quidem eadem intra Italiam dominantibus. ex-
ternis victoriis aliena, civilibus etiam nostra consumere didicimus.
6 quantulum istud est de quo aediles admonent! quam, si cetera
respicias, in levi habendum! at hercule nemo refert, quod Italia
externae opis indiget, quod vita populi Romani per incerta maris
7 et tempestatum cotidie volvitur. ac nisi provinciarum copiae et
dominis et servitiis et agris subvenerint, nostra nos scilicet ne-
8 mora nostraeque villae tuebuntur. hanc, patres conscripti, cu-
ram sustinet princeps; haec omissa funditus rem publicam trahet.
9 reliquis intra animum medendum est: nos pudor, pauperes

1. **contemptu**, their recent date precluding the excuse of oblivion.

3. **si prohibita . . . transcenderis**, 'if you have passed the forbidden line.' The phrase seems to be a pregnant construction for 'transcendere leges et prohibita facere;' but is sufficiently analogous to such expressions as 'vota transcendi mea' (Sen. Thyest. 912), to make it needless to insert 'in,' with Nipp.

5. **unius urbis cives.** In legal status they were still and always such; but the reference is apparently to a time when Roman citizens, like those of the old Greek cities, were such by home and nationality, not merely in legal phraseology, and were restrained from extravagance by civic ideas of equality or proportion. Nipp. applies the expression to the whole time down to the Italian war; but as the last century of that period is full of sumptuary legislation (see above), it can hardly be described as one of voluntary selfrestraint: it seems therefore better to suppose the time throughout referred to to be that before the Punic wars and other 'externae victoriae,' when men were simple citizens, not pampered conquerors. The sentence 'ne . . . dominantibus' would thus not distinguish another period, but add another reason: not only had men then more self-control, but also fewer temptations, as foreign luxuries were comparatively unknown.

7. **civilibus . . . nostra**, not only by pillaging each other as they had pillaged the foreigner; but also by the sense of insecurity, leading men to spend at once what might become the spoil of another.

9. **in levi habendum**: so 'in levi habitum' H. 2. 21, 4; also 'in benignitate' (Sall. Jug. 103, 6), 'in damno habere' (Liv. 21. 13, 5). Regularly the abl. would be in the plural; but the singular is common in Greek; as οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ Theocr. 22, 213.

**nemo refert.** This might be said not only of those who had the 'ius relationis,' but of all senators, who could do as the aediles in this case had done (see c. 52, 3).

**quod Italia . . . indiget.** Respecting the dependence of Rome and Italy on foreign corn, cp. 2. 59, 4; 4. 6, 6; 12. 43, 5; H. 3. 8, 3; 48, 4.

10. **vita . . . volvitur**: cp. the similar expression (12. 43, 5) 'navibus et casibus vita populi Romani permissa est.' Here 'volvitur' = 'agitatur.'

12. **subvenerint**, used in two senses, of supplying the deficiency of arable land, and the needs of the master and the slave.

**nos.** He speaks as one of the senators, though his own estates in Italy were moderate and well-managed (4. 6, 7).

15. **intra animum**, i. e. by a change of disposition, instead of by the external pressure of law.

**nos pudor**, etc. He appears here to distinguish the senators from the rich in general, as well as from the poor. He assumes that they could be, and thus covertly implies that they should be, restrained by the self-respect due to their

necessitas, divites satias in melius mutet. aut si quis ex magis- 10
tratibus tantam industriam ac severitatem pollicetur, ut ire ob-
viam queat, hunc ego et laudo et exonerari laborum meorum
partem fateor: sin accusare vitia volunt, dein, cum gloriam eius 11
rei adepti sunt, simultates faciunt ac mihi relinquunt, credite,
patres conscripti, me quoque non esse offensionum avidum; quas
cum graves et plerumque iniquas pro re publica suscipiam, in-
anes et inritas neque mihi aut vobis usui futuras iure deprecor.'

**55.** Auditis Caesaris literis remissa aedilibus talis cura; lux- 1
usque mensae, a fine Actiaci belli ad ea arma, quis Servius
Galba rerum adeptus est, per annos centum profusis sumptibus
exerciti paulatim exolevere. causas eius mutationis quaerere 2

rank, and the sentiment of 'noblesse;' whereas a rich knight or freedman would probably only leave off luxury through surfeit.

1. **aut si**, etc. 'On the other hand, if' etc.

3. **hunc ego**, etc. Nipp. notes that the natural order of the words is varied to emphasize 'hunc' in relation to 'si quis.'

**exonerari**, 'is being removed.' The verb has this sense in H. 5. 2, 3 'multitudinem . . . exoneratam,' and in several other instances cited by Nipp. from Plautus, Livy, L. Seneca, and Lucan.

5. **simultates faciunt**: cp. 'saepe simultates ira morata facit' Ov. Am. 1. 8, 82.

6. **me quoque non**, 'that neither am I.' 'Quoque non,' like 'nec' and 'neque' (see note on 2. 34, 7), has sometimes the force of 'ne . . . quidem,' whether in the sense of 'not either' (11. 13, 3; 15. 66, 1), or 'not even' (14. 21, 2; 15. 57, 4). Similar usages from other authors are instanced by Nipp. here: cp. Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 122.

**offensionum**, 'of provoking animosities:' cp. 'accendendis offensionibus' 2. 57, 3.

7. **inanes et inritas**, 'purposeless and fruitless,' i.e. incurred without any compensating result. These words, nearly synonymous, are explained by 'nec mihi . . . futuras,' and the whole stands in contrast to 'pro republica.'

9. **remissa aedilibus talis cura**, 'the aediles were excused from such a duty,' i.e. from that of an energetic enforcement of the laws. The laws were left unaltered, and their violation tacitly ignored. On 'remissa' cp. 1. 8, 6. It would however appear from Suet. Tib 34 (cp. also Pl. N. H. 33. 2, 8, 32), that Tiberius did at some time place the market under senatorial supervision and enjoined on the aediles a strict control of 'popinae' and 'ganeae.'

10. **arma** = 'bellum,' more strictly 'the time when arms were taken up:' cp. 'post arma . . . Vindicis' 15. 74, 2, 'per civilia arma' (= 'during civil war') H. 2. 11, 4. Instances nearly approaching to this meaning are found in Cic., Liv., etc.

11. **rerum adeptus**. The genitive with this verb (cp. 12. 30, 4) and with 'apiscor' (6. 45, 6) is peculiar to Tacitus. The construction, which is analogous to that of 'potior,' is apparently taken from that of *τυγχάνειν*.

**per annos centum**. On this and other principal forms of the luxury of this whole period, see Introd. to vol. ii. The fullest information is to be found in Friedl. Sitteng. vol. iii. ch. 1.

12. **exerciti . . . exolevere**, 'were practised, but have since gradually gone out of fashion.' Two distinct statements are here condensed for brevity: cp. 'perempti . . . retinent' 4. 35. 3, and several other instances given here by Nipp.

**causas**. It will be seen that Tacitus puts forward three traceable causes. (1) The ruin, or the gradually enforced moderation, of old rich families. (2) The introduction of new senators of simple habits from the Italian towns or from the provinces. (3) The example of Vespasian. After these he suggests a fourth explanation of a fatalist character, that there are cycles of moral changes, as of the seasons; in other words, that there

libet. dites olim familiae nobilium aut claritudine insignes
3 studio magnificentiae prolabebantur. nam etiam tum plebem
socios regna colere et coli licitum; ut quisque opibus domo
paratu speciosus, per nomen et clientelas inlustrior habebatur.
postquam caedibus saevitum et magnitudo famae exitio erat,
4 ceteri ad sapientiora convertere. simul novi homines e munici-
piis et coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum crebro adsumpti
domesticam parsimoniam intulerunt, et quamquam fortuna vel
industria plerique pecuniosam ad senectam pervenirent, mansit
5 tamen prior animus. sed praecipuus adstricti moris auctor Ves-
pasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu victuque. obsequium inde in
principem et aemulandi amor validior quam poena ex legibus et
6 metus. nisi forte rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis, ut

are causes of which the action is not traceable (see Introd. iv. p. 22).

1. **prolabebantur.** The metaphor (cp. 1. 31, 3; 2. 10, 2; 4. 18, 2, etc.) is from persons slipping their footing and unable to recover themselves. Dräger compares 'cupiditate prolapsos' Cic. Att. 1. 17, 9; 'cupiditate regni prolapsus' Liv. 40. 23, 8. 'Olim' is perhaps best taken with 'prolabebantur;' so as to refer, like 'etiam tum,' to the earlier part of the century indicated.

2. **plebem,** especially in the time of Augustus, before the abolition of the comitia (1. 15, 1).

3. **socios,** the provincial subjects.

**regna,** the tributary kingdoms, and especially their kings, such as those of Judaea, Cappadocia, Mauritania, Thrace, etc.

**et coli,** sc. 'ab iis.' Temples were erected in the provinces to proconsuls under Augustus (Suet. Aug. 52), as under the Republic. Nipp. notes the games held at Mylasa in honour of C. Marcius Censorinus proconsul of Asia, who is styled σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης.

4. **paratu**: cp. c. 52, 2.

**per nomen,** etc. For this Nipp. reads 'par nomen et clientelas inlustriores habebat,' on the ground that the MS. text involves the tautology of speaking of a person as being 'reputed more illustrious through his reputation.' It may, however, be possible to explain 'inlustrior habebatur' to mean 'he was sustained in a more distinguished position.'

5. **postquam caedibus saevitum.** This applies especially to the reign of terror in the later years of Tiberius, and that under Gaius and Nero.

**magnitudo famae,** referring to 'nomen' above.

6. **ceteri,** 'the survivors.' On the danger of wealth in perilous times, see Juv. 10, 15, etc.

**e municipiis et coloniis.** The use of these terms by Tacitus to denote specially the towns of Italy (see note on 1. 79, 1) makes the antithesis in 'provinciis' sufficiently plain, though the provinces also contained towns of colonial or municipal rank. That Tiberius himself had freely enrolled senators from Italian towns, is stated in the speech of Claudius (Col. ii. l. 2), who cites other precedents for the great extension which he recommends. In 822, A.D. 69, Otho (H. 1. 84, 6) calls the senate 'decora omnium provinciarum.'

8. **domesticam parsimoniam.** The 'provincialis parsimonia' of Massilia is mentioned in Agr. 4, 3.

10. **adstricti moris**: cp. 'astrictus pater' Prop. 3. 17, 18, 'astricta parsimonia' Just. 44, 2.

**Vespasianus.** He was a 'novus homo' from Reate (Suet. Vesp. 1, 2), and his parsimony is proverbial. Other such instances of the influence of the princeps on manners are given in Friedl. i. p. 68.

13. **nisi forte.** The explanation thus suggested is probably that which commended itself most to Tacitus, and resembles that which Plato (Rep. 546, A) offers for the alternation of barren and fertile ages of human intellect.

**quidam velut.** These are joined in Dial 5, 3; 30, 3; 33, 1, etc., to soften (as either word alone might) a figurative

quem ad modum temporum vices, ita morum vertantur; nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit. verum haec nobis *in* maiores certamina ex honesto maneant.

**56.** Tiberius fama moderationis parta, quod ingruentis accu- 1
satores represserat, mittit literas ad senatum, quis potestatem
tribuniciam Druso petebat. id summi fastigii vocabulum Au- 2
gustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret ac
tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret. Marcum 3
deinde Agrippam socium eius potestatis, quo defuncto Tiberium
Neronem delegit, ne successor in incerto foret. sic cohiberi 4

expression: cp. 'quasi . . . quandam' Cic. de Am. 13, 48.

2. **nostra aetas**, i. e. that of Trajan.

**multa laudis et artium**, 'many examples of noble character and talent:' 'artes' are here used for the 'bonae artes' of 2. 73, 4, etc. In H. 1. 3, 3, he similarly describes the age as not wholly 'virtutum sterile.'

3. **haec nobis in maiores certamina.** Most editors have inserted 'in,' with Lipsius, to complete the expression. The construction 'certamen in aliquem' is nowhere found, the nearest parallel in Tacitus being 'ambitio in posteros' (6. 46, 4), and other uses of 'in' with the sense of 'in relation to' (cp. 4. 11, 2; 12. 6, 5; Introd. v. § 60 b); a meaning perhaps suitable to such a figure as that of a contest between those who are of different generations. The reading preferred by Nipp. 'haec nos' (sc. 'imitanda posteris tulimus'): 'nobis maiores' (sc. 'imitanda tulerunt') seems too harsh and abrupt to be possible. Joh. Müller (Beitr. 3. p. 34) suggests that 'maiores' may have been the corruption of 'animorum;' 'certamen animorum' being, though hardly in the same sense, a frequent phrase in Livy (2. 59, 1; 4. 56, 9, etc.). For other alterations, see Halm, Comm. Crit. and Baiter on Orelli.

4. **ex honesto**, sc. 'orta;' 'honourable rivalries.'

5. **fama moderationis parta.** It is of course be insinuated that he utilised the credit thus obtained for moderation to push this request. By associating Drusus in the tribunitian power, he would be seen to aim at making the succession to the principate hereditary.

**ingruentis**, i. e. those who would have seized the opportunity, if strict enforcement of sumptuary laws had been enjoined.

6. **potestatem tribuniciam**, i. e. to be associated in that power with himself: cp. 1. 3, 3; Introd. vi. p. 82. On the coins attesting the possession of this power by Drusus, see Introd. ii. p. 8.

7. **summi fastigii**: cp. 13. 17, 5; 14. 54, 5, etc.

**Augustus repperit.** Julius Caesar, according to Dio (42. 20, 3) had tribunitian power for life, ὡς εἰπεῖν, i. e. in substance without a formal title ('vocabulum,' cp. 1. 2, 2, etc.). Nor did Augustus bear the title until 731, B.C. 23, though he had in some form held the power long previously: see Introd. vi. p. 64.

8. **ne regis**, etc.: cp. 1. 9, 6. Augustus states (Mon. Anc. Gr. iii. 2–9) that he refused a formal offer, both of the dictatorship, and of the consulship annually or for life, in 732, B.C. 18.

9. **praemineret.** The verb is of post-Augustan use only, except in Sall. Fr. H. 2. 85 D, 83 K, 50 G; where it takes an accus. as in the Annals (12. 12, 1; 33, 1; 15. 34, 3), analogously to 'praecello,' 'praesideo,' etc.

**Marcum Agrippam**: see Introd. ix. note 4. He held the tribunitian power from 736, B.C. 18 (Dio, 54. 12, 28), till his death six years later. The only titular recognition of it in his case appears to be found in a Greek and Latin inscription of Laconia (C. I. G. 1299; Henzen 5367).

10. **Tiberium Neronem.** He did not succeed to this power immediately on the death of Agrippa, but six years later, in 748, B.C. 6 (Dio, 55. 9, 4), and held it for five years; after which Augustus made no appointment, apparently reserving it for his grandson Gaius, till Tiberius was reappointed on his adoption (see Introd.

pravas aliorum spes rebatur; simul modestiae Neronis et suae
5 magnitudini fidebat. quo tunc exemplo Tiberius Drusum sum-
mae rei admovit, cum incolumi Germanico integrum inter duos
6 iudicium tenuisset. sed principio literarum veneratus deos, ut
consilia sua rei publicae prosperarent, modica de moribus adu-
7 lescentis neque in falsum aucta rettulit. esse illi coniugem et
tres liberos eamque aetatem, qua ipse quondam a divo Augusto
8 ad capessendum hoc munus vocatus sit. neque nunc propere,
sed per octo annos capto experimento, compressis seditionibus,
compositis bellis, triumphalem et bis consulem noti laboris par-
ticipem sumi.

1 **57.** Praeceperant animis orationem patres, quo quaesitior
2 adulatio fuit. nec tamen repertum nisi ut effigies principum,
aras deum, templa et arcus aliaque solita censerent, nisi quod M.
Silanus ex contumelia consulatus honorem principibus petivit
dixitque pro sententia, ut publicis privatisve monimentis ad me-

viii. p. 114). All these years of his tenure of the power are reckoned in his inscriptions (see Introd. ix. note 28).

**delegit.** The position of the verb in the second instead of the first clause may be compared with that of 'labefecit' 6. 29, 5, 'iussit' 13. 15, 3, 'veni' H. 1. 83, 2.

**ne successor,** etc. Tacitus appears here to attribute to the association in this power a significance which it did not at that early time possess, and which seems precluded by the limited time for which the power was commonly given. It is evident that Augustus could only have contemplated Agrippa or Tiberius as successors in the event of a sudden vacancy, his hopes during all this period being centred on Gaius and Lucius (Introd. viii. p. 116).

**in incerto:** cp. c. 69, 5; 6. 45, 5, etc.; Introd. v. § 60 a.

1. **modestiae Neronis:** cp. 1. 11, 1: i.e. he could not fear that Nero would aim at any dangerous rivalry with himself.

2. **summae rei admovit,** i.e. designates him as successor: see above.

3. **integrum . . . . iudicium:** cp. c. 8, 2.

5. **prosperarent.** This word belongs especially to the language of prayer, as in H. 4. 53, 3; Liv. 8. 9, 7; Hor. Carm. Saec. 18.

7. **aetatem.** From the known age of Tiberius at the date referred to, it may be inferred that Drusus was in his thirty-fifth year. His birthday was on the seventh of October (Henzen, Inscr. 5359), and the year of his birth would appear hence to have been 741, B.C. 13.

9. **per octo annos,** i.e. since his service in 767, A.D. 14.

**seditionibus:** cp. 1. 24. etc.

10. **bellis:** cp. 2. 44; 62.

**triumphalem:** cp. c. 19, 1.

**bis consulem:** cp. 1. 55, 1; c. 31, 1.

12. **Praeceperant,** 'had anticipated:' cp. 1. 55, 1; 2. 35, 3. Here it is explained by 'animis.' The purport of his letter had got wind, and they had studied their compliments: cp. 'pugnam . . . futuram praeceperat animo' Liv. 38. 20, 1.

**orationem.** Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. p. 862) notes that the use of this term of a written communication (cp. 'litteras' c. 56, 1, 'missa . . . oratione' 16. 7, 3) shows that Caesar was treated by a fiction as present, when he thus made a 'relatio.'

**quaesitior adulatio,** 'more recondite;' repeated 12. 26, 1: cp. c. 26, 4; 5. 3, 3, etc.

14. **nisi quod.** Dräger notes as a rare negligence the sequence of this clause on another introduced by 'nisi ut.'

**M. Silanus:** see on c. 24, 5.

16. **publicis privatisve,** 'on all records, whether public or private.' This use of 've' is noticed by Walther as frequent in laws, decrees, etc. This 'sen-

moriam temporum non consulum nomina praescriberentur, sed
eorum qui tribuniciam potestatem gererent. at Q. Haterius cum 3
eius diei senatus consulta aureis literis figenda in curia censuis-
set, deridiculo fuit senex foedissimae adulationis tantum infamia
usurus.

**58.** Inter quae provincia Africa Iunio Blaeso prorogata, Ser- 1
vius Maluginensis flamen Dialis ut Asiam sorte haberet postu-
lavit, frustra vulgatum dictitans non licere Dialibus egredi Italia,
neque aliud ius suum quam Martialium Quirinaliumque flami-
num: porro, si hi duxissent provincias, cur Dialibus id vetitum?
nulla de eo populi scita, non in libris caerimoniarum reperiri.
saepe pontifices Dialia sacra fecisse, si flamen valetudine aut 2
munere publico impediretur. quinque et septuaginta annis post

tentia' must have dropped unheeded, as the year continues to be designated by its consuls.

2. **at Q. Haterius**: so in all edd. after Lips., for the MS. 'atque Haterius.' The praenomen is required to distinguish this Haterius (cp. 1. 13, 4; 2. 33, 1; 4. 61, 1) from D. Haterius Agrippa (c. 52, 1, etc.).

3. **aureis literis**, i.e. on a golden tablet. By an approach to this extravagance, Nero's opening speech was engraved ἐς ἀργυρᾶν στήλην (Dio, Epit. 61, 3).

4. **deridiculo**: cp. 'per deridiculum' 6. 2, 2, used differently in 12. 49, 1, elsewhere, mostly adjectively. Here it is explained by 'senex:' he was so old that he could have nothing to get by his servility but the disgrace of it.

5. **usurus**: cp. 4. 39, 5. and other such concise uses of participles (Introd. v. § 54 d).

6. **Blaeso**: cp. c. 35, 1; 72, 6.

**Servius Maluginensis**. His full name is given in the Fasti (C. I. L. i. p. 550) as Ser. Cornelius, Cn. f., Cn. n., Lentulus Maluginensis, consul with Blaesus in 763, A. D. 10. His death is mentioned in 4. 16, 1.

7. **sorte**, used as in c. 32, 2; there being really no lot to be cast, as Africa was disposed of.

8. **frustra**: cp. 1. 30, 3.

10. **si hi duxissent provincias**, sc. 'sorte.' Marquardt (Staatsv. iii. p. 64) notes that these flamines also were by old custom (Liv. 24. 8, 10) confined to Rome, and were often inhibited by the chief pontiff from expeditions (Liv. Epit. 19; 37. 51, 1; Cic. Phil. 11. 8, 18); but the rule was at this time more lax (see note on c. 66, 2). The pontifex maximus had never left Italy before 623, B.C. 131 (Liv. Epit. 59).

11. **populi scita**. Such would be strictly 'leges,' as shown by the formula 'populus iure scivit' Cic. Phil. 1. 10, 26: elsewhere (Cic. de Opt. Gen. Or. 7, 19; Nep. Ar. 1, 5; Alc. 5, 4) this expression is a special term for the Athenian ψηφίσματα. Tacitus may have used it here as a wide term to include both 'leges' and 'plebiscita,' the former especially, as this old patrician office (cp. 4. 16, 2) had received its regulations before plebiscites were known. The reason for the absence of express enactment would be that the flamen was kept in Rome by the nature and duties of his office.

**reperiri**. The point after this word in the MS. is thought by Pfitzner (p. 21) to indicate the loss of one or more words; but none are really needed to complete the sense, as 'id' can be supplied from 'de eo,' and explained from 'id vetitum' above. Joh. Müller (Beitr. 3. p. 36) notices other instances in which Tacitus omits subject or object for conciseness, as with 'audiverat' 4. 54, 2, 'additae sunt' 11. 14, 4, 'accitos' 11. 24, 2, 'miserat' 12. 11, 1.

13. **quinque et septuaginta**. The MS. has 'duo et septuaginta;' but from the suicide of Merula at the return of Marius and Cinna, in 667, B.C. 87, seventy-five complete years intervened before the creation of another flamen by Augustus in 743, B.C. 11 (Dio, 54. 36, 1). That the error is more likely to be due to the

Cornelii Merulae caedem neminem suffectum, neque tamen ces-
3 savisse religiones. quod si per tot annos possit non creari nullo
sacrorum damno, quanto facilius afuturum ad unius anni procon-
4 sulare imperium? privatis olim simultatibus effectum, ut a pon-
tificibus maximis ire in provincias prohiberentur: nunc deum
munere summum pontificum etiam summum hominum esse, non
aemulationi, non odio aut privatis adfectionibus obnoxium.
1 **59.** Adversus quae cum augur Lentulus aliique varie dissere-
rent, eo decursum est ut pontificis maximi sententiam opperi-
2 rentur. Tiberius dilata notione de iure flaminis, decretas ob
tribuniciam Drusi potestatem caerimonias temperavit, nominatim
arguens insolentiam sententiae aureasque literas contra patrium
3 morem. recitatae et Drusi epistulae quamquam ad modestiam
flexae pro superbissimis accipiuntur. huc decidisse cuncta, ut ne
iuvenis quidem tanto honore accepto adiret urbis deos, ingre-
deretur senatum, auspicia saltem gentile apud solum inciperet.

copyist than to Tacitus, would appear from the ease with which 'ii' and 'v' or 'u' might be confused.

6. **summum pontificum**, etc. From the time when Augustus had assumed that office in 742, B.C. 12, it continued to be held by the princeps till the latter part of the fourth century, being found in inscriptions of even Christian emperors as late as Valentinian I. and Gratian (Inscr. Orell. 1117, 1118); soon after which time the title was assumed by the bishops of Rome.

7. **aemulationi**, adopted by editors in general after Muretus for the MS. 'aemulatione.'

**obnoxium**: cp. c. 34, 5.

8. **augur Lentulus.** This person is constantly thus designated in the Fasti and elsewhere (cp. Mon. Anc. iii. 23), to distinguish him from other Lentuli, such as the one mentioned in 1. 27, 1, etc. His full name is Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Lentulus. He was consul in 740, B.C. 14, proconsul of Asia in 753, B.C. 1 (C. I. G. 2943), magister Arvalium in 767, A.D. 14 (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2023 a, 1). It appears from Seneca (de Ben. 2. 27, 1) that he was extremely rich (see Introd. vii. p. 86), miserly, and stupid; and from Suetonius (Tib. 49) that he committed suicide from weariness of life, making Tiberius his heir.

9. **decursum**: so often in Livy (e.g. 22. 31, 10; 26. 18, 4), as also 'decurritur' (Id. and Caes.).

10. **dilata notione.** The answer is given in c. 71, 3. 'Notio' is used for 'cognitio' by Cicero (ad Att. 11. 20, 2; de Leg. Agr. 2. 21, 57; pro Dom. 13, 54); also Tacitus has 'noscere' for 'cognoscere' (12. 60, 3).

11. **caerimonias.** The word seems to apply here to the altars and temples mentioned in c. 57, 2, the vote of which was probably cancelled, as well as that part of the decree more specifically censured.

12. **insolentiam . . . aureasque literas.** The latter clause explains the 'insolentia,' and the whole forms thus a hendiadys (Introd. v. § 76); cp. 'carmina et devotiones' 2. 69, 5. Müller (Beitr. p. 37) thinks that 'Silanianae' may have dropped out before 'sententiam,' but no such addition appears needed.

13. **ad modestiam flexae,** 'with studied expressions of deference:' cp. 'flexo in maestitiam ore' c. 16, 3.

14. **pro superbissimis.** This offence was taken at his addressing them by letter at all, instead of in person.

**huc decidisse cuncta,** 'things have come to such a pass:' cp. 'eo decidit ut exsul . . . fieret' Pl. Epp. 4. 11, 1, etc.

16. **auspicia . . . inciperet.** Compare the description in Livy (21. 63, 7; 22. 1, 6) of the feeling roused by the conduct of C. Flaminius on assuming the consulship. It might appear hence that the tribunician

bellum scilicet aut diverso terrarum distineri, litora et lacus Cam- 4
paniae cum maxime peragrantem. sic imbui rectorem generis 5
humani, id primum e paternis consiliis discere. sane gravaretur 6
aspectum civium senex imperator fessamque aetatem et actos
labores praetenderet: Druso quod nisi ex adrogantia impedimentum?

**60.** Sed Tiberius, vim principatus sibi firmans, imaginem 1
antiquitatis senatui praebebat, postulata provinciarum ad disqui-
sitionem patrum mittendo. crebrescebat enim Graecas per 2
urbes licentia atque impunitas asyla statuendi; conplebantur
templa pessimis servitiorum; eodem subsidio obaerati adversum
creditores suspectique capitalium criminum receptabantur. nec 3
ullum satis validum imperium erat coercendis seditionibus populi,
flagitia hominum ut caerimonias deum protegentis. igitur pla- 4

power was assumed 'auspicato,' but Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. p. 767) considers the expression here a figure of speech.

**gentile solum,** 'his fatherland:' cp. 'gentiles nationes' (='the people of his birthplace') 11. 1, 2, and note on 6. 32, 5.

1. **bellum scilicet**: 'esse' is to be supplied, as in 'parum subsidii' 2. 4, 4, 'neque enim societatem' H. 4. 14, 4. Probably here the construction is designedly exclamatory.

**diverso terrarum.** On 'diversus,' cp. 1. 17, 5, etc.; on the genit., Introd. v. § 32 a.

2. **cum maxime,** 'just now.' This phrase is used in 4. 27, 2, and in several places in the Histories, etc., also in Cic. (Off. 2. 7, 23, etc.); Liv. (40 32, 1, etc.), and others. A fuller form is 'nunc cum maxime,' and the phrase is a modification of 'nunc ut cum maxime' (cp. Ter. Hec. 1. 2, 40), which means 'now especially.' For a full discussion of it, see Hand, Turs. iii. p. 599, foll.

**imbui,** 'was being instructed:' cp. 12. 32, 5; H. 5. 5, 4, etc.

3. **gravaretur,** with accus., as in 5. 8, 3: the usage appears first in Hor. (Od. 4. 11, 27), thence in Sen., etc.: 'sane,' concessively, as in c. 5, 4, etc.

4. **fessam aetatem**: cp. 1. 46, 3, etc.

7. **vim . . . sibi firmans.** Ritter understands this of the association of Drusus in the tribunitian power, but it may equally refer to the stability given to the constitution by this show of power left to the senate. See Introd. vi. p. 77; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 916.

**imaginem**: cp. 'imago reipublicae' 13. 28, 1, etc.

8. **postulata provinciarum.** The old function of the senate in this respect is described by Polybius (6. 13, 7). That here left to them concerns their own provinces only; the deputations mentioned in the three next chapters, and in 4. 14, 1–3, being from Asia, Cyprus, and Crete: see also 13. 4, 3.

10. **asyla statuendi.** On the corresponding practice at Rome, cp. c. 36, 1.

**conplebantur,** etc. Three classes are mentioned as using these 'asyla,' (1) runaway slaves; (2) debtors; (3) criminals.

11. **subsidio,** 'place of refuge:' so c. 36, 2; 4. 67, 2; 5. 8, 1.

12. **receptabantur.** Excepting in this place and Liv. 5. 8, 2, this verb is used only by poets.

13. **validum,** with gerundive dat., as in c. 10, 4. The 'seditiones' spoken of would be those raised by any attempt to restrain the abuse of sanctuary.

14. **flagitia . . . protegentis,** 'protecting human outrage no less than religious observances.' The antithesis is hardly as pointed as it seems, for 'hominum' is a subjective and 'deum' an objective genitive. The pl. 'caerimoniae' appears to be sometimes equivalent to 'res sacrae,' as in the phrase 'habere aliquid in caerimoniis' (Pl. N. H. 37. 7, 28, 100), and is by some so explained in H. 1. 43, 2, 'in contubernio (aedis Vestae) abditus non religione nec caerimoniis sed latebra imminens exitium differebat.' Such may

5 citum ut mitterent civitates iura atque legatos. et quaedam
quod falso usurpaverant sponte omisere; multae vetustis super-
6 stitionibus aut meritis in populum Romanum fidebant. magna-
que eius diei species fuit, quo senatus maiorum beneficia, soci-
orum pacta, regum etiam qui ante vim Romanam valuerant
decreta ipsorumque numinum religiones introspexit, libero, ut
quondam, quid firmaret mutaretve.

1 **61.** Primi omnium Ephesii adiere, memorantes non, ut vulgus
crederet, Dianam atque Apollinem Delo genitos: esse apud se
Cenchreum amnem, lucum Ortygiam, ubi Latonam partu gra-
vidam et oleae, quae tum etiam maneat, adnisam edidisse ea
2 numina, deorumque monitu sacratum nemus. atque ipsum illic
Apollinem post interfectos Cyclopas Iovis iram vitavisse. mox
Liberum patrem, bello victorem, supplicibus Amazonum, quae
3 aram insiderant, ignovisse. auctam hinc concessu Herculis, cum

possibly be its meaning here, but that given above is more in accordance with its general use: see 1. 54, 1; 62, 3, etc.; Gerber und Greef, Lex. s. v.

1. **iura**, 'charters' or 'documents,' to prove their right to these asyla. The word appears to be here alone thus used.

4. **beneficia**, 'privileges granted.'

5. **pacta** = 'foedera.'

6. **libero**, here alone thus used in abl. abs.: cp. Introd. v. § 31, b. Livy has in this sense 'libera coniectura' (4. 20, 11), and Quintilian (6. 3, 112) 'liberum est.'

8. **Ephesii.** Their asylum is described by Strabo (14. 1, 23, 641) as having always existed, but with various changes of boundary: see below, § 3.

9. **Delo**. Ritt. follows Bezzenb. in inserting 'in,' but such ablatives of place are used with much freedom by Tacitus: cp. 'saxo Seripho' 4. 21, 5, and other instances in Introd. v. § 25, and many collected here by Nipp.

10. **Cenchreum amnem, lucum Ortygiam.** Strabo (14. 1, 20, 639) describes the situation of this grove, with this stream running through it, as just above the sea, and gives the legend as here stated. The common reading 'Cenchrium' is adapted to the form in Strabo and in Pausanias (7. 5, 10), but Halm (Comm. Crit.) supports the MS. text from Alexander Aetolus.

**Ortygiam**, i. e. 'the quail-land,' well known as another name of Delos (Verg. Aen. 3, 72, etc.), also as that of the island forming the acropolis of Syracuse.

11. **tum etiam**, at the day on which they were speaking; answering to 'nunc' in 'oratio recta:' cp. 6. 21, 3, and 'tunc' 14. 35, 1; 16. 3, 2.

**adnisam**: 'adnixus,' with dat., has often this sense in Vergil, as Aen. 4, 690; 9, 229; 12, 92.

13. **post interfectos Cyclopas.** For the general form of this legend, see Eur. Alc. 3–8, etc.

14. **Liberum patrem**, etc. Dionysus, according to one legend (Plut. Quaest. Gr. 56), pursued the Amazons from Ephesus to Samos and there slew them; according to another (Diod. 3. 71, etc.), united with them against the Titans. The legend of Amazons in Western Asia is found in Homer (Il. 3, 189; 6, 186). Pindar, according to Pausanias (7. 2, 7), ascribed to them the foundation of the Ephesian temple; another legend (see 4. 56, 1) makes an Amazon foundress of Smyrna. The Attic legend respecting them (Hdt. 9. 27, 5, etc.) is famous from its representations in art.

15. **aram insiderant.** Here equivalent to the Greek καθίζεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμούς Thuc. 3. 28, 2, etc. This form of the perfect may probably have been preferred by Tacitus as the less usual: cp. 1. 30, 5, and, on the indic., Introd. v. § 49.

**cum Lydia poteretur.** Most legends represent Heracles in Lydia as the slave of Omphale: cp. Soph. Trach. 248, etc.

Lydia poteretur, caerimoniam templo, neque Persarum dicione deminutum ius; post Macedonas, dein nos servavisse.

**62.** Proximi hos Magnetes L. Scipionis et L. Sullae consti- 1
tutis nitebantur, quorum ille Antiocho, hic Mithridate pulsis fidem atque virtutem Magnetum decoravere, uti Dianae Leucophrynae perfugium inviolabile foret. Aphrodisienses posthac et 2
Stratonicenses dictatoris Caesaris ob vetusta in partis merita et recens divi Augusti decretum adtulere, laudati quod Parthorum inruptionem nihil mutata in populum Romanum constantia per-

1. **caerimoniam,** 'sanctity:' so in 4. 64, 5; 14. 22, 6. This sense, restricted to the singular, is also found in 'caerimonia deorum' (Caes. ap. Suet. Jul. 6), 'legationis' (Cic. Rosc. Amer. 39, 113), and is akin to that of the pl. noted on c. 60, 3.

**dicione,** abl. of time: cp. Introd. v. § 26.

2. **post Macedonas, dein nos.** Strabo states (14. 1, 23, 641) that Alexander had made the asylum extend for a stadium round the temple; that Mithridates had somewhat enlarged it by making the limit a bowshot; that Antonius had so extended it as to include part of the city; and that Augustus, in consequence of increased abuses, had curtailed it. The *περίβολος* as fixed by him, and dated by inscriptions styling him cos. xii. trib. pot. xviii. (749, B.C. 5), has been discovered (see Wood, Ephesus, Append. p. 2).

3. **Proximi hos.** Halm and Orelli follow Wurm. in extracting this reading from the MS. corruption 'proximo snagnetes.' The construction is that found in 15. 15, 6, and in Plaut., Caes., and Liv. Others read 'proximi (or 'proximo') Magnetes.'

**Magnetes.** Magnesia near the Maeander is meant, as distinct from Magnesia 'a Sipylo' (2. 47, 4); with which Pausanias (1. 20, 5) appears to confound it. It lay a little north of the Maeander on a tributary stream, on the site of Inekbazar. It appears from 4. 55, 3 to have become an insignificant town.

4. **Antiocho . . . Mithridate.** This city, with Tralles and Ephesus, took the lead in joining the Romans after the defeat of Antiochus in 564, B.C. 190 (Liv. 37. 45, 1), and was the only city in Asia which held out for Rome against Mithridates in 666, B.C. 88 (Id. Epit. 81).

**pulsis.** For the use of the plural here and in 'decoravere' Dräger compares 'verterent' 6. 46, 3; 'travecti sunt' 12. 41, 3; 'acceperant' 14. 53, 3, etc.

5. **decoravere,** 'honoured by the grant.'

**Leucophrynae.** The MS. has 'leucophine:' the form here adopted by Halm and Nipp. from Lips. is supported by coins (Mionnet, iii. 146, etc.). The form 'Leucophryenae' (Beroald. etc.) appears to have equal support from inscriptions (C. I. G. 2914 a, etc.), and from Strabo (14. 1, 40, 647) and Pausanias (3. 18, 9). The temple was named from Leucophrys, an older town on the site of Magnesia; and is described by Strabo (l.l.), as remarkable among all temples in Asia for its symmetry and beauty, and as in size surpassed only by those at Ephesus and Didymi. Remains of it still exist.

6. **Aphrodisienses,** Aphrodisias, in Caria (Pl. N. H. 5. 28, 29, 104), or Phrygia (Strab. 12. 8, 13, 576), at the present Gheira, a little S.W. of Laodicaea. Fifteen columns of its beautiful Ionic temple are still standing (see engraving, Fellows, Lycia, p. 33).

7. **Stratonicenses,** Stratoniceia in Caria, called after the wife of Antiochus Soter (Strab. 14. 2, 25, 660). It was situated at Eskihissar near Mylasa, where considerable remains of it exist. The construction is here concise even to ambiguousness, as the decree of the dictator relates to Aphrodisias, and that of Augustus to Stratoniceia.

**dictatoris Caesaris.** An extant inscription (C. I. G. 2737 a) records the confirmation of this decree (*ἐπίκριμα*) by the senate and by Antonius, cir. 715–719, B.C. 39–35. It is quoted in part by Orelli here.

8. **divi Augusti decretum:** also mentioned in an inscription (C. I. G. 2715). Its purport is here given in the following words.

**Parthorum inruptionem.** The occasion mentioned is that of the joint

3 tulissent. sed Aphrodisiensium civitas Veneris, Stratonicensium
4 Iovis et Triviae religionem tuebantur. altius Hierocaesarienses
exposuere, Persicam apud se Dianam, delubrum rege Cyro
dicatum; et memorabantur Perpennae, Isaurici multaque alia
imperatorum nomina, qui non modo templo sed duobus milibus
5 passuum eandem sanctitatem tribuerant. exim Cyprii tribus *de*
delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aërias,
post filius eius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae et Iovi Salaminio
Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, posuissent.

invasion of Q. Labienus and Pacorus in 714, B.C. 40. The latter remained in Syria, but the former pushed on through Cilicia and carried all before him, and encountered no successful resistance in Asia except from this city (Dio, 48. 26, 3). Stratoniceia appears to have been a free city (Plin. N. H. 5. 29, 109), probably as a reward for this fidelity.

1. **sed.** The return from a digression is often thus marked; cp. 1. 74, 3, etc.

2. **Iovis et Triviae.** The inscription above mentioned (cp. also C. I. G. 2720) associates the names [Διὸς τοῦ Π]ανημε[ρίου καὶ Ἑκ]άτης. Strabo (l. l) mentions as the two temples of Stratoniceia that of Hecate (ἐν Λαγίνοις) and a temple to Zeus Chrysaoreus, outside the city, common to all the Carians. This, as Nipp. shows, must be distinct from the one here mentioned, which, as being not locally separate from that of Hecate, is not distinctly noticed by Strabo.

**altius . . . exposuere,** 'showed a claim of more remote date.' On the construction, see note on c. 25, 3.

**Hierocaesarienses,** Hierocaesarea in Lydia between Sardis and Smyrna.

3. **Persicam . . . Dianam,** the Artemis Anaitis of Pausanias (3. 16, 8), who also describes (5. 27, 5) a Persian or Magian ritual kept up in his time at this city and Hypaepa. This Lydian goddess claimed affinity with the Tauric Artemis, and had probably the same attributes as the Ephesian Artemis, whether of Arian or Semitic origin: see Nipp.

**rege Cyro** = 'regnante Cyro:' cp. 'principe Augusto' c. 71, 3.

4. **Perpenna.** M. Perpenna or Perperna, consul in 624, B.C. 130, was the conqueror and captor of Aristonicus of Pergamum: see 4. 55, 2.

**Isaurici.** We should suppose the first and best known of the name to be intended; but Borghesi (v. 306) points out that the proconsulate of Asia was never held by him, but by his son P. Servilius Isauricus, cos. 706, B.C. 48, who had that province in 708, B.C. 46 (Cic. ad Fam. 13. 68, etc.).

6. **Cyprii,** Cyprus, annexed in 696, B.C. 58, and for some time held with Cilicia, was among the provinces originally taken in hand by Augustus (Dio, 53. 12, 7), but was made over to the senate in 732, B.C. 22, and governed by proconsuls of praetorian rank, residing at new Paphos (Acts 13, 6, 7) now Baffa: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 232.

**tribus de delubris.** Modern editors have generally followed Bezzenb. in the insertion of 'de,' supposed to have dropped out before 'delubris,' and in supplying 'exposuere.' The reference in 'exim' would seem to lie rather to the sentences marked by 'primi,' 'proximi,' and 'posthac;' but the construction thus suggested, that of supplying 'adiere,' and taking 'tribus delubris' as abl. abs. or dat., seems impossible.

7. **quorum,** etc. This sentence again is somewhat obscure from the attempt to combine concisely the mention of the locality of the three temples, the worship to which they were dedicated, and the names of their founders. It is implied that the first was situated at old Paphos (Kukla), the second at Amathus (old Limasol), the third at Salamis (Costanza, near Famagousta).

**Paphiae Veneri.** On this temple, and on Aërias, cp. H. 2. 2; 3; where it is mentioned that the goddess was represented by a mere stone. The Aphrodite of Paphos and Amathus appears to be a form of Astarte.

**auctor,** 'founder;' as in H. 4. 84, 6, etc.

9. **Teucer:** cp. Hor. Od. 1. 7, 21, sqq.

**posuissent,** 'had founded:' cp. 'Byzantium . . . posuere' (12. 63, 1), etc. The

**63.** Auditae aliarum quoque civitatium legationes. quorum 1
copia fessi patres, et quia studiis certabatur, consulibus permisere, 2
ut perspecto iure, et si qua iniquitas involveretur, rem integram
rursum ad senatum referrent. consules super eas civitates, quas 3
memoravi, apud Pergamum Aesculapii conpertum asylum rettu-
lerunt: ceteros obscuris ob vetustatem initiis niti. nam Zmyr- 4
naeos oraculum Apollinis, cuius imperio Stratonicidi Veneri
templum dicaverint, Tenios eiusdem carmen referre, quo sacrare
Neptuni effigiem aedemque iussi sint. propiora Sardianos: 5
Alexandri victoris id donum. neque minus Milesios Dareo rege

subjunct. appears to be used because the record of foundation is part of their statement.

1. **quorum**, 'such things:' the word refers to the whole matter. Nipp. compares Cic. ad Fam. 2. 8, 2 'sermonibus versatus sum, quae nec possunt scribi nec scribenda sunt.'

2. **studiis**, the partialities of certain senators to particular cities.

**consulibus.** For another such reference of a matter to the consuls by the senate, see 14. 17, 3.

3. **si.** This is best taken with Nipp. as depending on 'perspecto,' with the sense of 'whether:' cp. 1. 48, 1. 'Circumspecta' has an analogous double construction in 14. 33, 2: see Introd. v. 91, 8; and note on 1. 15, 4.

**involveretur,** 'should be fraudulently concealed in the claim.'

5. **Pergamum.** This city, the site of which still retains the name of Pergamo or Bergamah, situated in Mysia near the junction of two other streams with the Caicus, became very important from the time of Lysimachus under its own princes; whose kingdom, bequeathed to Rome, formed the original province of Asia. It still remained a famous city, being estimated to consist of 40,000 citizens and 120,000 inhabitants, able to vie with Smyrna and Ephesus, and, in the judgment of Pliny (N. H. 5. 30, 33, 126), 'longe clarissimum Asiae:' see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 184, 188, etc. For an account of the very important recent discoveries made on its site, see Perry, Greek and Roman Sculpture, ch. xlvi.

**Aesculapii.** The worship of this god was brought there from Epidaurus (Paus. 2. 26, 8); and the temple was situate outside the city (Id. 5. 13, 2).

6. **Zmyrnaeos.** The MS. here has 'Zmyrnetis,' the margin 'Smyrnaeos;' the text is restored from 4. 55, 6, etc. The city then, as now, known under this name, dated from the Alexandrian epoch; the old city north of it having been ruined by Alyattes (Hdt. 1. 16, 2), though still inhabited *κωμηδόν* (Strab. 14. 1, 37, 646). Its importance has been mentioned in the note above. It is the most considerable city of modern Asia Minor, having still a population of over 150,000.

7. **Stratonicidi Veneri.** Nipp. rightly notes that this worship, being instanced as one obscure from its antiquity, can have no connexion with Stratonice (see on c. 62, 2) in its origin, though no doubt afterwards associated with her honour; as the names seem to have some relation to each other in an inscription of Seleucus Callinicus confirming the asylum (C. I. G. 3137). *Ἀφροδίτη Στρατονικίς* (Inscr. l. l. and 3156) must therefore be identical with *Ἀφροδίτη Στρατεία* or *Νικηφόρος*, the original of the Roman 'Venus Victrix.' This temple is mentioned as the Stratoniceum by Vitruvius (5, 9).

8. **Tenios.** Tenos, like the other Cyclades, belonged to the province of Asia. In Strabo's time (10. 5, 11, p. 487) its town was small, but its temple of Poseidon outside the walls large and celebrated, attesting by its large *ἑστιατόρια* the number of worshippers frequenting it. On coins of Tenos the attributes of this god are found.

9. **propiora,** sc. 'referre,' they made a claim of more modern date:' cp. 'altius exposuere' c. 62, 4.

**Sardianos.** On Sardes, see 2. 47, 3. Strabo (13. 4, 5, 626) mentions its temple of Artemis Coloëne (called after a neighbouring lake) as *μεγάλην ἁγιστείαν ἔχον*.

10. **id,** i.e. 'ius asyli:' with 'donum' is to be supplied 'esse.'

**Milesios.** Miletus, though no longer a great city, was still a *μητρόπολις τῆς*

niti; set cultus numinum utrisque Dianam aut Apollinem vene-
6 randi. petere et Cretenses simulacro divi Augusti. factaque
7 senatus consulta, quis multo cum honore modus tamen praescribebatur, iussique ipsis in templis figere aera sacrandam ad memoriam, neu specie religionis in ambitionem delaberentur.

1 **64.** Sub idem tempus Iuliae Augustae valetudo atrox necessitudinem principi fecit festinati in urbem reditus, sincera adhuc
2 inter matrem filiumque concordia sive occultis odiis. neque enim multo ante, cum haud procul theatro Marcelli effigiem divo Augusto Iulia dicaret, Tiberi nomen suo postscripserat, idque ille credebatur ut inferius maiestate principis gravi et dissimulata
3 offensione abdidisse. set tum supplicia dis ludique magni ab

'Ιωνίας (Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 187). Within its territory lay the temple of Apollo Didymaeus, at Didymi or Branchidae, one of immemorial antiquity (Paus. 7. 2, 4), and famous in early Greek history (Hdt. 1. 46, etc.). It had been ruined by the Persians, but rebuilt on an enormous scale, containing a village within its precincts (Strab. 14. 1, 5, 634). For an account of the locality, see Newton, Trav. and Disc. in the Levant, ii. 147, foll.

**Dareo rege niti**: so most edd. after Lips. The MS. has 'regi $^{e}$utis et,' whence 'uti' has been retained by some. According to some accounts Darius was the destroyer; but this was more probably the act of Xerxes (cp. Strab. l. l.).

1. **set**: cp. c. 62, 3.

**cultus . . . venerandi**, 'their worship consisted in the honouring;' the gerund being used as a defining genitive. Nipp. compares 'ambitu . . . ornandi' 4. 2, 4, 'patrocinium defendendae . . . poeticae' Dial. 4, 1.

**Dianam aut Apollinem**; i. e. the one worshipped Diana, the other, Apollo: cp. 'perfidia . . . aut fide' (1. 55, 2), etc.

2. **petere**, sc. 'ius asyli.'

**simulacro divi Augusti**. On the 'imago principis,' cp. c. 36, 1.

3. **honore**; 'expressions of respect:' cp. 6. 15, 4; 'honora oratio' 1. 10, 7.

**modus**. This appears to mean that new 'asyla' were not to be set up, and the limits of those existing were to be strictly defined. Suetonius (Tib. 37) exaggerates this into an abolition of all asyla.

4. **aera**, etc., 'tablets to consecrate the record.'

5. **neu**='et ne.' Nipp. couples this to 'sacrandum ad memoriam,' as adding a second reason for erecting tablets; to prevent future extensions of sanctuary by cities in rivalry with each other.

6. **valetudo atrox**. Nipp. notes that an altar inscribed to 'Pietas Augusta' was ordered on the occasion of this illness but not erected until 796, A.D. 43 (C. I. L. vi. 1, 562).

7. **reditus**: cp. c. 31, 1. The Praenestine Kalendar (see below) would show that he returned after April, and had therefore been absent more than a year.

8. **sive**. Tacitus intimates a preference for this alternative by inserting the clause 'neque enim,' etc., to show a probable reason for it.

**neque . . . multo ante**. The date, viii. Kal. Mai (April 23), is given by the Praenestine Kalendar (Inscr. Orell. ii. p. 388).

9. **theatro Marcelli**. This was dedicated by Augustus in 743, B.C. 11 (cp. Momms. on Mon. Anc. iv. 22). It stood in the 'forum holitorium' (cp. 2. 49, 2), between the Capitol and the Tiber, where considerable remains of it still exist. See Burn, p. 302, foll., Dyer, Dict. of Geog. p. 845.

10. **postscripserat**. This verb is nowhere else found. The kalendar quoted above appears to follow the original inscription in giving the names in this order. 'Sig. Divo Augusto Patri ad Theatrum Mar[celli] Iulia Augusta et Ti. Augustus dedicarunt.'

12. **abdidisse**, 'stored in memory.' On this trait in his character, cp. 1. 7, 11; 69, 7, etc.

**supplicia** = 'supplicationes;' an old sense of the word (Festus), retained by

senatu decernuntur, quos pontifices et augures et quindecimviri
septemviris simul et sodalibus Augustalibus ederent. censuerat 4
L. Apronius ut fetiales quoque iis ludis praesiderent. contra
dixit Caesar, distincto sacerdotiorum iure et repetitis exemplis:
neque enim umquam fetialibus hoc maiestatis fuisse. ideo Au- 5
gustales adiectos, quia proprium eius domus sacerdotium esset,
pro qua vota persolverentur.

**65**. Exsequi sententias haud institui nisi insignes per hones- 1
tum aut notabili dedecore, quod praecipuum munus annalium
reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex pos-
teritate et infamia metus sit. ceterum tempora illa adeo infecta 2
et adulatione sordida fuere, ut non modo primores civitatis, qui-
bus claritudo sua obsequiis protegenda erat, sed omnes consu-
lares, magna pars eorum qui praetura functi multique etiam

Plautus (Rud. Prol. 25), Sall. (Cat. 9. 2, etc.), and Liv. (22. 57, 5).

**ludi magni**, 'votivi circenses.'

1. **quindecimviri septemviris simul**. The former had charge of the Sibylline Books (cp. 6. 12, 1, etc.) and special charge of 'ludi saeculares' (11. 11, 4). The collegium, at first of two, was raised to ten when opened to plebeians, and to fifteen by Sulla: see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 365. 'Triumviri epulones' to preside at the 'epulum Iovis' were instituted in 558, B.C. 196 (Liv. 33. 42), and the number was subsequently increased to seven, and by Julius Caesar to ten (Dio, 43. 51, 9), though the name of 'septemviri' continued: Marquardt, p. 334. These two, with the pontiffs and augurs, formed the four great priestly colleges.

2. **simul**. On this prepositional use, cp. Introd. v. § 63.

**Augustalibus**: cp. 1. 54, 1.

3. **L. Apronius**: cp. 1. 56, 1, etc. His motion was perhaps grounded on the fact that Augustus had been a 'fetialis;' a reason equally valid to include the 'sodales Titii' (see Mon. Anc. Gr. iv. 7).

4. **distincto**, etc., 'distinguishing the legitimate functions of the priesthoods and going back for precedents.' These are explained by 'neque enim,' etc., as showing that the fetiales had never had 'hoc maiestatis,' i.e. had never ranked in dignity with the four great colleges. On the functions of the fetiales in connexion with the ceremonies of war and treaties, see Marquardt, iii. p. 398, etc.

5. **ideo Augustales**, etc. This anticipates the objection that neither were they among the old great 'collegia.' They were again associated with them in the thanksgivings on the fall of Seianus (Dio, 58. 12, 5), probably for a similar reason.

8. **Exsequi**, 'to set forth in detail:' cp. 4. 4, 6; 11. 21, 1; 12. 58, 1; Dial. 16, 2: also in Liv., Pl. mai., Quint, etc. Cic. has 'verbis exsequi (ad Fam. 11. 27, 6). This chapter, though it does not appear to relate to those immediately preceding, leads from such motions as those mentioned in c. 57, to what follows in c. 66.

9. **notabili dedecore**. These words are probably best taken, with Nipp., as an abl. of quality; as 'notabili,' while corresponding well to 'insignes,' would be somewhat tautologous, if taken as depending on it.

**munus annalium**, 'the office of history.' On the use of 'annales' in this general sense, cp. Introd. i. p. 5; and, on this conception of the office of history, Id. iv. p. 19. 'Quod' is explained by the following clause, as in 4. 4, 6.

10. **posteritate et infamia**, hendiadys. On 'metus ex,' cp. 1. 29, 3.

11. **infecta**, usually with ablative in Tacitus, as 2. 85, 5; 6. 7, 4, etc, but thus used absolutely in the sense of 'poisoned' or 'tainted' by Plin. (H. N. 9. 7, 6, 18), who also thus uses 'inficimus' (Id. 18. 1, 1, 3).

12. **primores civitatis**, the more famous consulars, such as Asinius Gallus, Ateius Capito, etc.

pedarii senatores certatim exsurgerent foedaque et nimia cen-
3 serent. memoriae proditur Tiberium, quotiens curia egrederetur, Graecis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum 'o homines ad
4 servitutem paratos!' scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam proiectae servientium patientiae taedebat.

1 **66**. Paulatim dehinc ab indecoris ad infesta transgrediebantur.
2 C. Silanum pro consule Asiae, repetundarum a sociis postulatum, Mamercus Scaurus e consularibus, Iunius Otho praetor, Bruttedius Niger aedilis simul corripiunt obiectantque violatum Augusti numen, spretam Tiberii maiestatem, Mamercus antiqua exempla iaciens, L. Cottam a Scipione Africano, Servium Galbam a
3 Catone censorio, P. Rutilium a M. Scauro accusatos. videlicet Scipio et Cato talia ulciscebantur, aut ille Scaurus, quem pro-

1. **pedarii senatores.** The investigation of this term by Gellius (3. 18) shows that in his time it had become obscure, and was even corrupted into 'pedanii.' The use of the word here in opposition to 'consulares' and 'praetura functi,' answers to that in Frontinus (de Aq. 99), 'Augustus . . . curatorem fecit Messallam Corvinum, cui adiutores dati Postumius Sulpicius praetorius et L. Cominius pedarius.' This need not be inconsistent with the view that the term denoted those who had not held a curule office, as the small and not particularly important class of senators who had attained, but not got beyond, the curule aedileship (cp. 6. 30, 2), may be here ignored. The question of the position of 'pedarii' in debate (cp. Cic. ad Att. 1. 19, 9; 20, 4) is discussed by Mr. D. B. Monro (Journal of Philology, vol. iv. pp. 113, foll.). The evidence of Tacitus goes to show that they were not precluded from speaking; especially if the term 'senator,' in c. 36, 1; 1. 75, 3, etc., is to be taken to mean 'senator pedarius.'

4. **qui . . . nollet.** Dräger (Synt. und Stil, § 160) notes this concessive relative as rare; cp. 'qui deos . . . contemneret' Suet. Cal. 51, 'qui luxuriae immodicae esset' Id. Ner. 51.

5. **proiectae,** 'abject:' see note on 1. 42, 4.

6. **ab indecoris ad infesta,** 'from servility to persecution,' i.e. to delations; by fastening an imaginary charge of 'maiestas' on a person indicted by provincials on other grounds.

7. **C. Silanum.** He had apparently preceded M. Lepidus (c. 32, 2) in the proconsulate (see Introd. vii. p. 95). He was also, according to the Fast. Cap., 'flamen Martialis' (cp. note on c. 58, 1).

8. **Mamercus Scaurus**: see 1. 13, 4: further account of Otho and Niger is given below.

9. **violatum Augusti numen**: see 1. 73, 2.

11. **iaciens**: see on c. 49, 2.

**L. Cottam.** The accusation of L. Aurelius Cotta (cos. 610, B.C. 144) by the younger Africanus, on a charge of 'repetundae,' took place about 624, B.C. 130. He was acquitted, a result which, according to Cicero (pro Mur. 28, 58), was ascribed to a desire on the part of the judges to escape the suspicion of being awed by so great an accuser.

**Servium Galbam.** Ser. Sulpicius Galba, often mentioned by Cicero as a great orator, was indicted in 605, B.C. 149, for atrocious cruelty and treachery to the Lusitanians. The charge was supported by Cato, then in the extremity of old age; but Galba procured an acquittal by his eloquence and by parading his sons and nephew as suppliants (Cic. Brut. 23, 89); and also, as is said, by bribery (App. Hisp. 60).

12. **P. Rutilium.** P. Rutilius Rufus (see on 4. 43, 7) had been a candidate for the consulship in 638, B.C. 116, against Scaurus, the famous 'princeps senatus,' etc. After the election, each accused the other of 'ambitus' (Cic. Brut. 30, 113).

**videlicet**, ironical; as in Cic., etc.

13. **ille Scaurus.** It should be remembered that this hero of the optimates is represented by Sallust (Jug. 15, 3), as 'factiosus, avidus potentiae honoris di-

avum suum obprobrium maiorum Mamercus infami opera de-
honestabat. Iunio Othoni literarium ludum exercere vetus ars 4
fuit: mox Seiani potentia senator obscura initia impudentibus
ausis propolluebat. Bruttedium artibus honestis copiosum et, 5
si rectum iter pergeret, ad clarissima quaeque iturum festinatio
extimulabat, dum aequalis, dein superiores, postremo suasmet
ipse spes anteire parat: quod multos etiam bonos pessum dedit, 6
qui spretis quae tarda cum securitate, praematura vel cum exitio
properant.

**67.** Auxere numerum accusatorum Gellius Publicola et M. 1
Paconius, ille quaestor Silani, hic legatus. nec dubium habeba- 2
tur saevitiae captarumque pecuniarum teneri reum: sed multa
adgerebantur etiam insontibus periculosa, cum super tot sena-
tores adversos facundissimis totius Asiae eoque ad accusandum

vitiarum, ceterum vitia sua callide occultans;' and appears undoubtedly to have taken bribes from Jugurtha.

1. **dehonestabat.** The verb is first found in Liv. 41, 6. Tacitus uses it only in the Annals, e.g. c. 70, 4, etc.

2. **literarium ludum,** 'an elementary school:' so in Plin. (N. H. 9. 8, 8, 25), etc. He would seem to have had more talent than is here implied; as M. Seneca speaks of him in several places, as an accomplished though artificial speaker, and as an author of rhetorical works (Controv. 9. 33, 37). Similar instances of men of low birth rising to great wealth and rank by the profession of rhetoric and practice of delation are found in Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus (see Dial. 8, 3).

4. **ausis**: cp. 2. 39, 3.

**propolluebat.** Halm and Orelli here retain the MS. text, for which very many alterations have been suggested: see their comm. critt. If the text is sound, we must suppose that Tacitus, who has elsewhere (6. 25, 1) coined 'provixisse,' in the sense of 'lived on,' has here treated 'polluo' as a simple verb, and formed this compound of it, in the sense of 'was yet further defiling.' The simplest emendation, 'polluebat,' is perhaps the most satisfactory, and not tautologous, as his 'obscura initia' are not to be presumed to be therefore already 'polluta.'

**Bruttedium.** This person also is cited by M. Seneca as an orator (Contr. 9. 35) and historical writer (Suas. 6. 20, 21). It would appear from Juvenal (10, 82, where see Mayor) that he was involved in the fall of Seianus.

**copiosum,** 'richly endowed:' cp. 'copiosa vita' 13. 43, 7.

5. **pergeret,** with accus., as in 1. 28, 2; 4. 20, 5, etc. This reading is adopted by all editors for the MS. 'perageret,' which would imply a course completed at the close of life (cp. Verg. Aen. 4, 653), and would thus give a sense inconsistent with 'iturum.'

6. **suasmet,** i.e. all that he had formerly hoped for.

10. **Gellius Publicola.** Borghesi considers this person, who was cos. suff. in 793, A.D. 40, to have been descended from L. Gellius Publicola, brother of Messala (Liv. Epit. 122), who was consul in 718, B.C. 36, and had been a prisoner in the power of Brutus and Cassius (Dio, 47. 24, 3).

**M. Paconius.** Suetonius (Tib. 61) states, on contemporary authority, that Tiberius afterwards imprisoned Paconius, and on being reminded of his existence by a jester, ordered his execution. Tacitus calls him an innocent victim (16. 29, 3) and mentions his son Paconius Agrippinus (Id. 28, 2).

12. **teneri,** thus used with gen. 11. 7, 8; on the analogy of 'arguere,' etc.; also with abl. as c. 13, 2, etc. On the inf. with accus. after 'nec dubium,' cp. Introd. v. § 44.

**multa.** These circumstances are mentioned in the whole passage down to 'silendi.'

14. **facundissimis totius Asiae,** i.e. the

delectis responderet solus et orandi nescius, proprio in metu, qui
exercitam quoque eloquentiam debilitat, non temperante Tiberio
quin premeret voce vultu, eo quod ipse creberrime interrogabat,
neque refellere aut eludere dabatur, ac saepe etiam confitendum
3 erat, ne frustra quaesivisset. Servos quoque Silani, ut tormentis
interrogarentur, actor publicus mancipio acceperat. et ne quis
necessariorum iuvaret periclitantem, maiestatis crimina subde-
4 bantur, vinclum et necessitas silendi. igitur petito paucorum
dierum interiectu defensionem sui deseruit, ausis ad Caesarem
codicillis, quibus invidiam et preces miscuerat.

1 **68.** Tiberius quae in Silanum parabat, quo excusatius sub
exemplo acciperentur, libellos divi Augusti de Voleso Messalla
eiusdem Asiae pro consule factumque in eum senatus consultum
2 recitari iubet. tum L. Pisonem sententiam rogat. ille multum
de clementia principis praefatus aqua atque igni Silano interdi-
3 cendum censuit ipsumque in insulam Gyarum relegandum. ea-
dem ceteri, nisi quod Cn. Lentulus separanda Silani materna
bona, quippe Atia parente geniti, reddendaque filio dixit, adnu-
ente Tiberio.

rhetoricians of Ephesus and other Greek cities.

2. **exercitam,** 'trained:' cp. c. 20, 2; 4. 11, 2; 14. 2, 4; 56, 5, etc. This use, in the sense of 'exercitatus,' appears especially Tacitean; another use is noted in 1. 17, 7; 35, 2.

4. **dabatur,** often with inf. in this sense in Tacitus (4. 6, 2; 60, 1; 6. 19, 4, etc.), after poets (Verg., Ov., etc.), Quint., and Plin. (Pan. 50).

5. **ne frustra quaesivisset,** i.e. lest Tiberius should be irritated if his questions failed to elicit anything.

6. **actor publicus**: cp. 2. 30, 3.

7. **iuvaret periclitantem,** repeated from c. 12, 9.

**subdebantur**: cp. 1. 6, 6.

9. **interiectu**: cp. c. 51, 4.

**ausis,** here alone used as a passive participle; but such use appears in the substantival 'ausum' (c. 66, 4, etc.); and the verb is used in the passive in Liv., Vell., etc.; as also by poets (Verg. Aen. 9, 320, etc.).

10. **invidiam et preces.** These are coupled in 4. 53, 1; 16. 10, 5; and 'invidia' has the sense of reproach in 4. 52, 3; 11. 34, 5; 15. 19, 2; but apparently in Tacitus alone.

11. **excusatius,** 'with more justification:' so in Pl. Ep. 9. 21, 3; Just. 32. 2; and 'excusate' Quint. 2. 1, 13.

**sub exemplo,** 'by putting forward an example:' cp. 4. 11, 5; 'sub nominibus' 16. 19, 5.

12. **libellos,** generally used in this sense of the accusers' indictment (2. 29, 3); here of the letter from the prince sent with it to the senate, the 'epistulae' of c. 44, 3, etc.

**Voleso Messalla.** On the date of his consulship and proconsulate, see Introd. vii. p. 95; on his atrocious cruelty, see Id. p. 101.

14. **L. Pisonem.** Here, as in 2. 32, 4, it is uncertain which of the persons known by this name is meant.

16. **Gyarum,** one of the Cyclades, now *τὰ Γιούρα* or Jura, apparently a common and typical place of exile (Juv. 1, 73; 10, 70, etc.). See note on c. 69, 8.

17. **Cn. Lentulus**: cp. 1. 27, 1; 4. 44, 1.

**separanda,** i.e. from the 'publicatio' implied in this sentence.

18. **Atia parente geniti**: so Halm, for the MS. 'alia,' after Madvig, who argues (Adv. Crit. i. 148) that the name must have been one easily mistaken for 'alia,' and that of a family entitled to the utmost consideration; and that these re-

**69.** At Cornelius Dolabella dum adulationem longius sequi- 1
tur, increpitis C. Silani moribus addidit, ne quis vita probrosus
et opertus infamia provinciam sortiretur, idque princeps diiudi-
caret. nam a legibus delicta puniri: quanto fore mitius in ipsos, 2
melius in socios, provideri ne peccaretur? adversum quae disse-
ruit Caesar: non quidem sibi ignara quae de Silano vulgabantur, 3
sed non ex rumore statuendum. multos in provinciis contra
quam spes aut metus de illis fuerit egisse: excitari quosdam ad
meliora magnitudine rerum, hebescere alios. neque posse prin- 4
cipem sua scientia cuncta complecti, neque expedire ut ambitione
aliena trahatur. ideo leges in facta constitui, quia futura in in-
certo sint. sic a maioribus institutum, ut, si antissent delicta, 5
poenae sequerentur. ne verterent sapienter reperta et semper 6
placita; satis onerum principibus, satis etiam potentiae. minui
iura, quotiens gliscat potestas, nec utendum imperio, ubi legibus
agi possit. quanto rarior apud Tiberium popularitas, tanto 7
laetioribus animis accepta. atque ille prudens moderandi, si 8
propria ira non impelleretur, addidit insulam Gyarum inmitem

quirements would be satisfied by supposing his mother to have been an Atia, of the same family with the mother of Augustus. Other suggestions are 'Manlia' or 'Mallia,' from comparison of the name of his sister (c. 69, 9); or that 'alia' might possibly mean 'dissimili' ('of far other character'). Orelli and Nipp. bracket the sentence as a gloss, the latter suggesting that some annotator sought to explain the act of generosity by imagining that the 'materna bona' of Silanus were those of a stepmother, not of his real mother.

**filio**, probably the consul of 781, A.D. 28 (4. 68, 8).

1. **Cornelius Dolabella**: cp. his 'absurda adulatio' in c. 47, 4.

**sequitur**: cp. 'sequitur ardorem militum' 1. 49, 6. The sense in both cases is that of falling in with a prevalent feeling and stimulating it.

3. **idque princeps diiudicaret.** On the interference of the princeps with the 'sortitio provinciarum,' cp. 6. 40, 3.

4. **a legibus.** The use of the prep. is suited to the personification. Nipp. compares Cic. Part. Or. 38, 134; M. Sen. Contr. 24, 1, in both of which 'a lege' is used with a personifying expression.

6. **vulgabantur.** On the indicative, cp. Introd. v. § 49.

7. **contra quam,** frequently so used, of acts contrary to rule or principle, in Cic. (e.g. pro Cl. 5, 12, etc.), and Liv. (30. 19, 9); not elsewhere in Tacitus, who has 'secus quam' (4. 8, 6; 6. 22, 5).

9. **hebescere**: so used metaphorically of persons in H. 2. 77, 4: cp. 'hebent' G. 15, 1, and the adj. 'hebes' H. 2. 99, 2.

10. **expedire ut.** This construction is rare, and probably here, as in Just. 34. 1, 7 ('expedire . . . ut . . . leges habeant'), adopted to avoid the dependence of an inf. on another inf. Dräger points out the similar reason for 'intelligebant opus esse . . . ut,' 'respondeat sufficere ut' (Dial. 31, 1; 32, 1).

**ambitione aliena**, i.e. the intrigues of those who wished to supplant a rival candidate for a province.

14. **placita**: cp. 2. 66, 3.

16. **popularitas**, 'the effort to please:' so in Suet. Cal. 15; Ner. 53; Tit. 8: cp. 'gratum popularitate Magnum' Stat. Sylv. 2. 7, 69. See the remarks on another act of magnanimity in Tiberius (4. 31, 1).

17. **prudens moderandi,** 'thoughtful to enforce moderation.' Several instances of such action can be given, as in 2. 50, 4; 3. 18, 1, etc.

et sine cultu hominum esse: darent Iuniae familiae et viro quon-
9 dam ordinis eiusdem, ut Cythnum potius concederet. id sororem
quoque Silani Torquatam, priscae sanctimoniae virginem, expe-
tere. in hanc sententiam facta discessio.

1 **70.** Post auditi Cyrenenses, et accusante Anchario Prisco
2 Caesius Cordus repetundarum damnatur. L. Ennium equitem
Romanum, maiestatis postulatum, quod effigiem principis pro-
miscum ad usum argenti vertisset, recipi Caesar inter reos vetuit,
3 palam aspernante Ateio Capitone quasi per libertatem. non
enim debere eripi patribus vim statuendi neque tantum male-
ficium impune habendum. sane lentus in suo dolore esset: rei
4 publicae iniurias ne largiretur. intellexit haec Tiberius, ut erant
magis quam ut dicebantur, perstititque intercedere. Capito in-

1. **sine cultu hominum.** Pliny (H. N. 8. 29, 43, 104) gives a story from Varro, who apparently had it from Theophrastus (Id. 57, 82, 222), of its desertion through a plague of mice. In 4. 30, 2 it is called destitute of water. Strabo, however, records (10. 5, 3, 485) that at the time of Actium he found there a village of fishermen, who complained of their inability to pay the tribute (600 H. S.) laid on them.

**quondam ordinis eiusdem.** His senatorial rank was a thing of the past, being lost 'ipso facto' on sentence of exile.

2. **Cythnum**, Thermia; near Gyaros, but considerably larger and having a town once capable of defence (Liv. 31. 45, 9), afterwards occupied by a pseudo-Nero (H. 2. 8, 2). Here the MS. has 'Cythenum,' whence some have adopted 'Cytheram.'

3. **Torquatam.** The surname is explained by the connexion of the Iunii with the Manlii (c. 76, 4). Torquata is mentioned as a vestal, with the full name 'Iunia C. Silani f. Torquata,' in two inscriptions (see on Introd. ii. p. 9), the former of which describes her as 'virgo Vestalis maxima' (see on 2. 86, 1).

4. **in hanc sententiam facta discessio**, i. e. 'this was assented to without discussion:' cp. 6. 12, 1, and Nipp. there. That the 'consensus' in such a case (see Gell. 14, 7) was not always unanimous or final, is evident: see note on c. 23, 2, 3; also the paper by Mr. D. B. Monro already referred to (note on c. 65, 2).

5. **Cyrenenses.** The Cyrenaica had certainly been joined to the province of Crete ever since the arrangement of 727, B. C. 27 (Dio, 53. 12, 4), and was usually held with it before that date: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 302. On its original cession to Rome by bequest, see on 14. 18, 2. The country extended from the eastern boundary of Africa at 'Philaenorum arae' (Introd. vii. p. 97) to the frontier of Egypt, coinciding with the eastern half of modern Tripoli. Josephus (Ant. 14. 7, 2) gives, on the authority of Strabo, a fourfold division of the population: 1. *πολῖται* (Greeks); 2. *γεωργοί* (Libyans): 3. *μέτοικοι*; 4. *Ἰουδαῖοι*. These latter were a large body (cp. Acts 2, 10).

6. **Caesius Cordus.** Respecting him and Ancharius Priscus, cp. c. 38, 1. It is probable that the accusers had demanded a year for collecting evidence (cp. 13. 43, 2).

7. **promiscum ad usum . . . vertisset**, i. e. had melted it down into plate. For other charges implying desecration of such images, cp. 1. 73, 2; 74, 4.

9. **aspernante**, 'protesting:' cp. 4. 30, 2; 14. 42, 2, etc.

**Ateio Capitone**: see on c. 75, 1.

10. **enim.** This marks the transition to 'oratio obliqua,' as in 2. 28, 2; 4. 70, 5; 15. 27, 1, etc.

11. **impune**: cp. 1. 72, 3.

12. **ne largiretur**, 'he should not show his generosity in forgiving wrongs against the state.' No other instance is given of this sense of 'largior.'

**ut erant**, etc., 'his real thought rather than his expression.'

13. **insignitior.** This comparative form appears to be more used in a bad sense than 'insignior:' cp. 4. 51, 2; Liv. 7. 15,

signitior infamia fuit, quod humani divinique iuris sciens egre-
gium publicum et bonas domi artes dehonestavisset.

**71.** Incessit dein religio, quonam in templo locandum foret 1
donum, quod pro valetudine Augustae equites Romani voverant
equestri Fortunae: nam etsi delubra eius deae multa in urbe,
nullum tamen tali cognomento erat. repertum est aedem esse 2
apud Antium, quae sic nuncuparetur, cunctasque caerimonias
Italicis in oppidis templaque et numinum effigies iuris atque
imperii Romani esse. ita donum apud Antium statuitur. et
quoniam de religionibus tractabatur, dilatum nuper responsum 3
adversus Servium Maluginensem flaminem Dialem prompsit
Caesar recitavitque decretum pontificum, quotiens valetudo ad-

10; 8. 13, 1. On rare forms of comparison in Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 7.

1. **humani divinique iuris sciens.** Nerva is similarly described in 6. 26, 1, and, as jurisprudence is defined to be 'divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia' (Ulp. Dig. 1. 1, 10), a great jurist would be versed in both branches. Macrobius (7. 13, 11) especially credits Capito with proficiency in pontifical, or divine, law. See Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 304, n. 5.

**egregium publicum.** The analogy of 'bonum,' 'malum,' 'optimum,' 'pessimum publicum' suggests that 'egregium' is here to be taken as the substantive (cp. 6. 24, 3; 14. 60, 1). In 4. 6, 2 'inlustres domi artes' are contrasted with 'claritudo militiae,' as comprising all accomplishments whose renown could be gained at home, those of the jurist, orator, or man of letters. In this place the contrast seems rather to resemble that in 1. 13, 1 'artibus egregiis et pari fama publice;' juristic learning being viewed as an accomplishment of private life ('domi'), i. e. unconnected with any public office, and thus contrasted with the 'egregium publicum' of Capito, his distinction in the state as a consular and leading senator. Or, if it be thought that these words must be taken, on the analogy of 'bonum publicum,' etc., to mean 'the honour of the state,' we still need not refer the expression, with Nipp., to the glory of the imperial clemency, which Capito could hardly be said 'dehonestare,' but may take it of the renown which so great a jurist had himself conferred on his country.

3. **religio,** here 'a religious difficulty' or 'question:' cp. below, 'de religionibus.'

4. **valetudine Augustae**: cp. c. 64, 1.

6. **nullum . . . erat.** A difficulty arises from the fact that a temple thus entitled was dedicated at Rome in 581, B.C. 173 (Liv. 40. 40; 42. 3, 10), was evidently in existence in 662, B.C. 92 (Jul. Obsequens, § 113, citing, probably from Livy, a prodigy belonging to that year), and appears to be alluded to, as still standing, even by Vitruvius (3. 3, 2). It may, however, have perished after that date, and the only inscriptions to 'Fortuna' with this title appear to be spurious: see Orelli here and on Inscr. 1746.

7. **apud Antium.** This town being especially the seat of the worship of Fortune (Hor. Od. 1. 35, 1), another temple to that goddess may well have existed there, besides the famous one of the 'Fortunae Antiates' (cp. 15. 23, 3; Insc. Orell. 1738, 1740), but so obscured by it as to be forgotten.

**caerimonias,** 'worship:' cp. c. 60, 3, etc.

8. **iuris . . . Romani esse.** This is inserted to show that such an offering could be dedicated as lawfully at Antium as at Rome. When the Italians became Roman citizens, it appears to have rested with the pontiffs to decide what 'municipalia sacra' should be kept up: see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 307.

10. **dilatum nuper**: cp. c. 59, 1. The 'pontifex maximus' was by his office 'iudex atque arbiter rerum divinarum humanarumque' (Festus): cp. Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 304. The present question was one of 'ius divinum.'

12. **quotiens valetudo adversa, etc.**

versa flaminem Dialem incessisset, ut pontificis maximi arbitrio plus quam binoctium abesset, dum ne diebus publici sacrificii neu saepius quam bis eundem in annum; quae principe Augusto constituta satis ostendebant annuam absentiam et provinciarum
4 administrationem Dialibus non concedi. memorabaturque L. Metelli pontificis maximi exemplum, qui Aulum Postumium flaminem attinuisset. ita sors Asiae in eum qui consularium Maluginensi proximus erat conlata.

1 **72.** Isdem diebus Lepidus ab senatu petivit ut basilicam Pauli, Aemilia monumenta, propria pecunia firmaret ornaretque.
2 erat etiam tum in more publica munificentia; nec Augustus

The MS. text must be taken to mean that the flamen could be absent for one or two nights at his discretion; but that any further absence required the permission of the chief pontiff, who could allow it only on the plea of illness, and not even on that plea at all times or more than twice a year. It is so difficult to believe that so stringent a rule could have still existed, that some corruption has been thought probable. Nipp. follows Haase in inserting 'non' before 'valetudo;' others have substituted 'et,' 'aut,' or 'utque,' for 'ut,' or have supposed a hiatus after 'incessisset:' see Halm, Baiter, Comm. Critt.; Pfitzner, p. 120. Yet an ordinance of Augustus of even such severity would imply some relaxation of the old rule, given by Livy (5. 52, 13) as referred to by Camillus, 'flamini Diali noctem unam manere extra urbem nefas est.' For various other restrictions laid upon him, see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 316.

1. **incessisset**, 'had attacked.' The word is often so used with accus. of person in Livy.

3. **in annum.** The construction appears to resemble that of εἰς in such expressions as εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν Thuc. 6. 16, 6.

**principe Augusto**, abl. absol.: cp. 'rege Cyro' c. 62, 4.

6. **Postumium.** He was 'flamen Martialis,' not 'Dialis:' see note on c. 58, 1.

7. **attinuisset**: cp. c. 36, 4, etc.

**sors Asiae**: see c. 32, 2; 58, 1. The province probably fell to Fonteius Capito (cp. 4. 36, 4).

9. **Lepidus.** Tacitus usually gives the praenomen where either Lepidus is mentioned; hence Nipp. here inserts M. What is said of his moderate means would identify him with the one mentioned in 2. 48, 1, and would be more likely to be true of Marcus (c. 32, 2) than of Manius Lepidus; also the parentage here given appears not to agree with that of the latter (see note on c. 22, 1).

**basilicam Pauli.** From what is said below, Lepidus appears to have been grandson of L. Aemilius Paulus, cos. 704, B.C. 50, who was at once the restorer of the old Basilica Aemilia or Fulvia adjoining the Forum, and the founder of the new and magnificent Basilica Pauli (Cic. Att. 4. 16, 14; Plut. Caes. 29; App. B. C. 2. 26), which was completed and dedicated by his son Paulus Aemilius Lepidus, the husband of Cornelia, in his consulship (as cos. suff.), in 720, B.C. 34 (Dio, 49. 42, 2), and was again restored in his name by Augustus and others after a fire in 740, B.C. 14 (Dio, 54. 24, 3). Its columns of Phrygian marble are noted by Pliny (N. H. 36. 15, 24, 102). It appears probable (see Burn, p. 88) that the new basilica adjoined the old one on the south-eastern side, and eclipsed or absorbed it, as one only, the 'belligeri sublimis regia Paulli' (Stat. Sylv. 1. 1, 30), is mentioned by authors.

10. **monumenta**: cp. c. 23, 1.

11. **etiam tum.** In the time of Tacitus himself all such acts were those of the princeps: cp. 'adhuc' 2. 33, 2.

**publica**, towards the state.

**nec Augustus arcuerat.** He is represented by Velleius (2. 89, 4) and Suetonius (Aug. 29) as even stimulating men to such acts of munificence. Suetonius instances the same three persons who are here mentioned. 'Arcuerat' is read by most edd. (after Lips.) for the MS. 'arguerat;' the use of this verb with inf., though elsewhere apparently confined to poets, being analogous to such as are noted in Introd. v. § 43.

arcuerat Taurum, Philippum, Balbum hostiles exuvias aut exun-
dantis opes ornatum ad urbis et posterum gloriam conferre. quo 3
tum exemplo Lepidus, quamquam pecuniae modicus, avitum
decus recoluit. at Pompei theatrum igne fortuito haustum 4
Caesar extructurum pollicitus est, eo quod nemo e familia
restaurando sufficeret, manente tamen nomine Pompei. simul
laudibus Seianum extulit, tamquam labore vigilantiaque eius
tanta vis unum intra damnum stetisset. et censuere patres 5
effigiem Seiano, quae apud theatrum Pompei locaretur. neque 6
multo post Caesar, cum Iunium Blaesum pro consule Africae

1. **Taurum.** On Statilius Taurus, cp. 6. 11, 6. His amphitheatre, the first, and, till the Flavian era, the only one of stone, was in the Campus Martius, and was dedicated by him in 724, B.C. 30 (Dio, 51. 23, 1). It is supposed to have perished in the fire of Nero.

**Philippum.** L. Marcius Philippus, son of the stepfather of Augustus, was trib. pl. in 705, B.C. 49 (Caes. B. C. 1. 6, 4), praetor in 710, B.C. 44 (Cic. Phil. 3. 10, 25). Borghesi also shows that he was cos. suff. in 716, B.C. 38, and gained a triumph from Spain. His 'aedes Herculis Musarum' (Suet. l. l.), the 'clari monumenta Philippi' of Ovid (Fast. 6, 801), with an adjoining 'porticus' (Mart. 5. 49, 12), close to the 'porticus Octaviae,' appears to have been a restoration of that erected in 567, B.C. 187, by Q. Fulvius Nobilior.

**Balbum.** L. Cornelius P. f. Balbus, a consular of the famous Spanish family, had gained a triumph (for successes as proconsul in Africa in 735, B.C. 19) and a pontificate (Vell. 2. 51, 2, etc.). His theatre, less important than those of Pompeius and Marcellus, stood in the Campus Martius, near the river, and was dedicated by him in 741, B.C. 13 (Dio, 54. 25, 2).

**hostiles exuvias**; so 'bellorum exuviae' Juv. 10, 133: here for the general's prize-money ('manubiae').

2. **ornatum ad urbis.** On the anastrophe, see Introd. v. § 77, 4.

3. **pecuniae modicus.** On the gen., cp. 2. 73, 3; on the probable reason for the fact, see c. 32, 2.

**avitum decus**: see note above, § 1, and the full account of his lineage given by Nipp. from Borghesi.

4. **recoluit,** 'renewed:' so used of images replaced (H. 3. 7, 3), or of persons reinvested with dignities (H. 1. 77, 5).

**Pompei theatrum**: see on c. 23, 1. The stage alone was destroyed, and Tiberius, if he completed the restoration, left the dedication to Gaius (see 6. 45, 3, and note there).

**haustum,** thus metaphorically applied to destruction by fire in 12. 58, 2; H. 4. 60, 5; Liv. 5. 7, 3, etc.

5. **extructurum.** On the omission of 'se,' cp. Introd. v. § 8.

**nemo e familia.** The only Pompeius known at this time, and apparently the last of that house (see 1. 7, 3, etc.), must be supposed to have been poor: Nipp. notes that, in a passage cited as proving the opposite to this (Sen. Tranq. An. 11. 8, 10), 'Ptolemaeo' should be read for 'Pompeio.'

6. **restaurando sufficeret.** 'Sufficere' is thus used with gerundial dat. (cp. Introd. v. § 22 a) in Liv. 26. 36: for a similar use with the gerundive, cp. 4. 23, 1; 6. 4, 4; Agr. 45, 2.

7. **tamquam,** 'on the ground (or plea) that.' The expression does not necessarily insinuate the falsehood of what is alleged, which certainly in some instances (cp. 4. 31, 7; 11. 4, 3; H. 1. 8, 5, etc.) seems implied to be true. See Introd. v. § 67, and several passages cited here by Nipp.

8. **intra . . . stetisset,** 'had not gone beyond:' cp. c. 75, 4; 4. 7, 1, 'citra stetit' 12. 22, 3, 'sistere intra' 4. 40, 7, also 'utinam . . . intra verba peccasset' Curt. 7. 1, 26.

9. **apud theatrum** = 'in theatro' (Introd. v. § 57). Seneca (Cons. ad Marc. 22, 4) quotes an exclamation of Cremutius Cordus (see 4. 34, 1) on hearing of this decree, 'tunc vere theatrum perire.' It would seem that the statue was at once erected: cp. 4. 7, 3.

10. **Blaesum**: see c. 35, 1, etc.

triumphi insignibus attolleret, dare id se dixit honori Seiani,
cuius ille avunculus erat. ac tamen res Blaesi dignae decore
tali fuere.

1 **73**. Nam Tacfarinas, quamquam saepius depulsus, reparatis
per intima Africae auxiliis huc adrogantiae venerat, ut legatos
ad Tiberium mitteret sedemque ultro sibi atque exercitui suo
2 postularet, aut bellum inexplicabile minitaretur. non alias
magis sua populique Romani contumelia indoluisse Caesarem
3 ferunt, quam quod desertor et praedo hostium more ageret. ne
Spartaco quidem post tot consularium exercituum clades inul-
tam Italiam urenti, quamquam Sertorii atque Mithridatis in-
gentibus bellis labaret res publica, datum ut pacto in fidem
acciperetur; nedum pulcherrimo populi Romani fastigio latro
4 Tacfarinas pace et concessione agrorum redimeretur. dat ne-
gotium Blaeso, ceteros quidem ad spem proliceret arma sine
5 noxa ponendi, ipsius autem ducis quoquo modo poteretur. et
recepti ea venia plerique. mox adversum artes Tacfarinatis
haud dissimili modo belligeratum.

1 **74**. Nam quia ille robore exercitus inpar, furandi melior,
pluris per globos incursaret eluderetque et insidias simul temp-
2 taret, tres incessus, totidem agmina parantur. ex quis Cornelius

4. **Nam Tacfarinas,** etc. The account in these chapters is a condensed summary of events from c. 32.

7. **inexplicabile,** 'endless,' a metaphor from an insoluble knot. 'Inexpiabile bellum' (Liv., etc.) is a more common expression, and Pluygers (see Halm) would so read here; but the received text aptly expresses a guerilla war leading to no issue.

**non alias.** The frequent use of this phrase at the beginning of a sentence (2. 46, 4; 4. 69, 6, etc.) seems a reminiscence of Verg. G. 1, 487.

9. **desertor**: cp. 2. 52, 2.

**hostium more,** 'as a belligerent.'

10. **Spartaco.** His rising lasted from 681–683, B.C. 73–71. He defeated both the consuls of 682, B.C. 72, besides a proconsul and two praetors. The Sertorian war lasted through a year of this period, the Mithridatic war through all of it (cp. Liv. Epit. 96).

13. **fastigio**: cp. c. 29, 2.

16. **noxa,** 'punishment;' frequent in Liv. and in jurists.

18. **haud dissimili modo**: cp. 'suis ... artibus peti' Liv. 22. 16, 5.

19. **furandi melior.** On the gen., cp. Introd. v. § 33 e γ. Dräger notes that such a genitive is used with 'melior' only here and in Silius.

20. **incursaret,** etc. The subjunct. is probably that denoting frequent occurrence (cp. below, § 3). Nipp. gives a different, but apparently less satisfactory explanation.

21. **tres incessus.** The word would seem to be best taken here, as in 6. 33, 5, as 'directions of advance;' 'parantur' being taken strictly with 'agmina,' and by zeugma, in some such sense as 'deliguntur,' with 'incessus.'

**Cornelius Scipio,** probably the person mentioned in 11. 2, 5; 4, 7; 12. 53, 3. An inscription (C. I. L. v. 1, 4329) shows him to have been legatus of the ninth legion, employed in this campaign (4. 23, 2), and afterwards consul (probably suff. in 777 or 780, A.D. 24 or 29); and to have held other offices. His father (Insc. Orell. 644) and son (13. 25, 1) were also consulars, and one of the three procos. of Asia (C. I. G. 3186).

Scipio legatus praefuit qua praedatio in Leptitanos et suffugia
Garamantum; alio latere, ne Cirtensium pagi impune trahe-
rentur, propriam manum Blaesus filius duxit. medio cum de- 3
lectis, castella et munitiones idoneis locis inponens, dux ipse
arta et infensa hostibus cuncta fecerat, quia, quoquo inclinarent,
pars aliqua militis Romani in ore in latere et saepe a tergo erat;
multique eo modo caesi aut circumventi. tunc tripertitum exer- 4
citum pluris in manus dispergit praeponitque centuriones virtutis
expertae. nec, ut mos fuerat, acta aestate retrahit copias aut in 5
hibernaculis veteris provinciae componit, sed ut in limine belli
dispositis castellis per expeditos et solitudinum gnaros mutantem
mapalia Tacfarinatem proturbabat, donec fratre eius capto re-
gressus est, properantius tamen quam ex utilitate sociorum,
relictis per quos resurgeret bellum. sed Tiberius pro confecto 6
interpretatus id quoque Blaeso tribuit ut imperator a legionibus
salutaretur prisco erga duces honore, qui bene gesta re publica

1. **Leptitanos.** Leptis minor (Lamta or Lamba), a free city between Thapsus and Hadrumetum, is here meant; Leptis maior (Lebdah) being east of Tripoli, and beyond what can reasonably be supposed to be the field of operations.

**suffugia Garamantum,** 'places of retreat among the Garamantes' (cp. 4. 47, 2; G. 16, 4, etc.): the word is used in post-Augustan prose and in Ovid. The Garamantes are generally placed in Fezzan, which is certainly far nearer Leptis 'maior' than 'minor,' but they may have extended further westward.

2. **Cirtensium,** Cirta, the chief town of Numidia or New Africa, restored by Constantine under his own name; which is still borne by the modern city, the capital of the French province.

**traherentur,** 'should be plundered:' cp. 'Aeduorum pagos trahebat' H. 2. 61, 2. The use appears taken from Sall. (letter of Mithridates) H. 4. 61, 17 D, 19 K, p. 155 G.

3. **Blaesus filius**: see on 1. 19, 4.

5. **quoquo inclinarent,** subjunct. expressing frequent occurrence: cp. Introd. v. § 52.

6. **in ore** = 'in conspectu:' cp. 'in ore vulgi' H. 3. 36, 1.

10. **veteris,** Africa proper as distinct from Numidia, now held with it: cp. note on 2. 52, 1.

**ut in limine belli,** 'as being close to the seat of war:' cp. 'ut in civili bello' H. 2. 34, 1; and other such causal uses of 'ut,' given in Introd. v. § 67. There seems to be no sufficient reason for omitting it (with Nipp.).

11. **mutantem mapalia**; adapted, like 'positis mapalibus' (4. 25, 1), from terms used of a camp. Such moveable 'mapalia' are mentioned by Livy (29. 31) and described by Vergil (G. 3, 331–334), and, according to Shaw (Travels, i. p. 397), answer to the 'hhymas' or 'beet-el-shar' ('houses of hair'), the goatskin tents, in shape like an inverted boat, of the Bedoweens. Sallust, who thus describes their shape (Jug. 18, 8), calls them 'aedificia,' apparently confounding them with such huts as are spoken of ('arundine texta storeaque . . . tecta') in Liv. 30. 3, 9; which according to Shaw (p. 400) answer to the 'gurbies' (of hurdles daubed with mud or of sunbaked clay and thatch) used by the Kabyles; supposed by him to be the 'magalia' of Vergil (Aen. 1, 421). Both words are used for the single tent or hut, and for collections of them (the 'douwars' of the former, 'dashkrahs' of the latter class).

15. **id quoque,** i. e. besides the 'triumphalia.'

16. **prisco . . . honore.** Livy (27. 19, 4) represents Scipio Africanus as saying that he had this title from his soldiers; and it is found on some inscriptions nearly approaching that time: see Mommsen, Staatsr. i. p. 122.

gaudio et impetu victoris exercitus conclamabantur; erantque plures simul imperatores nec super ceterorum aequalitatem.
7 concessit quibusdam et Augustus id vocabulum, ac tunc Tiberius Blaeso postremum.

1 **75.** Obiere eo anno viri inlustres Asinius Saloninus, M. Agrippa et Pollione Asinio avis, fratre Druso insignis Caesarique progener destinatus, et Capito Ateius, de quo memoravi, principem in civitate locum studiis civilibus adsecutus, sed avo
2 centurione Sullano, patre praetorio. consulatum ei adceleraverat Augustus, ut Labeonem Antistium isdem artibus praecellentem dignatione eius magistratus anteiret. namque illa aetas
3 duo pacis decora simul tulit: sed Labeo incorrupta libertate, et ob id fama celebratior, Capitonis obsequium dominantibus magis

1. **conclamabantur**, apparently shortened for such an expression as that of Caesar (B. C. 2. 26, 1) 'universi exercitus conclamatione imperator appellatur.'

3. **concessit quibusdam et Augustus.** All the instances which Mommsen (l. l. p. 123) has been able to collect, are prior to the formal constitution of the principate in 727, B.C. 27; after which (see also Id. ii. p. 255) the title is confined to members of the imperial family, or probably to sharers in the 'imperium proconsulare' (Introd. vi. p. 82); in which respect the position of the proconsul of Africa at this time was exceptional (Id. vii. p. 98).

5. **Obiere . . . viri inlustres.** Dio (57. 21, 3) states that Tiberius in this year honoured the memory of some by public funerals and statues.

**Asinius Saloninus**, one of the sons of Asinius Gallus and of Vipsania, former wife of Tiberius (cp. 1. 12, 6, and note on 6. 23, 3). Asinius Gallus also bore the surname Saloninus; which commemorated the capture of Salonae in Delmatia by his father Pollio in 715, B.C. 39.

7. **progener**, i.e. as husband to a daughter of Germanicus.

**de quo memoravi**: cp. c. 70, 2; also 1. 76, 3; 79, 1.

8. **principem in civitate locum**, used in Dial. 34, 1 of the first orator of the age. Here the 'civilia studia,' which might include also oratory, are understood of juristic knowledge only.

9. **patre praetorio.** He may probably have been the L. Ateius L. f. An. Capito mentioned in a senatus consultum in Cic. ad Fam. 8. 8, 5. Another, with the praenomen 'Gaius,' was trib. pleb. in 699, B.C. 55 (Dio, 39. 32, 3), and the same name occurs in Cic. de Div. 1. 16, 29.

**consulatum.** He was cos. suff. in 758, A.D. 5: cp. C. I. L. i. p. 474; Eph. Epig. iii. p. 11; where his full name is given, 'C. Ateius L. f. L. n. Capito.'

10. **Labeonem Antistium**, mentioned by Gellius (13, 10, etc), and constantly in juridical writings. His father, who killed himself after Philippi (App. B. C. 4. 135), was also a jurist.

12. **duo pacis decora**. They are known in the history of jurisprudence as the founders of the two schools called, from the names of subsequent leaders, Sabinians and Proculians. The decisions of Capito are described as strictly grounded on, those of Labeo as more independent of, tradition and precedent (Dig. 1. 2, 2, § 47): see Gibbon, ch. 44.

**incorrupta libertate**, abl. of quality. His rival Capito, quoted by Gellius (13, 12), says he had a 'libertas nimia atque vecors.' An illustration is given by Dio (54. 15, 7) and Suetonius (Aug. 54); that at the choice of senators in 736, B.C. 18, 'quum vir virum legeret,' he chose M. Lepidus the ex-triumvir, though an enemy of Augustus, and exiled from Rome, and defended his choice with spirit and dignity.

13. **obsequium**: cp. c. 70, 2. The story, that he said of a doubtful word used by Tiberius, that if it was not Latin, it would soon become so (Suet. de Gr. 22), is hardly to the point.

probabatur. illi, quod praeturam intra stetit, commendatio ex 4
iniuria, huic, quod consulatum adeptus est, odium ex invidia
oriebatur.

**76.** Et Iunia sexagensimo quarto post Philippensem aciem 1
anno supremum diem explevit, Catone avunculo genita, C.
Cassii uxor, M. Bruti soror. testamentum eius multo apud 2
vulgum rumore fuit, quia in magnis opibus, cum ferme cunctos
proceres cum honore nominavisset, Caesarem omisit. quod civi- 3
liter acceptum, neque prohibuit quo minus laudatione pro rostris
ceterisque sollemnibus funus cohonestaretur. viginti clarissima- 4
rum familiarum imagines antelatae sunt, Manlii, Quinctii aliaque
eiusdem nobilitatis nomina. sed praefulgebant Cassius atque 5
Brutus eo ipso, quod effigies eorum non visebantur.

1. **intra stetit**: cp. c. 72, 5. According to a later account (Dig. l. 1.), he refused a consulship.

4. **Iunia**. Servilia, half-sister of M. Cato Uticensis, and, by her first marriage, mother of M. Brutus the conspirator, afterwards married D. Iunius Silanus, cos. 692, B.C. 62, by whom she had this daughter, known also as Tertia (Suet. Iul. 50) or Tertulla (Cic. Att. 14. 20, 2; 15. 11, 1), and another older Iunia, wife of M. Lepidus the triumvir (Cic. Att. 6. 2, 25; Phil. 13. 4, 8; Vell. 2. 88, 1, etc.).

5. **genita**, used loosely of a niece by blood. The passage cited by Nipp. (12. 64, 4) is not fully parallel, as 'avunculo Augusto' is there abl. abs., which can hardly be the case here.

6. **multo . . . rumore fuit**, 'was one of much notoriety.' Nipp. notes such ablatives of quality in 4. 52, 8: 58, 1; 6. 47, 3; 51, 3.

8. **quod civiliter acceptum**, 'which Tiberius took as a citizen should;' i. e. did not resent it 'vi principis' (c. 12, 4), by prohibiting her funeral honours: cp. 'civiliter . . . habuit' 4. 21, 2, 'comitia . . . civiliter celebrans' H. 2. 91, 2.

10. **cohonestaretur**, 'should receive general honour:' so 'ad cohonestandas exequias' Cic. Quint. 15, 50, 'ad memoriam puellae cohonestandam' Inscr. Orell. 5037.

**viginti . . . familiarum**. That 'ancestry' was a wide term in such cases is shown by c. 5, 2 (where see note). The names given here are those not of families but of 'gentes' (see note on 2. 52, 8).

11. **Manlii**. The son of T. Manlius Torquatus, cos. 589, B.C. 165, was adopted by D. Iunius Silanus (Cic. de Fin. 1. 7, 24). The relationship with the Quinctii is not traceable.

13. **non visebantur**. Their effigies were certainly preserved in households (4. 35, 3; 16. 7, 3; Dio, 53. 32, 4), and were objects of special reverence, even in Pliny's time; who says of Titinius Capito 'mirum . . . quo studio imagines Brutorum, Cassiorum, Catonum domi, ubi potest, habeat' (Epp. 1. 17, 3). The last words imply that they were not shown publicly, whether by positive prohibition (cp. 2. 32, 2). or as a matter of prudence. 'Viso' is thus used for the simple 'video' in 13. 46, 4; 14. 1, 5, etc.

# APPENDIX II.

## EXCURSUS ON THE 'LEX PAPIA POPPAEA' (see 3. 25–28).

NOTE.—In the preparation of this Excursus, little more has been done than to condense and arrange the materials collected by Mr. T. F. Dallin; with some addition to the introductory and supplemental remarks.

THAT Tacitus makes the mention of this law an occasion for a dissertation on the origin and development of law in general, and of Roman law in particular, is an evidence that he considered it to form an era in legislation. Still stronger testimony to its importance is given by the constant references to it in the Digest; and the numerous comments of the jurists on its provisions [1], which have rendered possible such restorations of it as have been made.

The laws of Rome, probably from a very early period, had encouraged marriage and the rearing of children, and discouraged celibacy [2]. The censor was himself probably required by old law to be a married man [3], and was entitled to question citizens as to their condition, and to levy a fine ('uxorium') from the unmarried [4].

The attention of the dictator Caesar had been called to the need of fresh legislation in this direction by the revelation in the census-lists of the ravages which the civil wars had made in the population [5]; which he endeavoured to meet by offering valuable rewards to the fathers of many children [6].

The years following his death must have aggravated the evil, which thus demanded a prominent place in the social and domestic legislation of Augustus. His earlier efforts, which began perhaps from his sixth

[1] It is often mentioned as 'Leges' κατ' ἐξοχήν by Proculus, Pomponius, etc., and in the ancient Index to the Pandects (Heinecc. pp. 13, 14).

[2] Some kind of 'ius trium liberorum' has been thought to date from the regal period, but this is questioned by Heineccius (pp. 26, 27).

[3] Cicero (de Legg. 3. 4, 7) lays down such a law, apparently from ancient precedent.

[4] Cic. de Orat. 2. 64, 260; Val. Max. 2. 9, 1; Plut. Camill. p. 129; Id. M. Cat. p. 345; Gell. 4. 20; Festus, s. v. 'uxorium.'

[5] See App. B. C. 2. 102.

[6] Dio, 43. 25, 2 πολυπαιδίας ἆθλα ἐπέθηκεν. He had already given privileges to parents of three or more children in the distribution of the Campanian lands (Suet. Jul. 20; App. B. C. 2. 10).

consulship in 726, B.C. 28[1], had endeavoured to deal with the subject in the most energetic and stringent manner; but met with such a storm of opposition as to compel him to withdraw and modify his proposals[2]. In some milder form, the 'lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus' was passed in 736, B.C. 18[3]; but an interval of three years was given before it should be enforced[4].

Towards the close of his life, in 762, A.D. 9, he took the further step of procuring the enactment of a great and comprehensive measure, designed apparently to absorb and codify much if not all of the 'ius civile' on the subjects of marriages and wills. This law, fully sanctioned by senate and comitia[5], is generally named after the consuls its actual proposers, but often called in full 'lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea de maritandis ordinibus.'

The following account of its several chapters is taken mainly from the treatise of Heineccius[6]: who has collected such fragments of the text as have been preserved, and has restored the rest from what is known respecting its substance.

*Lex Maritalis.*

Cap. I. De senatorum eorumque liberorum nuptiis. 'Qui senator est quive filius neposve ex filio proneposve ex filio nato, cuius eorum est, erit: ne quis eorum sponsam uxoremve sciens dolo malo habeto libertinam, aut eam quae ipsa cuiusve pater materve artem ludicram facit, fecerit. Neve senatoris filia neptisve ex filio proneptisve ex nepote filio nato nata libertino eive qui ipse cuiusve pater materve artem ludicram facit, fecerit sponsa nuptave sciens dolo malo esto: neve quis eorum dolo malo sciens sponsam uxoremve eam habeto[7].'

Cap. II. De ingenuorum nuptiis. 'Omnibus reliquis ingenuis praeter senatores eorumque liberos libertinam uxorem habere liceto; . . .[8] at ne quis ingenuus eam quae palam quaestum corpore facit, fecerit; lenam, a lenone manumissam, aut iudicio publico damnatam, aut in adulterio deprehensam quaeve artem ludicram facit fecerit sponsam uxoremve sciens dolo malo habeto.'

Cap. III. De sexagenariis, quinquagenariis, spadonibus[9].

[1] See Ann. 3. 28, 3, 4.

[2] Suet. Aug. 34. Propertius, in an elegy (2. 7) written probably between 726–730, B.C. 28–24, expresses his own and Cynthia's joy at the withdrawal of this law.

[3] Dio, 54. 16. Horace alludes to it as a new law in 737, B.C. 17 (Carm. Saec. 17–20).

[4] Suet. l. l.

[5] See Heineccius, pp. 50, 51.

[6] In vol. iii. of his collected works, part 3, pp. 1–446. The Geneva edition of 1767 is referred to. Several later authorities are cited by Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 282, n. 3.

[7] Preserved by Paullus.

[8] Preserved by Celsus: cp. Dio, 54. 16, 2; 56. 7, 2.

[9] This chapter dealt with exemptions: men above sixty and women above fifty

Cap. IV. De concubinatu [1].
Cap. V. De sponsalibus [2].
Cap. VI. De poenis iniustarum nuptiarum [3].
Cap. VII. De privilegiis maritorum et parentum in gerendis honoribus [4].
Cap. VIII. De eorundem privilegiis in petendis honoribus [5].
Cap. IX. De immunitate ob liberorum numerum [6].
Cap. X. De iure Quiritium ob liberos consequendo [7].
Cap. XI. De liberatione liberti ab operis ob liberos [8].
Cap. XII. De mulierum liberatione a tutela ob numerum liberorum [9].
Cap. XIII. De divortio libertae prohibito. 'Ne divortii faciundi potestas libertae quae nupta est patrono, quamdiu is eam uxorem esse, volet; neve invito illo alii nubendi potestas esto [10].'
Cap. XIV. De tutore muliere dotis causa dando [11].
Cap. XV.–XIX. 'Leges decimariae [12].'
Cap. XX.–XXVIII. De solidi capacitate [13].
Cap. XXIX. De legato sub conditione caelibatus relicto [14].

were under the penalties of the law for life, unless they had married before attaining those respective ages. By a senatus consultum passed under the rule of Claudius, an exemption extended to men who were sixty years old at the time of marriage, if the wife was under fifty (Suet. Cl. 23; Ulp. Fr. Tit. xvi. 3).

[1] That a chapter existed on this subject is inferred by Hein. from the statements of jurists. He imagines it to have run somewhat as follows: 'Quas personas per hanc legem uxores habere non licet, eas concubinas habere ius esto: ingenuam honestam in concubinatu habere ius ne esto.' These details appear doubtful: see Long, in Dict. of Ant.

[2] Enacting that a girl should not be betrothed under ten years old; that marriage should follow within two years of betrothal; that women should be allowed two years from widowhood, or six months from divorce, before remarriage (Suet. Aug. 34; Dio, 54. 16, 7; Ulp. Fragm. Tit. xiv. 1).

[3] Those who married unlawfully were to be treated as unmarried (Ulp. Fragm. Tit. xvi. 2).

[4] A consul who had more children ranked as senior, and a married consul took precedence of an unmarried (Gell. 2, 15).

[5] The same principle applied to candidates (cp. Pl. Epp. 7. 16, 2). Tacitus records a breach of this provision (Ann. 2. 51, 2) and its evasion by fraudulent adoptions (15. 19, 1).

[6] A father of three children was exempted from personal duties (as 'tutela,' etc.) at Rome.

[7] A Latin father or mother of three children was to be a Roman.

[8] The full text of this chapter is preserved by Paullus. It exempts a freedman who had two or more children 'in sua potestate' from such 'operae' as he was bound to furnish to his patron.

[9] This exemption was given for three children to a 'Romana,' for four to a 'libertina.'

[10] Preserved by Ulpian.

[11] A 'tutor ad dotem dandam' to be assigned in certain cases by the praetor urbanus (Ulp. Fragm. Tit. xi. 20).

[12] The titles and contents of these chapters need not here be given. They entitle husband and wife, as such, to succeed to one tenth of each other's property, and to further tenths, in right of children by another marriage, and on other grounds (Ulp. Fragm. Tit. xv.: see Heinecc. pp. 87-89, and Comm. pp. 257–273).

[13] These chapters treat of the causes entitling husband and wife to succeed to the whole of each other's property, and to legacies or inheritances from the wills of others (Ulp. Fragm. Tit. xvi. For full explanation, see Heinecc. Comm. pp. 273–293).

[14] The legatee was discharged from the condition.

Cap. xxx. De iureiurando libertis remittendo [1].
Cap. xxxi. De iure adfinitatis inter vitricum, etc. [2]
Cap. xxxii. De privilegiis absentium reip. causa [3].
Cap. xxxiii. De indulgentia senatus [4].
Cap. xxxiv. De divortii modo et poena [5].
Cap. xxxv. De cogendis parentibus ut liberos elocent. 'Qui liberos quos habent in potestate, iniuria prohibebunt ducere uxores vel nubere, in matrimonium eos collocare per praetorem urbanum coguntor [6].'
Cap. xxxvi. De poenis caelibatus. 'Caelibes, nisi intra centum dies huic legi paruerint, neque haereditatem, neque legatum ex testamento, nisi proximorum genere capiunto [7].'
Cap. xxxvii. De poenis orbitatis. 'Si qui coniugum masculus (ultra vicesimum quintum annum) femina (ultra vicesimum) orbi erunt, semissem relictorum tantum capiunto [8].'
Capp. xxxviii–xliv. De iure patronatus [9].

## *Lex Caducaria.*

The second half of this law is thus entitled by Heineccius; who makes it consist of fifteen chapters. No fragments of them are preserved, and the restoration of this part of the law is much less certain in its details; but it is known generally to have dealt with the subject of lapsed inheritances, and the proportions and conditions under which they became public property. All that is known of their provisions is fully given and explained by Heineccius (pp. 357, foll.).

Such inheritances or legacies as could not be taken by the persons to whom they were devised accrued firstly to conjoint legatees of the same

[1] An oath not to marry, exacted by a patron, was not to be binding.

[2] Affinities, except between father-in-law and son-in-law, to be annulled by death or divorce.

[3] Those absent on the public service to be exempt from the penalties of the law.

[4] The senate might legalise an otherwise illegal marriage, as between a senator and freedwoman.

[5] This law fixed the share of dower to be returned to the wife on divorce, and was intended to discourage divorce by making it entail loss.

[6] Preserved by Marcianus.

[7] The text of this section is given as conceived by Heineccius from Ulp. Fr. Tit. xvii. 1, and other sources. 'Caelebs' is defined to be an unmarried man between twenty and sixty, or an unmarried woman between twenty and fifty (see above, cap. iii., and Poste, Gaius, p. 264). The exception, within which inheritances or legacies were allowed to accrue, extended to ascendants and descendants as far as the third degree.

[8] The text of this chapter is a restoration like the former. The pains and penalties of celibacy and childlessness were abolished by Constantine in A.D. 320 (see Poste on Gaius, p. 265).

[9] Cp. cap. xi. The general object of these seven chapters was to define the rights of the patronus over the person or property of his married freedman and freedwoman. Their provisions are explained by Heineccius (Comm. pp. 344–356): see also Poste, Gaius, p. 323, foll.

specific thing with children, in the second place to heirs with children, in the third to other legatees with children[1], failing all these, to the aerarium[2], or, in later times, to the fiscus.

This law, though having for its apparent object 'to add force to the penalties on celibacy and to enrich the treasury[3],' encountered no such vigorous opposition as that which had blunted the edge of the 'lex Iulia[4].' The senate had been schooled by twenty-five years of submission, and people had perhaps found out that it was easier to evade laws than to resist their enactment. The consuls from whom this law is named were both unmarried[5]; nor, according to Tacitus[6], did marriage or the rearing of children become more frequent.

In one respect the law was indeed most fruitful. By it was given the first general encouragement, on a large scale, and in a matter affecting private life, to systematic delation[7], and the first brood of professional informers was called into being; whose activity in respect to other laws, and especially that of 'maiestas,' forms so large a part of the domestic history of the age. When this activity was let loose upon a law whose vast and complicated network was such as to entangle every family in some or other of its meshes[8], we can easily see that its working must have caused intolerable annoyances unforeseen at its enactment, and can understand the outcry which in ten years was already demanding relaxation. The law itself thus marks the extreme limit of legislative interference with private life in this respect, and its subsequent history as known to us is that of its mitigation. 'Many of its entanglements were resolved' by the commission under Tiberius[9], another important provision was relaxed by Claudius[10], the rewards of informers were cut down by Nero[11], and princes often gave the 'ius liberorum' to those who had it not[12]. Thus the severity of many of its penalties became so far obsolete

[1] Hence Juvenal says (9, 87) to one who had attained the 'iura parentis,' 'scriberis heres, legatum omne capis necnon et dulce caducum.'

[2] Compare the language of Tacitus (3. 28, 4) 'velut parens omnium populus vacantia teneret.' The 'leges caducariae' were made more stringent by Caracalla, but practically abolished by Constantine, and formally by Justinian (see Poste, Gaius, p. 265; Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. pp. 282–284).

[3] Ann. 3. 25, 1 'incitandis caelibum poenis et augendo aerario.'

[4] Dio (56. 1, 2) mentions a complaint of the knights, apparently in anticipation of this law, and gives at length what purports to be the reply of Augustus in support of its principles.

[5] Dio, 56. 10, 3.

[6] L. l. 'nec ideo coniugia et educationes liberum frequentabantur.'

[7] 3. 28, 4 'inditi custodes et lege Papia Poppaea praemiis inducti.'

[8] L. l. 'altius penetrabant urbemque et Italiam et quod usquam civium corripuerant, multorumque excisi status.'

[9] L. l. 'exsoluti plerique legis nexus.'

[10] See above, cap. iii. and Suet. Cl. 23. The statement there by Suetonius, that Tiberius had added the provision which Claudius repealed, is unconfirmed and appears improbable.

[11] 'Praemia delatorum Papiae legis ad quartas redegit'. Suet. Ner. 10.

[12] Pl. Epp. 2. 13, 8; 10. 2, 1, etc.: cp. Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 852.

that Tertullian, writing under Septimius Severus, speaks of 'vanissimas Papias leges [1],' and Ammianus Marcellinus notes still the social tyranny of the bachelor and the childless [2].

But that the law as a whole was still active, is shown by its being repeated, cited, explained, or illustrated by Ulpian, Ter. Clemens, Gaius, Paullus, Marcellus, etc.; and by notices in the Institutes of Justinian, which could scarcely have been made to an obsolete law.

[1] Apol. 4.

[2] 14, 19.

Read: Sec. 1–12 inc. 32–33 " 41 52–54 57–65 67 74–75

# BOOK IV.

## SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

**A. U. C. 776, A. D. 23. C. Asinius Pollio, C. Antistius Vetus, coss.**

Ch. 1. Ascendancy of Seianus; his origin and character. 2. Concentration of the praetorian guards in a camp; influence of Seianus with the soldiers and the senate. 3. His schemes against Drusus. 4. Drusus, son of Germanicus, enters public life; professed intention of Tiberius to visit the provinces. 5, 6. Review of the military and civil organization of the empire. 7–9. Hostility of Drusus and Seianus; the former poisoned; behaviour of Tiberius on his son's death; honours to his memory. 10, 11. A story, that Tiberius had himself caused the death of Drusus, rejected. 12. Designs of Seianus against the family of Germanicus. 13. Provincial grievances dealt with by Tiberius. 14. Further deputations on right of asylum; pantomime actors expelled from Italy. 15. Death of Lucilius Longus and of a son of Drusus; condemnation of Lucilius Capito; the Asiatic cities permitted to erect a temple to Tiberius, Augusta, and the senate. 16. Regulations respecting the flamen Dialis, and the Vestals.

**A. U. C. 777, A. D. 24. Ser. Cornelius Cethegus, L. Visellius Varro, coss.**

Ch. 17. Jealousy of Tiberius at mention of Nero and Drusus in the 'vota solemnia.' 18–20. Trial and death of C. Silius, and banishment of his wife Sosia; independence of character shown by M'. Lepidus. 21. L. Piso is accused, and dies before trial; Cassius Severus banished to Seriphos. 22. Plautius Silvanus convicted of the murder of his wife. 23–26. Tacfarinas finally defeated and killed by Dolabella; presents sent from the senate to Ptolemaeus, king of Mauretania. 27. An incipient servile insurrection crushed near Brundisium. 28–30. Vibius Serenus accused by his son; the extreme penalty modified. 31. Cominius pardoned for a libel; Suillius condemned for selling justice; Firmius Catus for false accusation. 32, 33. Apology of Tacitus for the monotony of his subject.

**A. U. C. 778, A. D. 25. Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, M. Asinius Agrippa, coss.**

Ch. 34, 35. Trial of Cremutius Cordus for praise of Brutus and Cassius; his defence and suicide. 36. Charges brought before young Drusus, praef. urbis; Cyzicus deprived of its freedom. 37, 38. Tiberius rejects the petition to allow a temple to himself in Spain. 39, 40. Seianus asks Livia in marriage; reply of Tiberius. 41. Seianus urges him to retire from Rome. 42. The trial of Votienus influences Tiberius in this direction; others severely sentenced. 43. Decision on a question of boundary between Messenia and Laconia, and on other provincial matters. 44. Deaths of Cn. Lentulus and L. Domitius at Rome, and of L. Antonius at Massilia. 45. Murder of L. Piso in Spain.

**A. U. C. 779, A. D. 26. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, C. Calvisius Sabinus, coss.**

Ch. 46–51. Triumphalia awarded to Poppaeus Sabinus, for the suppression of an insurrection in Thrace. 52–54. Agrippina, alarmed at the condemnation of her cousin Claudia Pulchra, remonstrates with Tiberius, and afterwards requests him to give her a husband; Seianus increases the enmity between them. 55, 56. Eleven Asiatic cities contend for the honour of possessing the temple to be erected to Tiberius; Sardes and Smyrna preferred, and the latter selected. 57, 58. Tiberius permanently quits Rome; his reasons suggested, and predictions respecting him discussed. 59. His life saved by Seianus on the falling of a cave. 60. Schemes of Seianus against Nero. 61. Deaths of Asinius Agrippa and Q. Haterius.

**A. U. C. 780, A. D. 27. M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, L. Calpurnius Piso, coss.**

Ch. 62, 63. Disastrous loss of life from the fall of an amphitheatre at Fidenae. 64, 65. Destructive fire on the Mons Caelius; liberality of Tiberius, and compliment paid to him; origin of the name. 66. Quintilius Varus accused by Domitius Afer and P. Dolabella. 67. Retirement of Tiberius to Capreae; description of the island.

**A. U. C. 781, A. D. 28. App. Junius Silanus, P. Silius Nerva, coss.**

Ch. 68-70. Titus Sabinus, a friend of the family of Germanicus, who had been entrapped by disgraceful means, denounced and executed on the opening day of the year. 71. Hints of Tiberius against Agrippina and Nero; death of Julia, granddaughter of Augustus. 72, 73. Rising of the Frisii; want of energy shown by L. Apronius in dealing with it. 74. Visit of Tiberius and Seianus to Campania; concourse and servility of the senate and people. 75. Marriage of Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, to Cn. Domitius.

# CORNELII TACITI

## ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

## LIBER IV.

1 **1.** C. Asinio C. Antistio consulibus nonus Tiberio annus erat
compositae rei publicae, florentis domus (nam Germanici mortem
inter prospera ducebat), cum repente turbare fortuna coepit, sae-
2 vire ipse aut saevientibus vires praebere. initium et causa penes
Aelium Seianum cohortibus praetoriis praefectum, cuius de po-
tentia supra memoravi: nunc originem, mores, et quo facinore
3 dominationem raptum ierit, expediam. genitus Vulsiniis patre
Seio Strabone equite Romano, et prima iuventa Gaium Caesarem

4. **C. Asinio C. Antistio.** Their full names, as gathered from Dio (Arg. B. 57) and Pliny (H. N. 33. 2, 8, 32), are C Asinius C. f. Pollio and C. Antistius C. f. Vetus. Nipp. notes that the latter had been urban, the former peregrine, praetor, in 773, A.D. 20. Asinius is another son of Asinius Gallus (cp. 3. 75, 1, etc.), and was procos. of Asia, probably under Gaius (see Introd. vii. p. 96). Antistius is one of the 'consulares filii' of the Antistius (cos. 748, B.C. 6) of Vell. 2. 43, 3. On his son and nephew, see 12. 25, 1; 13. 11, 1.

**nonus.** He had entered on the ninth year of his principate in the preceding August: see 1. 5, 9, etc.

6. **turbare**: cp. 3. 47, 2.

8. **Aelium Seianum.** The form of the name suggests that he had been adopted by an Aelius, probably Aelius Gallus, praefect of Egypt in 730, B.C. 24 (see on 5. 8, 1). The praenomen, 'L.' is given by Dio (57. 19, 5) and in a Spanish coin of the date of his consulship (see Orelli).

**cohortibus . . . praefectum.** He had been sole praefect since the appointment of his father, whose colleague he had previously been (1. 24, 3), to the praefecture of Egypt (Dio, 57. 19, 6).

9. **supra**: see 1. 24, 3; 69, 7; 3. 29, 5; 35, 2; 72, 5.

**facinore**, the murder of Drusus.

10. **raptum ierit.** This correction of the corrupt MS. text 'raptum perit' is suggested by H. 2. 6, 4; Sall. Jug. 85, 42, and many similar uses of 'ire' with a supine, as c. 66, 2; 73, 6, etc.

**Vulsiniis**, Bolsena. Juvenal (10, 74) hence calls him 'Tuscus.'

11. **Seio Strabone**: cp. 1. 7, 3; 24. 3. Velleius (2. 127, 3) calls him 'princeps equestris ordinis;' an expression justified by the 'praefecturae' which he held. Also he speaks of Seianus as related to noble families through his mother (who, as sister of Blaesus, must have been a Junia); and adds that he had brothers (see on 2. 20, 2), cousins, and an uncle (3. 35, 2), of consular rank.

**Gaium Caesarem**: cp. 1. 3, 2; etc.

divi Augusti nepotem sectatus, non sine rumore Apicio diviti et
prodigo stuprum veno dedisse, mox Tiberium variis artibus de-
vinxit, adeo ut obscurum adversum alios sibi uni incautum intec-
tumque efficeret, non tam sollertia (quippe isdem artibus victus
est) quam deum ira in rem Romanam, cuius pari exitio viguit
ceciditque. corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax; sui 4
obtegens, in alios criminator; iuxta adulatio et superbia; palam
compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, eiusque causa
modo largitio et luxus, saepius industria ac vigilantia, haud minus
noxiae, quotiens parando regno finguntur.

**2.** Vim praefecturae modicam antea intendit, dispersas per 1
urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia ac-

1. **Apicio.** Dio (57. 19, 5) gives the name as Μάρκος Γάβιος Ἀπίκιος. He is repeatedly mentioned in literature as the great epicure of his age; but as Athenaeus (1. 7, d; 4. 168, d) mentions two other gourmands of the name, of much earlier and later date respectively, it would seem that the name had passed on as a 'soubriquet' from the first of them. See Prof. Ramsay in Dict. of Biog.

2. **veno dedisse.** This construction, only found here, is analogous to 'dono dare.' The dative 'veno' appears to be peculiar to Tacitus (cp. 13. 51, 1; 14. 15, 3), as 'venui' to Appuleius.

3. **obscurum,** 'reserved:' cp. Cic. Off. 3. 15, 5; Hor. Ep. 1. 18, 94, etc.

**intectum**; cp. 2. 59, 2: in this sense ἅπ. εἰρ., but answering to a common use of 'tectus.'

4. **isdem artibus,** i.e. 'sollertia.' This would show that he could not have been more crafty than Tiberius; therefore his ascendancy over him was due to a divine judgment against the state; or, in other words, was inexplicable (see note on 3. 30, 7).

5. **pari exitio,** by the crimes which he prompted during his ascendancy, and by the reign of terror, and utter shamelessness of Tiberius (6. 51, 6), following on his fall.

6. **corpus**: cp. the description of his 'physique' in Vell. 2. 127, 3 'sufficienti etiam vigori animi compage corporis.'

**tolerans,** with gen. only here and in Colum.; but the usage is analogous to many others (Introd. v. § 34 c). In the whole passage, Tacitus has evidently in view Sallust's description of Catiline (Cat. 5).

7. **obtegens**: cp. 1. 76, 2; used with gen. here only; but analogously to the usage with other participles (Introd. v. § 33 d). Seianus himself is here supplied as subject.

**iuxta,** 'were side by side:' so used of a plurality of objects, in Pliny (N. H. 36. 15, 24, 117) 'theatra duo iuxta fecit.'

8. **compositus.** Nipp. appears rightly to take this to mean 'tranquil,' noting that the sense of artificial assumption (cp. c. 31, 4, etc.) is here already given by the contrast 'palam' . . . 'intus.'

**summa.** That this is probably neut. pl. is shown by 11. 26, 5 'summa adeptus.'

9. **industria ac vigilantia.** The glowing eulogy of Velleius (l. l.) is here confirmed in this respect.

11. **modicam antea.** The importance which Dio (52. 24) makes Maecenas ascribe to the office, appears to belong to a later date. On its subsequent history and conversion into a civil office, see Gibbon, ch. 5, and 17; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 1058, sqq., etc.

**dispersas per urbem.** Augustus, according to Suetonius (Aug. 49), kept most of them in neighbouring towns, retaining only three in Rome, and those not concentrated. One 'cohors togata' (see on 3. 4, 2) was always on guard at the Palatium or in attendance on the emperor elsewhere (cp. 12. 69, 1, etc.).

12. **una in castra.** The site, clearly marked by the prominent square excrescence in the present walls, was outside the Servian agger, between the Viminal and Colline gates.

ciperent, numeroque et robore et visu inter se fiducia ipsis, in
2 ceteros metus oreretur. praetendebat lascivire militem diduc-
tum; si quid subitum ingruat, maiore auxilio pariter subveniri;
et severius acturos, si vallum statuatur procul urbis inlecebris.
3 ut perfecta sunt castra, inrepere paulatim militares animos
adeundo, appellando; simul centuriones ac tribunos ipse de-
4 ligere. neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honori-
bus aut provinciis ornandi, facili Tiberio atque ita prono, ut
socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et
populum celebraret colique per theatra et fora effigies eius inter-
que principia legionum sineret.

1 **3.** Ceterum plena Caesarum domus, iuvenis filius, nepotes
adulti moram cupitis adferebant; et quia vi tot simul corripere

1. **in ceteros metus**: cp. c. 59, 3; 6. 50, 8; 11. 8, 3. The prep. and accus. have nearly the force of a simple dat.: see Introd. v. § 60 b.

2. **oreretur**: so Orell., Halm., Nipp. after Haase for the MS. 'credetur,' from which the older edd. read 'crederetur,' which gives no satisfactory meaning. The liability to confusion between 'or' and 'cr' is illustrated by the corruption of 'cremari' to 'ore mari' in 1. 49, 4. Another proposed correction, 'adderetur' (Anquetil), derives support from H. 2. 31, 2.

3. **maiore auxilio pariter subveniri**, 'their support in one body would give greater help:' equivalent to 'maius auxilium foret si pariter subvenissent.' Cp. 'maiore praemio vulgaretur' (3. 49, 1), and other such condensed expressions. On this use of 'pariter,' cp. 1. 32, 7, etc.

4. **procul.** The camp, as has been seen, was close outside the walls and within the inhabited area of the city; but 'procul' is used of any interval (cp. Verg. Ecl. 6, 16; Hor. Sat. 2. 6, 105; Ov. Met. 5, 114); and to live in camp at all was a separation.

5. **inrepere**, apparently not earlier used with accus. On other such usages of compound verbs, see Introd. v. § 12 c.

6. **ipse deligere.** It is here implied, and on other grounds evident, that in this he went beyond his legitimate power: cp. Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 1064.

7. **senatorio ambitu**, i.e. he courted senators as well as soldiers.

8. **ornandi**, defining genitive (like 'cultus . . . venerandi' 3. 63, 6), showing wherein the 'ambitus' consisted, namely, in obtaining magistracies and provinces through his influence with Tiberius.

9. **socium laborum**: cp. Dio, 58. 4, 3 κοινωνὸν τῶν φροντίδων ὠνόμαζε, 'Σηιανός τε ὁ ἐμός' πολλάκις ἐπαναλαμβάνων ἔλεγε.

**apud patres et populum**: cp. 'in senatu aut concione' (c. 40, 12); also H. 1. 90, 2. The people were usually addressed by published edicts.

10. **colique effigies**: so Dio (l. l.) καὶ τέλος καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔθυον.

**per theatra**: cp. 3. 72, 5.

**interque principia legionum.** Nipp. points out that this is added emphatically. On the 'principia,' cp. 1. 61, 3, etc.; on the sanctity of the place, see 1. 39, 7; also Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 788. Suetonius (Tib. 48) states that all the legions but those of Syria thus honoured Seianus.

12. **filius**, Drusus.

**nepotes adulti**: cp. c. 4, 1; 3. 29, 1. There were also three younger boys, Gaius, and the twin sons of Drusus (2. 84).

13. **et quia**, etc. This, the MS. text, would mean that the realisation of his aims was delayed by the number and position of the sons and grandsons, and by the fact that they could only gradually be got rid of with safety. In this sentence the opposition would be between 'simul corripere' and 'intervalla scelerum,' not between 'vis' and 'dolus;' 'vi corripere' being simply 'to assassinate,' or bring to a violent end, whether by poison or any other means. Nipp., who omits 'et,'

intutum, dolus intervalla scelerum poscebat. placuit tamen oc-
cultior via et a Druso incipere, in quem recenti ira ferebatur. nam 2
Drusus inpatiens aemuli et animo commotior orto forte iurgio
intenderat Seiano manus et contra tendentis os verberaverat.
igitur cuncta temptanti promptissimum visum ad uxorem eius 3
Liviam convertere, quae soror Germanici, formae initio aetatis
indecorae, mox pulchritudine praecellebat. hanc ut amore in-
census adulterio pellexit, et postquam primi flagitii potitus est
(neque femina amissa pudicitia alia abnuerit), ad coniugii spem,
consortium regni et necem mariti impulit. atque illa, cui avun- 4
culus Augustus, socer Tiberius, ex Druso liberi, seque ac maiores
et posteros municipali adultero foedabat, ut pro honestis et prae-
sentibus flagitiosa et incerta exspectaret. sumitur in conscien- 5
tiam Eudemus, amicus ac medicus Liviae, specie artis frequens
secretis. pellit domo Seianus uxorem Apicatam, ex qua tres

makes the antithesis of 'vis' and 'dolus' prominent, but owns that in any case the crimes would require some 'vis dolosa.'

1. **tamen**, i.e. although it involved delay. He elected to proceed by degrees and to make Drusus the first victim. The variation from a noun to an infinitive resembles those noted in Introd. v. § 91; and there appears to be no reason for reading 'occultiore' with Ritter.

3. **animo commotior**: cp. 1. 33, 6, etc. On the character of Drusus, cp. 1. 29, 4; 76, 5.

4. **contra tendentis**, 'when he offered resistance.' Dio (57. 22, 1) represents Seianus as having struck Drusus, not in self-defence, but out of wanton insolence.

5. **igitur**. This appears to explain, not the choice of Drusus as first victim, but the 'longior via' pursued.

**promptissimum**: cp. 2. 2, 6; 5, 4.

6. **Liviam**: cp. 2. 43, 7, etc.

7. **ut**, 'as if.'

8. **adulterio**. It seems on the whole best to explain this, with Walther and Ritter, as abl. instr., and to take 'pellexit' as = 'sibi devinxit,' as in 1. 2, 1; H. 4. 15, 1. Others take it as a dative like 'morti deposcit' (1. 23, 6).

9. **abnuerit**, potential subjunct.

10. **consortium regni**. Apparently to avoid a double genitive, the mention of the hope is implied in that of the thing hoped for; as is elsewhere the thought in the mention of its object (see note on 1. 41, 3). Agrippina is thus said 'consortium imperii speravisse' (14. 11, 1); for which 'regni' is here rhetorically used: cp. 'domus regnatrix' 1. 4, 4.

**avunculus**: cp. 2. 43, 6.

11. **seque ac . . . et.** On such forms of coordination, cp. Introd. v. § 89.

12. **municipali**, of Vulsinii (c. 1, 3). The term implied now no inferiority of civic status, but that a person had not senatorial ancestors, who would have had to live in Rome. Thus Juvenal (8, 38) calls Cicero 'municipalis eques,' and Antonius sneers at the 'Aricina mater' of Octavius (Cic. Phil. 3. 6, 15). To Tacitus this appears almost as great an aggravation of the guilt of Livilla, as if it had been committed with a non-citizen or a slave.

**praesentibus**, 'already assured,' by the position of Drusus as heir.

13. **sumitur**. Nipp. reads 'assumitur,' from the similar passage in 13. 12, 1.

14. **Eudemus**. Probably, like most physicians at that time, he was a freedman. Pliny (H. N. 29. 1, 8, 20) represents him also as her adulterer.

**frequens secretis**: cp. 'frequens contionibus' (H. 4. 69, 4). Dräger takes these as datives, 'frequens' being equivalent to 'qui saepe aderat:' Nipp. as abl. of place, comparing 'frequens ubique' (i.e. 'omnibus locis') Agr. 37, 4. On the meaning of 'secreta,' cp. 3. 8, 4.

15. **Apicatam**. The name is thus written in c. 11, 4, and in Dio, 58. 11, 6, but is otherwise unknown, and should perhaps, according to Borghesi, be 'Apicatia;' as an inscription gives the name of an 'Apicatius' (Mur. 2044).

6 liberos genuerat, ne paelici suspectaretur. sed magnitudo facinoris metum, prolationes, diversa interdum consilia adferebat.

1 **4.** Interim anni principio Drusus ex Germanici liberis togam virilem sumpsit, quaeque fratri eius Neroni decreverat senatus
2 repetita. addidit orationem Caesar, multa cum laude filii sui,
3 quod patria benevolentia in fratris liberos foret. nam Drusus, quamquam arduum sit eodem loci potentiam et concordiam esse,
4 aequus adulescentibus aut certe non adversus habebatur. exim vetus et saepe simulatum proficiscendi in provincias consilium refertur. multitudinem veteranorum praetexebat imperator et dilectibus supplendos exercitus: nam voluntarium militem deesse, ac si suppeditet, non eadem virtute ac modestia agere, quia
5 plerumque inopes ac vagi sponte militiam sumant. percensuitque cursim numerum legionum et quas provincias tutarentur.
6 quod mihi quoque exsequendum reor, quae tunc Romana copia in armis, qui socii reges, quanto sit angustius imperitatum.

1 **5.** Italiam utroque mari duae classes, Misenum apud et Ravennam, proximumque Galliae litus rostratae naves praesidebant,

**tres liberos**: see on 5. 8, 1; 9, 1.

1. **suspectaretur** = 'suspectus haberetur.' The passive is found only here and in Appul.: on the active, cp. 1. 5, 1.

3. **Drusus**: see Introd. ix. note 12.

4. **quaeque . . . repetita**: see 3. 29, 1. The inscriptions cited (Introd. l. l.) show that he did not hold quite the same priesthoods.

5. **filii sui.** This distinguishes the Drusus below from the one above mentioned.

7. **eodem loci**: cp. Cic. Att. 1. 13, 5: so 'eo loci' (14. 61, 3; 15. 74, 1; Cic. pro Sest. 31, 68, etc.), 'quo locorum' (Hor. Od. 1. 38, 3), and (rarely in this sense) 'eo' alone, (as Cic. Ep. ad Brut. 1. 2, 1).

9. **saepe simulatum.** Two occasions have been mentioned (1. 47, 5; 3. 47, 3).

10. **refertur,** 'is repeated:' cp. 1. 26, 4.

**multitudinem veteranorum,** i. e. of those who had a right to expect dismissal: see on 1. 36, 4; 78, 2; also Introd. vii. p. 106. He means that his presence was required both to induce the veterans to be content with their reward on dismissal, and to enforce the conscription, which might be unpopular.

11. **dilectibus,** by conscription among those provincials who were Roman citizens: cp. Introd. vii. p. 108. Such conscriptions are mentioned as held in peaceful as well as garrisoned provinces (13. 35, 4; 16. 13, 5, etc.), but in Rome itself were now extremely rare (cp. 1. 31, 4; H. 3. 58, 3). In the time of Trajan an 'inquisitio' was held for the conscriptions, and substitutes, if properly qualified, were allowed (Pl. Ep. ad Trai. 29, 30).

**voluntarium militem deesse.** Velleius (2. 130, 2) says in praise of Tiberius 'quanta cum quiete hominum . . . supplementum sine trepidatione delectus providet.' That voluntary enlistment continued generally to suffice is attested by Dig. 49. 16, 4, § 10 'plerumque voluntario milite numeri supplentur.' The area for enlistment became constantly enlarged by the extension of citizenship: see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 522, sqq.

15. **quod,** explained by 'quae,' etc.

**exsequendum**: cp. 'exequi sententias' 3. 65, 1.

**copia,** sing., as 2. 52, 4, etc.

16. **angustius,** as compared with the time of Trajan: see 2. 61, 2, and note there.

17. On the whole subject of this chapter, cp. Introd. vii. p. 103, foll.; Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 429 foll.

18. **rostratae naves,** 'a fleet of warships' (cp. Hor. Epod. 4, 18). Nipp. thinks this not a sufficiently distinguishing epithet, and reads 'constratae,' ('decked'), which might possibly not apply to all of

quas Actiaca victoria captas Augustus in oppidum Foroiuliense
miserat valido cum remige. sed praecipuum robur Rhenum 2
iuxta, commune in Germanos Gallosque subsidium, octo legiones
erant. Hispaniae recens perdomitae tribus habebantur. Mauros 3
Iuba rex acceperat donum populi Romani. cetera Africae per 4
duas legiones parique numero Aegyptus, dehinc initio ab Suriae
usque ad flumen Euphraten, quantum ingenti terrarum sinu
ambitur, quattuor legionibus coercita, accolis Hibero Albanoque
et aliis regibus, qui magnitudine nostra proteguntur adversum

them, as these fleets consisted of ships of various classes. Their real distinction from the provincial fleets consists in their title 'classis praetoria;' and in their being, like the guard, under special command of Caesar and his 'praefectus' (Introd. vii. p. 108). The institution of a permanent naval force dates from the fleet organized by Agrippa against Sex. Pompeius and afterwards for Actium: see Marquardt, l.l. p. 484; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 827.

**praesidebant**, with accus.: cp. 3. 39, 1.

1. **Foroiuliense**, Frejus (cp. 2. 63, 6), called 'claustra maris' in H. 3. 43, 1.

3. **octo**: cp. 1. 31; 37, etc.

4. **Hispaniae.** The two Caesarian provinces are here meant, that of Hispania Tarraconensis or Citerior (cp. c. 45, 1), comprising all the eastern and northern portion, and having its seat of government at Colonia Tarraconensis (cp. 1. 78, 1); and Lusitania, extending from the Douro to the Guadiana (Anas), and including nearly all Portugal, with a part of Spain mainly answering to Salamanca and northern Estremadura, and having its seat of government at the Augustan colony of Emerita (Merida): see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 102, foll. These two provinces had legati of the first and second rank respectively (Introd. vii. p. 98). On the third Spanish province, see c. 13, 2.

**recens perdomitae.** Livy (28. 12, 12) speaks of Spain as the first transmarine province entered by the Romans and the last to be completely subjugated. Two hundred years had passed from the first Roman occupation to the final submission of the Asturians and Cantabrians to Agrippa in 735, B.C. 19 (Hor. Od. 3. 8, 21; Dio, 54. 11, 2).

**Mauros.** The kingdom of Mauretania appears at this time to have extended eastward to Saldae (see Introd. vii. p. 97), and thus to have included more than half of Algeria, besides Marocco. On its subsequent provincial organization, see Introd. to vol. ii.

5. **Iuba rex**, the son of the king defeated at Thapsus in 708, B.C. 46. He had been restored after the Actian war to Numidia, and had received in marriage Selene daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra: in 729, B.C. 25, he was transferred by Augustus to Mauretania, here called 'the gift of the Roman people:' see Dio, 53. 26, 2. He had lately been succeeded by his son Ptolemaeus (c. 23, 1). On the dates of their reigns, see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 323. Pliny (N. H. 5. 1, 1, 16, etc.) speaks of Juba as a man of letters and an author.

6. **duas.** The second legion was only here for the time, cp. c. 23, 2.

**initio ab.** On the anastrophe, see Introd. v. § 77, 4.

7. **ingenti sinu**, 'the vast sweep of country.' 'Sinus' is used by Tacitus of a tract of land, sometimes without any reference to sea-coast (as G. 29, 4): so also Pliny (N. H. 6. 8, 8, 23) speaks of the 'ingens sinus' of interior Asia. The tract here mentioned is the whole eastern frontier of the empire, on which see Introd. vii. p. 94.

8. **Hibero.** This people, connecting their origin with the Jasonian legend (6. 34, 3), lay south of the Caucasus and north of Armenia, between Albania and Colchis, in the upper part of the basin of the Kour (Cyrus), answering to the western part of Georgia: cp. Strab. 11. 2, 19, 499, 500. Its dynasty appears to be still traceable in the third century (see Orelli).

**Albano**: cp. 2. 68, 1.

9. **aliis**, such as those in Cilicia (2. 78, 3), lesser Armenia (11. 9, 3), and Pontus Polemoniacus (Suet. Ner. 18). The description might even apply to Armenia maior, as protected by Rome against Parthia.

5 externa imperia. et Thraeciam Rhoemetalces ac liberi Cotyis,
ripamque Danuvii legionum duae in Pannonia, duae in Moesia
attinebant, totidem apud Delmatiam locatis, quae positu regionis
a tergo illis, ac si repentinum auxilium Italia posceret, haud pro-
cul accirentur, quamquam insideret urbem proprius miles, tres
urbanae, novem praetoriae cohortes, Etruria ferme Umbriaque
6 delectae aut vetere Latio et coloniis antiquitus Romanis. at
apud idonea provinciarum sociae triremes alaeque et auxilia
cohortium, neque multo secus in iis virium: sed persequi incer-
tum fuit, cum ex usu temporis huc illuc mearent, gliscerent
numero et aliquando minuerentur.

1 **6.** Congruens crediderim recensere ceteras quoque rei publicae
partes, quibus modis ad eam diem habitae sint, quoniam Tiberio

1. **Rhoemetalces**: cp. c. 47; 2. 67; 3. 38.

2. **duae in Pannonia**, usually three (cp. 1. 16, 2), the third being here reckoned in Africa: see above.

3. **Delmatia.** This province was also called at that time 'superior provincia Illyricum' (C. I. L. iii. 1741) or 'maritima pars Illyrici' (Vell. 2. 125, 5). Its northern boundary towards Pannonia is not clearly marked (cp. 1. 16, 1); in other directions it extended to Moesia (see on 1. 80, 1) and Epirus (2. 53, 1), and thus included modern Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro, its chief town being Salonae. The name 'Illyricum' in the widest sense, included Pannonia and even Moesia (Suet. Tib. 16: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 141).

3. **positu**, in Tacitus only here and in 6. 21, 4; once in Sall. (Fr. H. 2. 1 D, 1 K, 8 G), and in several places in Ovid.

5. **tres urbanae, novem praetoriae.** On the variations in the number of these cohorts, see Introd. vii. p. 107. On the fourth urban cohort at Lugdunum, see 3. 41, 2. It is to be observed that in this survey Tacitus makes no mention of the 'cohortes civium Romanorum' (cp. 1. 8, 3), nor of the 'vigiles' at Rome, who were hardly regular soldiers and mostly freedmen.

6. **Etruria**, etc., abl. of place: cp. Introd. v. § 26.

7. **aut vetere Latio**, the towns which had the 'ius Latii' before 664, B.C. 90, when the 'lex Iulia' gave them the 'civitas:' cp. Nipp. and Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 54. By the conjunction 'aut,' these and the colonies are distinguished, as scattered towns, from the geographical districts above.

**coloniis antiquitus Romanis**, those in Italy, as distinct from the later transmarine colonies. Nipp. notes that the districts thus described as the recruiting ground of these corps would exclude the Transpadana, and the Greek cities of South Italy. All Italians became eligible in the time of Claudius; the corps being thus still called by Otho 'Italiae alumni et Romana vere iuventus' (H. 1. 84, 7): from the time of Domitian even provincials have access to it: see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 830; Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 468.

8. **sociae triremes**: cp. Introd. vii. p. 109, n. 7.

**alae . . . auxilia cohortium**: cp. Introd. l. l. p. 107.

9. **secus**, sc. 'quam in legionibus.' For an estimate of the whole force under arms, see Introd. l. l. p. 109.

**persequi**, 'to trace them.'

**incertum fuit.** Nipp. explains the tenses as referring to this sketch as finished. 'It was uncertain, therefore I did not attempt it.' 'Fuerit,' the conjecture of Lips., is adopted by Orelli and supported by the parallel passage in 15. 41, 1.

10. **ex usu temporis**, 'in accordance with temporary requirements:' cp. 6. 42, 3; also 'ex usu praesenti' 11. 8, 5, 'ex usu' 12. 48, 3, 'ex utilitatibus' 1. 58, 2.

12. **Congruens**, 'apposite:' so in the very similar passage 'congruens videtur' H. 5. 2, 1.

13. **partes**, 'departments.'

**habitae**, 'were administered:' cp. 'opes . . . modeste habitae' c. 44, 1.

mutati in deterius principatus initium ille annus attulit. iam 2
primum publica negotia et privatorum maxima apud patres tractabantur, dabaturque primoribus disserere et in adulationem lapsos cohibebat ipse; mandabatque honores, nobilitatem maiorum, claritudinem militiae, inlustres domi artes spectando, ut satis constaret non alios potiores fuisse. sua consulibus, sua 3
praetoribus species; minorum quoque magistratuum exercita potestas; legesque, si maiestatis quaestio eximeretur, bono in usu. at frumenta et pecuniae vectigales, cetera publicorum fruc- 4

1. **ille annus.** Dio, who gives at considerable length a somewhat similar sketch of the best period of this principate (57. 7–13), dates a change from the death of Germanicus, and a further deterioration from the retirement to Capreae.

**iam primum,** 'to begin:' so 14. 31, 2; Verg. Aen. 8, 190, etc.

2. **publica negotia.** On the position of the senate at this time, see Dio, 57. 7; Suet. Tib. 30; Introd. vi. pp. 77–79.

**privatorum,** questions concerning individuals. The reference is especially to the judicial processes, as still conducted before the senate, rather than 'apud principem.'

3. **primoribus,** perhaps used more widely than in 3. 65, 2.

4. **cohibebat ipse:** see 3. 47, 5; 59, 2, etc.

**mandabatque honores.** On the rights of 'commendatio' and 'nominatio' exercised by him, see Introd. vi. pp. 79, 80.

5. **inlustres domi artes:** see 3. 70, 4, and cp. 'studiis civilibus' 3. 75, 1. Here oratorical or literary, as well as juristic accomplishments, would be included in the expression.

6. **potiores fuisse.** This may be equivalent to 'plus potuisse,' 'that no other persons had more influence with him' (cp. 1. 69, 6), i.e. that the best qualified prevailed; but it is better to take 'potior' as equivalent to 'melior,' = 'preferable' (cp. 'potiora instituta' 16. 22, 7); whereby the meaning would be that those chosen were plainly the most choiceworthy.

**sua . . . species,** 'retained their prestige:' cp. Cic. in Pis. 11, 24 'magnum nomen est, magna species, magna dignitas, magna maiestas consulis.' On the position and functions of all magistrates of the state at this time, see Introd. vi. pp. 75, foll. Dio and Suetonius (l. l.) give several particulars of the outward marks of respect shown by Tiberius to consuls and other magistrates, and to senators generally and other persons of note.

7. **exercita potestas,** 'had their office exercised:' on 'exercitus,' cp. 3. 67, 2.

8. **leges . . . bono in usu,** 'the enforcement of laws was salutary,' i.e. neither too lax nor too strict. Allusion appears to be intended to such discretion as had been shown in dealing with the lex Papia Poppaea (3. 28, 6), and with the sumptuary laws (3. 55, 1). On the important exception made in respect of the laws of 'maiestas,' see Introd. viii. pp. 121, foll.

9. **frumenta,** 'the corn tribute.' The fullest information on this subject is contained in Cic. Verr. A. 2. B. 3; where the requisitions relating to corn are treated under three heads, 'frumentum decumanum' (c. 6, sqq.), 'emptum' (c. 70, sqq.), and 'aestimatum' (c. 81, sqq.). The first would be that here referred to as managed by publicani; the two latter kinds being rights of purchase at a fixed price for the soldiers or for Rome, and assessments for use of the governor.

**pecuniae vectigales,** indirect taxes, such as 'portoria,' 'scriptura,' etc. Cp. 13. 50.

**cetera publicorum fructuum.** Nipp. understands this not of the 'tributa,' which were directly collected by the state, but of other sources of indirect revenue, such as the dues from woodlands, saltworks, quarries, mines, etc. Mommsen (Staatsr. ii. p. 977) and Marquardt (Staatsv. ii. p. 303) both consider that the practice of farming the revenue must have extended much further at this period than subsequently. 'Publicorum' denotes such as were paid to the aerarium, in contrast with 'res suas' below.

5 tuum societatibus equitum Romanorum agitabantur. res suas
Caesar spectatissimo cuique, quibusdam ignotis ex fama man-
dabat, semelque adsumpti tenebantur prorsus sine modo, cum
6 plerique isdem negotiis insenescerent. plebes acri quidem annona
fatigabatur, sed nulla in eo culpa ex principe: quin infecunditati
terrarum aut asperis maris obviam iit, quantum impendio diligen-
7 tiaque poterat. et ne provinciae novis oneribus turbarentur
utque vetera sine avaritia aut crudelitate magistratuum tolerarent,
providebat: corporum verbera, ademptiones bonorum aberant.
rari per Italiam Caesaris agri, modesta servitia, intra paucos liber-
tos domus: ac si quando cum privatis disceptaret, forum et ius.

1. **societatibus equitum Romanorum.** These associations of 'publicani' are called 'vectigalium societates' in 13. 50, 3; and apparently each province had one: thus the 'societas Bithyniae' is spoken of by Cicero (ad Fam. 13. 9, 1), and those of provinces generally by Caesar (B. C. 3. 3, 2). Each was presided over by a 'magister' (Cic. Pl. 13, 32).

**agitabantur,** 'were managed:' so 'agitare faenus' 6. 16, 3; G. 26, 1, etc.: cp. also c. 41, 4; 12. 27, 3, etc.

**res suas,** the office of 'procurator fisci.' Such an officer is found even in senatorial provinces (cp. c. 15, 3): in the greater Caesarian provinces he answered to the senatorial quaestor, while the lesser were wholly administered by him: see Introd. vii. p. 99. Inscriptions also attest the existence of lower officers ('procuratores patrimonii'), usually freedmen, employed by the princeps, as by any private individual, to manage his private estates, whether in Italy or the provinces. See Marquardt, ii. p. 249.

3. **tenebantur . . . sine modo.** This was also the case with the 'legati,' cp. 1. 80, 2.

4. **insenescerent,** in prose only here and in Quint.: from Hor. and Ov.

**acri annona.** On the use with 'annona' of metaphors from winter or storm, see on 2. 87, 1.

6. **obviam iit.** For his own references to his labour in this department, cp. 3. 54, 8; 6. 13, 2. 'Annona' was also a special care of Augustus (see on 1. 2, 1).

8. **sine avaritia . . . magistratuum.** Compare the account of the republican provincial rule (1. 2, 2): see also Introd. vii. p. 101.

9. **verbera, ademptiones bonorum aberant.** This can hardly mean more than that governors were generally brought to account for inflicting such punishments unjustly: it being evident that such outrages were often in fact committed (see Introd. l. l.).

10. **rari.** Lips. points out that a contrast is suggested to the vast estates afterwards acquired by confiscations. It appears to be also implied that he had larger estates in the provinces: cp. c. 15, 3; Marquardt, ii. p. 249.

**modesta.** Notwithstanding the apparent correspondence of 'rari' and 'paucos,' it does not seem possible to take this, with Orelli, to mean 'in moderate number.' It must be understood of their demeanour, and contrasted with the general insolence of such persons (e.g. c. 74, 6).

**intra paucos libertos domus,** 'his domestic staff limited to a few freedmen' On the use of 'intra' cp. 3. 72, 5. The household of Caesar still so far resembled that of a private citizen that its posts of responsibility and confidence ('a libellis,' 'a rationibus,' etc.) were filled only by freedmen; and these in the time of Tiberius were few. There is however evidence (see Introd. vii. p. 90, note 2) that some of them were wealthy and influential. Vitellius had afterwards filled such posts with Roman knights (H. 1. 58, 1): sometimes the freedmen had themselves received equestrian or even senatorial distinctions (11. 38, 5; 12. 53, 2; H. 2. 57, 4).

11. **si . . . disceptaret,** i.e. all fiscal claims were prosecuted in the ordinary lawcourts (cp. c. 15, 3; Dio, 57. 23, 5). In 2. 34, 5, his behaviour is described in a case where he was interested, not personally, but on behalf of a friend.

**forum et ius.** The idea of a verb of action is supplied: cp. Introd. v. §38 b.

**7.** Quae cuncta non quidem comi via, sed horridus ac plerum- 1
que formidatus, retinebat tamen, donec morte Drusi verterentur;
nam dum superfuit, mansere, quia Seianus incipiente adhuc 2
potentia bonis consiliis notescere volebat, et ultor metuebatur
non occultus odii, set crebro querens incolumi filio adiutorem
imperii alium vocari. et quantum superesse ut collega dicatur?
primas dominandi spes in arduo: ubi sis ingressus, adesse studia 3
et ministros. exstructa iam sponte praefecti castra, datos in
manum milites; cerni effigiem eius in monimentis Cn. Pompei;
communes illi cum familia Drusorum fore nepotes: precandam 4
post haec modestiam, ut contentus esset. neque raro neque apud
paucos talia iaciebat, et secreta quoque eius corrupta uxore pro-
debantur.

**8.** Igitur Seianus maturandum ratus deligit venenum, quo pau- 1
latim inrepente fortuitus morbus adsimularetur. In Druso datum
per Lygdum spadonem, ut octo post annos cognitum est. ceterum 2
Tiberius per omnis valetudinis eius dies, nullo metu an ut firmi-
tudinem animi ostentaret, etiam defuncto necdum sepulto, curiam
ingressus est. consulesque sede vulgari per speciem maestitiae 3

1. **via**: cp. 'morum via' 1. 54, 3. The use of 'via' with the force of 'ratio' (cp. 'alium alia via . . . demerebatur' Suet. Oth. 4, etc.) answers to that of ὁδὸς for τρόπος or μέθοδος.

**horridus**, 'rough,' or 'repulsive:' cp. 'horrida antiquitas' c. 16, 4, 'horridi sermone' H. 2. 74, 3. Compare the description of his manner in 1. 75, 6.

4. **notescere**: cp. 1. 73, 3. Tacitus here meets the objection that the influence of Seianus did not always appear to prompt pernicious counsels.

5. **occultus**, with genit. only here and in 6. 36, 3: cp. Introd. v. 33 e γ. The word is used of persons in H. 2. 38, 4, etc., and in Cic. and Liv.

**incolumi**, 'while he lived:' cp. 3. 56, 5, etc.

**adiutorem**: cp. 3. 12, 2. It here appears to denote some participation in the 'imperium proconsulare,' but a lower rank than that of 'collega:' cp. Introd. vi. p. 83.

6. **quantum superesse**, 'how slight a further step to be styled colleague!' He had already got the first, the most difficult step; at every stage of his further progress, fresh support would gather round him.

8. **sponte**, 'at his own will alone:' cp. 'nec sua sponte, sed eorum auxilio' (Cic. Fam. 7. 2, 3), etc. Drusus may be supposed to exaggerate the facts. On the genit., cp. 2. 59, 3.

9. **effigiem**: cp. 3. 72, 5.

10. **communes . . . nepotes**, referring to the projected marriage of his daughter to the son of Claudius: see on 3. 29, 5.

**precandam . . . modestiam**, sc. 'ei:' cp. c. 39, 3; 12. 65, 5; where, as here, the person on whose behalf prayer is to be made is indicated by the passage. The sense here is 'we can no longer resist him, and can only pray that he may use his power forbearingly.' Cp. 15. 17, 3; also Sen. Contr. 25, 2 'ut salva provincia sit, optemus meretrici bonam mentem.'

12. **et . . . quoque**; cp. 13. 55, 2; 56, 6, etc.: in Liv. (30. 10, 15, etc.) and subsequent prose; but not common (Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 121).

**secreta**: cp. c. 3, 5.

16. **Lygdum**, one of his most trusted servants (c. 10, 2), and probably his 'praegustator' (cp. 12. 66, 5).

**octo post annos**; on the information of Apicata (c. 11, 4), after the death of Seianus in 784, A.D. 31 (Dio, 58. 11, 6).

17. **nullo metu an**, etc. The construction is similarly varied in 2. 38, 9; 3. 44, 4, etc.

19. **sede vulgari**, among the mass

sedentes honoris locique admonuit, et effusum in lacrimas sena-
tum victo gemitu simul oratione continua erexit: non quidem
sibi ignarum posse argui, quod tam recenti dolore subierit oculos
senatus: vix propinquorum adloquia tolerari, vix diem aspici a
4 plerisque lugentium. neque illos inbecillitatis damnandos: se
5 tamen fortiora solacia e complexu rei publicae petivisse. misera-
tusque Augustae extremam senectam, rudem adhuc nepotum et
vergentem aetatem suam, ut Germanici liberi, unica praesentium
6 malorum levamenta, inducerentur petivit. egressi consules firma-
tos adloquio adulescentulos deductosque ante Caesarem statuunt.
quibus adprensis 'patres conscripti, hos' inquit 'orbatos parente
tradidi patruo ipsorum precatusque sum, quamquam esset illi
propria suboles, ne secus quam suum sanguinem foveret, attol-
7 leret, sibique et posteris conformaret. erepto Druso preces ad
vos converto disque et patria coram obtestor: Augusti pronepotes,
clarissimis maioribus genitos, suscipite, regite, vestram meamque
8 vicem explete. hi vobis, Nero et Druse, parentum loco. ita
nati estis, ut bona malaque vestra ad rem publicam pertineant.'

1 **9.** Magno ea fletu et mox precationibus faustis audita; ac si
modum orationi posuisset, misericordia sui gloriaque animos

of senators. Properly they sat in their curule chairs on a tribunal (cp. 16. 30, 4; Ov. ex P. 4. 5, 18; Luc. 5, 16, etc.). In the mourning for Augustus, Dio (56. 3) describes them as sitting on the benches of lower magistrates.

**per speciem.** It is implied that the mourning was insincere: cp. c. 12, 1.

3. **posse argui.** The clause 'quod . . . senatus' is the subject. 'That he faced the eyes of the senate, etc., could be blamed.'

6. **e complexu rei publicae**: cp. 'dum amplectitur rem publicam' (15. 59, 6), used in both cases of energetic public action. Cp. 'negotia pro solaciis accipiens' c. 13, 1.

7. **extremam senectam.** She was eighty years old: see on 5. 1, 1.

**rudem,** 'inexperienced.' Two of them were 'adulti' (c. 3, 1), but only about eighteen and fifteen years old respectively; Tiberius was himself sixty-five.

8. **Germanici liberi.** The context shows that Nero and Drusus alone are meant.

10. **deductos,** 'escorted.'

13. **ne** = 'ut non:' cp. the force of 'neque' 2. 34, 7, etc.

**secus quam**: cp. 6. 22, 5; frequent in Liv. e.g. 5. 36; 8. 8, etc.

**attolleret,** 'exalt them in the state,' i.e. in the career of honours: so 'attollere triumphi insignibus' 3. 72, 6, 'ordinibus . . . praemiis' H. 4. 59, 3. Tiberius delegates to Drusus what he could not himself expect to live long enough to do.

14. **sibique et posteris.** Dräger shows (Synt. und Stil, § 123, 2) that Tacitus often uses this formula for 'et . . . et' (e.g. 1. 4, 1; H. 4. 2, 4, etc.); 'que' is therefore to be taken closely with 'et,' not as coupling 'attolleret' to 'conformaret.'

**conformaret,** taken strictly with 'sibi,' and by zeugma with 'posteris:' 'train them on his own model and for the good of posterity.'

15. **coram.** On the anastrophe, cp. Introd. v. § 77, 6.

17. **ita nati,** etc., 'you are born in such a position that any good and evil in you must affect the state.' 'Bona' and 'mala' seem used rather of qualities (as in 6. 51, 6) than of fortunes, and the thought of the extreme importance of their careful training is carried on.

20. **gloria,** 'pride' (cp. 1. 43, 4), at the

audientium impleverat: ad vana et totiens inrisa revolutus, de
reddenda re publica utque consules seu quis alius regimen susci-
perent, vero quoque et honesto fidem dempsit. memoriae Drusi 2
eadem quae in Germanicum decernuntur, plerisque additis, ut
ferme amat posterior adulatio. funus imaginum pompa maxime 3
inlustre fuit, cum origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas omnesque Albanorum
reges et conditor urbis Romulus, post Sabina nobilitas, Attus
Clausus ceteraeque Claudiorum effigies longo ordine specta-
rentur.

**10.** In tradenda morte Drusi quae plurimis maximaeque fidei 1
auctoribus memorata sunt rettuli: set non omiserim eorundem
temporum rumorem, validum adeo ut nondum exolescat. corrupta 2
ad scelus Livia Seianum Lygdi quoque spadonis animum stupro
vinxisse, quod is aetate atque forma carus domino interque pri-
mores ministros erat; deinde inter conscios ubi locus veneficii
tempusque conposita sint, eo audaciae provectum, ut verteret et

lofty picture drawn of their position towards the young princes.

1. **totiens inrisa.** Tacitus has mentioned no such offer since the original show of reluctance to assume power (1. 12, etc.).

**de reddenda . . . utque**: cp. Introd. v. § 91, 7.

3. **memoriae . . . decernuntur**: cp. 'honores memoriae eius decretos' 5. 2, 1. Fragments of this decree, as of that in honour of Germanicus (see on 2. 83) are preserved (see Henzen, Insc. 5381; C. I. L. vi. 1, 912), but not sufficient for comparison. Borghesi thinks that in the mention of a 'clupeus argenteus,' one of the additions of later flattery may be detected (cp. 2. 83, 4).

4. **in Germanicum**: cp. Introd. v. § 60 b.

**plerisque additis**, 'with many additions' (cp. 3. 1, 2).

**ut . . . amat . . . adulatio**, sc. 'pleraque addere.' The use of 'amare' in the sense of φιλεῖν (='solere'), with this construction, is not uncommon in Horace (e.g. Od. 2. 3, 10; 3. 16, 10) and in post-Augustan prose.

6. **origo**, 'the founder:' cp. G. 2, 3. The application of this word to persons appears first in Vergil (Aen. 12, 166).

**Albanorum reges**: see Liv. 1. 3; Verg. Aen. 6, 760, sqq.

7. **Sabina nobilitas**, opposed to 'Iuliae gentis.' Tradition had always given a Sabine origin to the Claudian gens and tribe, the most generally received version being that which makes Attus Clausus and his followers migrate from Regillus to Rome, A. U. C. 250, B. C. 504 (Liv. 2. 16: cp. below, 11. 24, 1, also Suet. Tib. 1). Vergil (Aen. 7, 706, sqq.) follows a version making them part of the original 'Quirites' supposed to come from Cures.

10. **maximaeque fidei**: so Halm, with Ritt., for the MS. 'maximeque fideis,' from which most read 'maximeque fidis.' Pfitzner (p. 186) suggests that 'fideis' may have arisen out of 'fide dignis,' by a corruption akin to the frequent omission of a syllable in this MS.

12. **corrupta ad scelus**: cp. 2. 62, 3. On the specific use of 'scelus,' see note on 1. 5, 1.

14. **vinxisse**, 'bound to his service:' so in 6. 45, 6. Elsewhere the word appears to be always 'devincire' (as c. 1, 3, etc.).

**quod is.** After 'is' the MS. repeats 'Lygdus,' a repetition for which Walther and other defenders fail to give satisfactory reasons, and which has generally been taken to be a gloss. For a similar, but less certain, case, see 12. 49, 2.

15. **ubi**, put after its natural position, as is probably the case in 12. 51, 2.

16. **conposita**: cp. 'componunt' 3. 40, 3.

**eo audaciae provectum**: cp. similar expressions in 2. 55, 4; H. 3. 17, 2.

occulto indicio Drusum veneni in patrem arguens moneret Tiberium, vitandam potionem quae prima ei apud filium epulanti
3 offerretur. ea fraude captum senem, postquam convivium inierat, exceptum poculum Druso tradidisse; atque illo ignaro et iuveniliter hauriente auctam suspicionem, tamquam metu et pudore sibimet inrogaret mortem quam patri struxerat.

1 **11.** Haec vulgo iactata, super id quod nullo auctore certo
2 firmantur, prompte refutaveris. quis enim mediocri prudentia, nedum Tiberius tantis rebus exercitus, inaudito filio exitium offerret, idque sua manu et nullo ad paenitendum regressu? quin potius ministrum veneni excruciaret, auctorem exquireret, insita denique etiam in extraneos cunctatione et mora adversum unicum
3 et nullius ante flagitii conpertum uteretur? sed quia Seianus facinorum omnium repertor habebatur, ex nimia caritate in eum Caesaris et ceterorum in utrumque odio quamvis fabulosa et immania credebantur, atrociore semper fama erga dominantium
4 exitus. ordo alioqui sceleris per Apicatam Seiani proditus, tor-

**ut verteret**, sc. 'rem:' the nature of the change is here explained by the context.

1. **occulto indicio.** Orelli and Joh. Müller appear rightly to render this as 'an obscurely hinted information;' that the message was secretly conveyed would not be worth mentioning.

3. **captum.** Halm follows Mur. in reading this for the MS. 'cum;' most edd. adopt the marginal correction 'tum,' taking 'ea fraude' as a causal abl.

**inierat.** On the interposition of the indicative here and in 'struxerat,' see Introd. v. § 49.

4. **iuveniliter** = νεανικῶς, i.e. 'eagerly.'

7. **super id quod.** Dräger notes the use of this for 'praeterquam quod' as ἅπ. εἰρ., but as suggested by such expressions in Livy as 'super quam quod' (22. 3, 14, etc.), 'insuper quam' (23. 7, 3), etc.

**nullo auctore certo.** He does not mean that the story was a mere oral tradition, like that noted in 3. 16, 1. Though in no professed historian (see below), it must have had some root in literature, to be repeated without hesitation by Orosius (7, 3). It was perhaps suggested by the similar story about Agrippina (c. 54).

9. **inaudito**; cp. 2. 77, 5.

**exitium offerret.** Cicero has 'mortem offerre' (pro Rosc. Am. 13, 37; 14, 40, etc.); and other similar expressions occur.

10. **nullo ad paenitendum regressu,** 'leaving himself no means of retreat to a change of purpose.' Similar expressions are noted in Livy, as 'neque locus paenitendi aut regressus ab ira relictus' 24. 26, 15, 'receptum ad paenitendum non haberent' 42. 13, 3.

11. **ministrum,** the slave who handed him the cup: cp. 3. 14, 3.

**auctorem,** 'the instigator;' i.e. he would not assume Drusus to be so, but try to find who was, by examining the slave.

13. **flagitii conpertum**: cp. 1. 3, 4.

14. **omnium,** 'of all kinds.'

**repertor**: cp. 2. 30, 3.

**caritate.** The subjective gen. with this word, used here alone in Tacitus, is rare, but in Cic. and Liv.: on the objective, cp. c. 17, 1; 19, 1, etc.

16. **atrociore,** etc., 'report being always inclined to associate horrors with the death of princes.' On the sense of 'erga,' cp. Introd. v. § 59.

17. **alioqui** = 'praeterea:' cp. 'quod alioquin suum delictum' 14. 61, 5. For other senses of the word, cp. c. 37, 2; 2. 38, 6; 3. 8, 4. The sense here is that, besides the absurdity of the story, there is direct evidence against it.

**Apicatam Seiani.** 'Uxor' is not unfrequently omitted, especially in epistolary Latin (Cic. Att. 12. 20, 2; 21, 4; Plin. Epp. 2. 20, 2), also in poets (Verg.

mentis Eudemi ac Lygdi patefactus est. neque quisquam scriptor tam infensus extitit, ut Tiberio obiectaret, cum omnia alia conquirerent intenderentque. mihi tradendi arguendique 5
rumoris causa fuit, ut claro sub exemplo falsas auditiones depellerem peteremque ab iis, quorum in manus cura nostra venerit, *ne* divulgata atque incredibilia avide accepta veris neque in miraculum corruptis antehabeant.

**12.** Ceterum laudante filium pro rostris Tiberio senatus popu- 1
lusque habitum ac voces dolentum simulatione magis quam libens induebat, domumque Germanici revirescere occulti laetabantur.
quod principium favoris et mater Agrippina spem male tegens 2
perniciem adceleravere. nam Seianus ubi videt mortem Drusi 3
inultam interfectoribus, sine maerore publico esse, ferox scelerum, et quia prima provenerant, volutare secum, quonam modo Germanici liberos perverteret, quorum non dubia successio. neque 4

Aen. 3, 319; Luc. 2, 343), and constantly in inscriptions. Tacitus similarly omits 'filia' in 12. 1, 2. See Introd. v. § 80. For the facts, see on c. 8, 1.

2. **scriptor**, 'historian,' as in 2. 88, 1, etc.

**obiectaret**, 'to charge him with it.' The object of the verb is gathered from the context.

3. **intenderent**, probably 'were exaggerating,' as in 2. 57, 3, etc. Nipp. understands it in the ordinary sense, 'were aiming at him.'

4. **sub exemplo**: cp. 3. 68, 1.

**auditiones**, 'rumours:' abstr. for concr., as in Cic. pro Planc. 23, 56; Cael. ap. Cic. ad Fam. 8. 1.

5. **cura**: cp. 3. 24, 4.

**venerit**. The change of tense here and in 'antehabeant' appears, as Nipp. and Dräger note, to be due to this, that the writer, although he looks upon what he has written and his reason at the time of writing it as a fact of the past (cp. 'incertum fuit' c. 5, 6), regards his readers without any such relation. So Cicero (pro Balb. 27, 69), referring to a recommendation made the day before by Pompeius, says, 'erat aequa lex nobis atque omnibus . . . utilis, ut nostras inimicitias inter nos geramus,' the injunction being a past fact, but the utility for all time. On 'antehabeo,' cp. 1. 58, 6.

6. **incredibilia**. Nipp. brackets this as a gloss; yet without some such word, meaning 'unworthy of credit,' there appears to be no sufficient opposition between what is rumoured and eagerly caught up and what is true. He has given an instance in which such a rumour has not only improbability, but other evidence against it.

**in miraculum corruptis**: cp. 'nihil compositum miraculi causa' 11. 27.

8. **laudante filium**. Seneca, who may have witnessed the scene as a young man, describes it graphically (Cons. ad Marc. 15), 'stetit in conspectu posito corpore, interiecto tantummodo velamento quod pontificis oculos a funere arceret, et flente populo non flexit voltum: experiundum se dedit Seiano ad latus stanti, quam patienter posset suos perdere.'

9. **habitum**, 'the bearing:' cp. 1. 10, 7.

**libens**, 'voluntarily.' Nipp. notes the use of the word in this sense in 4. 58, 3; 14. 61, 6.

11. **mater . . . tegens**, i.e. 'the fact that she ill concealed her hope.' This mode of expression, so common with the past participle, is rare with the present (Introd. v. § 55 a).

13. **ferox scelerum**: cp. 1. 32, 5. This adj. seems here alone to take an objective genitive. To express a similar idea, Sall. (Jug. 14, 21) uses 'sceleribus ferox' ('emboldened by crime').

14. **provenerant**: cp. 1. 19, 4.

**volutare secum**: cp. 13. 15, 1; apparently from 'mecum ipse voluto' (Verg. Aen. 9, 37). Commonly 'animo' or 'in animo' is used.

spargi venenum in tres poterat, egregia custodum fide et pudicitia 5 Agrippinae inpenetrabili. igitur contumaciam eius insectari, vetus Augustae odium, recentem Liviae conscientiam exagitare, ut superbam fecunditate, subnixam popularibus studiis inhiare 6 dominatione apud Caesarem arguerent. atque haec callidis criminatoribus, inter quos delegerat Iulium Postumum, per adulterium Mutiliae Priscae inter intimos aviae et consiliis suis peridoneum, quia Prisca in animo Augustae valida, anum suapte 7 natura potentiae anxiam insociabilem nurui efficiebat. Agrippinae quoque proximi inliciebantur pravis sermonibus tumidos spiritus perstimulare.

1 **13**. At Tiberius nihil intermissa rerum cura, negotia pro solaciis accipiens, ius civium, preces sociorum tractabat; factaque auctore eo senatus consulta, ut civitati Cibyraticae apud Asiam,

1. **spargi venenum**. The phrase appears to be taken from Cic. Cat. 2. 10, 23 'spargere venena didicerant.' The verb has often the sense of 'to distribute' or 'extend:' cp. 3. 21, 5.

3. **conscientiam**: cp. 1. 39, 3. Here the sense is as if the words had been 'Liviam recentis sceleris consciam.' The old animosity of Augusta has been mentioned in 1. 33, 6; 2. 43, 5, etc.

**exagitare**, here only in Tacitus; but used of exciting passions, by Cic. (Att. 3. 7, 2), etc., and of irritating a person, by Sall. (Cat. 38, 1; Jug. 73, 5).

5. **apud Caesarem**, taken with 'arguerent.'

**atque haec**. I have not here followed Halm, who, without notice in his Comm. Crit., alters the MS. text to 'alitque haec.' From 'arguerent' it is not difficult to supply the idea of such a verb as 'faciebat' (cp. c. 38, 5); but it seems better to take 'haec' as the subject of 'efficiebat,' and to refer it to Livia. Granting that 'aviae,' below, might with some latitude designate the relationship of Augusta to Agrippina, as her husband's grandchild or as her grandson's wife, it would be used in the strictest sense relatively to Livia, who was her granddaughter by natural descent.

**callidis criminatoribus**. On this extension of the instrumental abl., see Introd. v. § 27.

7. **Mutiliae Priscae**, probably the wife of Fufius Geminus: see on 5. 2, 3.

**inter intimos aviae et**. Nipp. brackets these words as an interpolation, on the ground that the context implies that Iulius Postumus had access to Augusta only through Prisca. If they are genuine, it must be understood that he was both directly and indirectly serviceable.

8. **in animo . . . valida**. This phrase appears only to occur here and in 14. 51, 6; 15. 50, 3: cp. also 6. 8, 4; 31, 3.

9. **potentiae anxiam**: cp. 2. 75, 1.

**nurui**: cp. Dig. 23. 2, 14, 4 'nurus appellatione non tantum filii uxor, sed et nepotis et pronepotis continetur, licet quidem has pronurus appellant.'

10. **inliciebantur**, with simple inf., only here and in 2. 37, 2.

**pravis sermonibus**: cp. c. 54, 59, etc.

**tumidos**, in this sense chiefly poetical, but in prose from Livy.

11. **perstimulare**, *ἅπ. εἰρ.* For similar forms, cp. Introd. v. § 69, 3.

13. **ius civium**, the judicial proceedings mentioned below. The 'preces sociorum' would include the complaints against officials, as well as petitions for relief under calamity.

14. **Cibyraticae**. Cibyra was in the south-western extremity of Phrygia near the Indus, a branch or another name of the Calbis (Kengez); where its remains still exist, near a village called Horzoum. It is noted by Horace (Ep. 1. 6, 33) as a centre of trade, and by Pliny (N. H. 5. 28, 29, 105) as the 'conventus' for twenty-five cities. It had been at times within the province of Cilicia, but is reckoned in Asia from 705, B.C. 49: see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 178. In the inscription

Aegiensi apud Achaiam, motu terrae labefactis, subveniretur
remissione tributi in triennium. et Vibius Serenus pro consule 2
ulterioris Hispaniae, de vi publica damnatus, ob atrocitatem
morum in insulam Amorgum deportatur. Carsidius Sacerdos. 3
reus tamquam frumento hostem Tacfarinatem iuvisset, absolvitur,
eiusdemque criminis C. Gracchus. hunc comitem exilii admodum 4
infantem pater Sempronius in insulam Cercinam tulerat. illic
adultus inter extorres et liberalium artium nescios, mox per
Africam ac Siciliam mutando sordidas merces sustentabatur;
neque tamen effugit magnae fortunae pericula. ac ni Aelius Lamia 5

mentioned in 2. 47, 1, it is associated with the cities which suffered earthquake at that date.

1. **Aegiensi.** Aegium (Vostitza) on the Corinthian gulf, the chief city of the ancient Achaia, and the regular place of meeting of the Achaean league (Liv. 38. 30, 12), which at a later date still went through the form of meeting there (Paus. 7. 24, 4). At this time it was probably overshadowed by the colonies of Patrae and Dyme (cp. Pl. N. H. 3. 4, 5, 11).

**subveniretur**, etc.: see on 2. 47.

2. **Vibius Serenus**, one of the accusers of Libo Drusus (2. 30, 1): see further, c. 28–30.

3. **ulterioris Hispaniae.** This name formerly included both Lusitania and Baetica, but since the division of those provinces by Augustus, or perhaps by Tiberius (Momms. Mon. Anc. p. 83), is restricted to the latter, a senatorial province of the second rank, parted from Lusitania (see on c. 5, 2) by the Anas (Guadiana), and coinciding generally with southern Estremadura, Andalusia, and Granada. The seat of government was at Corduba (Cordova): see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 105.

**de vi publica.** This crime consisted in the execution, torture, scourging, or incarceration in a public prison of any Roman citizen who had appealed to Caesar: cp. Dig. 48. 6, 7; Paul. Sent. 5. 26, 1. A 'lex Iulia' of 746, B.C. 8, made it punishable by 'interdictio aqua et igni.'

**ob atrocitatem morum.** The MS. has 'temporum' for 'morum,' apparently by a repetition of the last syllable of the preceding word. 'Tormentorum' is suggested by Haase. 'Deportatio' to a particular island was an additional severity; those interdicted from fire and water being as a rule allowed to choose an island for their residence, if not less than four hundred stadia from the mainland (Dio, 56. 27, 2). At a later time deportation became the usual penalty for 'vis publica' in case of criminals of rank; and those of lower position were punished capitally (Paul. l. l.).

4. **Amorgus**, Amorgo, one of the Cyclades, S. E. of Naxos, contrasted as a place of residence with Gyaros or Donysa (c. 30, 2), and still a fertile island.

**Carsidius Sacerdos**: cp. 6. 48, 7, from which the name is here restored in the MS. for 'Carsius.'

5. **tamquam iuvisset**, 'on the ground of having assisted:' cp. 3. 72, 5, and note there; also 'laetis . . . tamquam ducem . . . bellum absumpsisset' 12. 39, 5, 'probro respersus est tamquam . . . furatus' H. 1. 48, 5.

6. **C. Gracchus.** This person appears to have become an informer (6. 38, 4), and may have been the praetor of 786, A.D. 33 (6. 16, 5). Nipp. notes from Henzen (Scavi, p. 99) that a Gracchus was also praet. peregr. in 790, A.D. 37.

7. **pater Sempronius**: see on 1. 53, 4. On the variation used to avoid repetition of the same name, see Introd. v. § 86.

9. **sordidas merces.** Cicero (de Off. 1. 42, 150) applies this epithet to several kinds of trade, and to all 'mercatura tenuis,' as distinct from that which is 'magna et copiosa' and 'non admodum vituperanda.' To a Roman of senatorial rank all trade was sordid, but the large dealings of knights, e.g. in the corn trade, had a certain dignity.

10. **magnae fortunae**, 'belonging to high rank.'

**Aelius Lamia**: see 6. 27, 2. He had been consul in 756, A.D. 3; but may probably, as Nipp. thinks, have been preceded in the lot for proconsulates by his juniors Messala Volesus (cp. 2. 68, 1) and

et L. Apronius, qui Africam obtinuerant, insontem protexissent, claritudine infausti generis et paternis adversis foret abstractus.

1 **14**. Is quoque annus legationes Graecarum civitatium habuit, Samiis Iunonis, Cois Aesculapii delubro vetustum asyli ius ut
2 firmaretur petentibus. Samii decreto Amphictyonum nitebantur, quis praecipuum fuit rerum omnium iudicium, qua tem-
3 pestate Graeci conditis per Asiam urbibus ora maris potiebantur. neque dispar apud Coos antiquitas, et accedebat meritum ex loco: nam cives Romanos templo Aesculapii induxerant, cum
4 iussu regis Mithridatis apud cunctas Asiae insulas et urbes trucidarentur. variis dehinc et saepius inritis praetorum questibus, postremo Caesar de inmodestia histrionum rettulit: multa ab iis in publicum seditiose, foeda per domos temptari; Oscum quondam ludricum, levissimae apud vulgum oblectationis, eo flagitiorum et virium venisse, *ut* auctoritate patrum coercendum sit. pulsi tum histriones Italia.

L. Asprenas (cp. 1. 53, 9), and may thus have been nearer to the actual war with Tacfarinas (cp. 2. 52, 1).

1. **L. Apronius.** On his proconsulate, cp. 3. 21, 1.

2. **abstractus**: so used in H. 4. 2, 7. The full expression would probably be 'abstractus in perniciem,' a figure from such an expression as 'abstrahi . . . ad capitale supplicium' (Curt. 3. 2, 17).

3. **Is quoque annus**, this year, like that preceding: cp. 3. 60-63.

4. **Samiis Iunonis.** Samos, made a free state by Augustus (Dio, 54, 9, 7), was included, like the other islands, in the province of Asia. Its Heraeum, spoken of by Herodotus (2. 148; 3. 60) as the greatest temple known to him, was destroyed by the Persians, and suffered in subsequent wars, but was still great and famous as late as the time of Pausanias (7. 4, 4). The temple was on the coast near the city, and some ruins of it appear to be found near the modern Chora.

**Cois Aesculapii.** Cos was one of the great centres of this worship, and of the caste or medical school of Asclepiadae. Hippocrates himself was born and resided here. Claudius gave the island the privilege of immunity, mainly for its medical fame: see 12. 61, 1.

6. **qua tempestate.** It is implied that the decree was of this early date. This expression for 'quo tempore' (cp. 2. 60, 2; 6. 34, 3, etc.) is chiefly poetical, but found in Cic., Sall., Liv.

8. **ex loco,** 'connected with the place.'

9. **induxerant.** This verb takes the dat. in 5. 1, 3, etc., also in Stat. and Suet.

**cum . . . trucidarentur,** in 666, B.C. 88: cp. Vell. 2. 18, 1. Appian records (Mithr. 23) that many famous sanctuaries were then violated.

11. **variis . . . questibus.** Riots had taken place in former years: cp. 1. 54, 3; 77, 1. On the 'ius ludorum' of the praetors, cp. 1. 15, 5, etc.

13. **in publicum**: cp. 2. 48, 1.

**seditiose, foeda**: cp. Dio (57. 21, 3), *τάς τε γυναῖκας ᾔσχυνον καὶ στάσεις ἤγειρον*. There is also abundant evidence (cp. Suet. Tib. 45; Cal. 27; Ner. 39; Galb. 13) that the 'exodia' often contained pasquinades on, or covert allusions to, the princeps.

**Oscum quondam ludicrum,** i. e. the 'Atellanae,' which, though not originally left to professional actors (Liv. 7. 2, 12), had now been taken up by the 'pantomimi;' for whom, see on 1. 54 3, and the references above given to Suetonius. Strabo (5. 3, 6, 233) refers to the survival of the Oscan dialect in the popular mimes.

16. **pulsi tum histriones Italia.** Suetonius (Tib. 37) represents this punishment as falling only on some 'capita factionum et histriones propter quos dissidebatur.' Dio (l. l.) speaks as if it was a more general measure. One of the first acts of Gaius was to bring them back (Dio, 59. 2, 5); and Mnester was notorious

**15.** Idem annus alio quoque luctu Caesarem adficit, alterum 1
ex geminis Drusi liberis extinguendo, neque minus morte amici.
is fuit Lucilius Longus, omnium illi tristium laetorumque socius 2
unusque e senatoribus Rhodii secessus comes. ita quamquam 3
novo homini censorium funus, effigiem apud forum Augusti
publica pecunia patres decrevere, apud quos etiam tum cuncta
tractabantur, adeo ut procurator Asiae Lucilius Capito accusante
provincia causam dixerit, magna cum adseveratione principis, non
se ius nisi in servitia et pecunias familiares dedisse: quod si vim
praetoris usurpasset manibusque militum usus foret, spreta in eo
mandata sua: audirent socios. ita reus cognito negotio damnatur. 4
ob quam ultionem, et quia priore anno in C. Silanum vindicatum

in the time of Claudius (11. 4, 2, etc.). Another expulsion is recorded in the time of Nero (13. 25, 4).

1. **Idem annus . . . adficit,** repeated in 6. 45, 1: cp. Introd. v. § 75.

**alterum ex geminis**: see on 2, 84, 1. The child was about four years old.

3. **Lucilius Longus.** An incidental notice in Kal. Amitern. (Orell. Insc. ii. p. 397) shows that Longus was cos. suff. with Creticus Silanus (cp. 2. 43, 3) in 760, A.D. 7.

4. **unusque e senatoribus,** 'the only senator.' Two knights, who also accompanied Tiberius to Rhodes, are mentioned in 6. 10, 2.

5. **censorium funus.** The expression is repeated in 6. 27, 2; 13. 2, 6; H. 4. 47, 2. As public funerals were undertaken by contract (cp. on 3. 48, 1), and contracts in the name of the state were in republican times usually let by the censors, it is generally thought that, though censors had ceased to exist, 'censorium funus' is still a synonym for 'funus publicum,' the one expression (in 6. 11, 7) being apparently equivalent to the other (in 6. 27, 2). It has also been taken to mean a public funeral of the highest kind, such as would have been given to one who had filled the censorship, the highest magistracy. In this sense, the term could be used properly of the funeral of Claudius (13. 2, 6), who really had been censor.

**forum Augusti,** one of the series of imperial Fora north east of the old Forum, between the Capitol and Quirinal. In its centre was the Temple of Mars Ultor (cp. 2. 64, 2), and many statues of great men stood in its porticoes (Suet. Aug. 31). Respecting its site and remains, see Burn, Rome, etc. p. 131.

6. **etiam tum.** A contrast is implied to the later prevalence of private trials (cp. 6. 10, 2; 11. 2, 1, etc.), and is illustrated by the extreme case of bringing a charge against Caesar's own procurator before the senate. That such persons were usually tried before the princeps, would appear from 13. 33, 1; Dial. 7, 1.

7. **procurator**: see note on c. 6, 5; 2. 47, 3, etc. The existence of these fiscal officers, even in all senatorial provinces, is attested by numerous inscriptions (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 414); but the context shows that their position was far lower at present in these than in the Caesarian provinces, and wholly different from that of procurators who were actual governors: see Introd. vii. p. 99.

8. **causam dixerit,** sc. 'apud eos,' supplied from 'apud quos.'

9. **servitia.** The force of 'familiares' extends also to this word; the 'pecuniae' are the αὐτοκρατορικὰ χρήματα of Dio (57. 23, 5), who states that procurators could then only prosecute their claims before the ordinary courts. An extension is given to their jurisdiction under Claudius (see on 12. 60, 1), and they become quite independent of the proconsul: cp. Dig. 1. 16, 9 'si fiscalis pecuniaria causa sit, quae ad procuratorem principis respicit, melius fecerit (proconsul) si abstineat.'

10 **praetoris,** 'of a governor:' used here as a general term (cp. note on 1. 74, 1), though the proconsul of this province was always of consular rank.

**militum,** a few soldiers were kept as police, even in the 'inermes provinciae.'

11. **damnatur.** Dio (l. l.) says that he was exiled.

12. **vindicatum in.** This impers. pass.

erat, decrevere Asiae urbes templum Tiberio matrique eius ac
2 senatui. et permissum statuere; egitque Nero grates ea causa patribus atque avo, laetas inter audientium adfectiones, qui recenti
3 memoria Germanici illum aspici, illum audiri rebantur. aderantque iuveni modestia ac forma principe viro digna, notis in eum Seiani odiis ob periculum gratiora.

1 **16.** Sub idem tempus de flamine Diali in locum Servi Maluginensis defuncti legendo, simul roganda nova lege disseruit
2 Caesar. nam patricios confarreatis parentibus genitos tres simul nominari, ex quis unus legeretur, vetusto more; neque adesse, ut olim, eam copiam, omissa confarreandi adsuetudine aut inter
3 paucos retenta: (pluresque eius rei causas adferebat, potissimam penes incuriam virorum feminarumque; accedere ipsius caerimoniae difficultates, quae consulto vitarentur) et quod exiret e

with 'in,' is found in Caes., Cic., and Sall., but is uncommon: cp. H. 4. 45, 2.

1. **decrevere . . . templum.** On this important expression of provincial gratitude see Introd. viii. p. 136. The city in which the temple was to stand had yet to be determined (cp. c. 55. 56.)

2. **statuere.** The inf. is used with 'permissum (est)' in c. 48, 2; G. 7, 2, and in the best authors. Similar permission was refused to Spain (c. 37).

**Nero.** Youths of the imperial family often thus acted as 'patroni' of the provinces: cp. 12. 58, 1.

5. **principe viro**: cp. 3. 6, 5; 34, 11.

7. **Servi Maluginensis**: see 3. 58; 71.

9. **patricios.** This restriction applied to the 'rex sacrificulus' and the three 'flamines maiores.' The 'minores' were at this time mostly obsolete: cp. Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 314, and, on 'confarreatio,' Id. p. 292. Not only was the flamen required to be born of parents married by this form, but, as duties were assigned to the 'flaminica,' he was required to have a wife, and also to have been married to her by the same rite.

**tres . . . nominari,** etc. It appears clear that the final choice rested with the chief pontiff, who was said 'capere flaminem' (Liv. 27. 8, 5). The preliminary nomination of three may have been made by the senate (instead of the comitia) or by the college of the pontiffs.

12. **pluresque,** etc. Halm follows Madvig (Adv. Crit. ii. p. 546) in placing this sentence in a parenthesis, whereby the whole passage is to be taken as giving two reasons for the scarcity of candidates: the first being that few were born of 'confarreati parentes,' the second, that the loss of 'patria potestas' was objected to. The parenthetical sentence gives two explanations of the first cause, namely, natural negligence of a cumbrous ceremony, and deliberate avoidance of its accompanying impediments.

13. **penes incuriam.** Nipp. compares this use of 'penes' with Hor. A. P. 71 ('usus, quem penes,' etc.), where, as in H. 1. 57, 4, some personification seems implied, while here a quality belonging to persons is spoken of.

**accedere.** The MS. has 'accederet,' with a point under 't,' whence Jac. Gron. reads 'accedere et.'

**ipsius caerimoniae difficultates.** Such a marriage could only be dissolved by the equally cumbrous process of 'diffarreatio,' and Romans now practised divorce with the utmost freedom.

14. **et quod.** The MS. has 'quŏ,' usually taken here, as in other places, for 'quoniam;' others, with Beroald., read 'quando;' Halm's adoption of 'quod' is supported by 'quo' being written for 'quod' in c. 39, 4. Nipp., who accepts 'quoniam' as the right reading of the MS., thinks it can only be explained on the supposition that several words or sentences have been lost, which on other grounds is certainly probable. It is evident that the office must have been in itself undesirable, owing to the severe rules imposed on its occupant (cp. 3, 71, and the long list enumerated in Gell. 10, 15), and we should expect to find this fact mentioned, as also the quarter indi-

iure patrio qui id flamonium apisceretur quaeque in manum flaminis conveniret. ita medendum senatus decreto aut lege, 4
sicut Augustus quaedam ex horrida illa antiquitate ad praesentem usum flexisset. igitur tractatis religionibus placitum instituto 5
flaminum nihil demutari: sed lata lex, qua flaminica Dialis sacrorum causa in potestate viri, cetera promisco feminarum iure ageret. et filius Maluginensis patri suffectus. utque glisceret 6
dignatio sacerdotum atque ipsis promptior animus foret ad capes-

cated from which the objection to the loss of 'patria potestas' over 'flamen' and 'flaminica' proceeded, whether from possible candidates or their parents. The passage in Livy (27. 8) would show the office to have been rather a burden than a privilege, as a person is 'taken' for it against his will.

1. **qui . . . apisceretur.** Gaius (1, 130) says, 'exeunt liberi virilis sexus de patris potestate, si flamines Diales inaugurentur, et feminini sexus, si virgines Vestales capiantur.' This was without 'capitis diminutio,' such as would have been involved in adoption into another family. The ceremony of 'taking' was a kind of 'mancipatio,' by which the person came under the 'potestas' of the deity, represented by the chief pontiff: see Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 301.

**flamonium**: so also in 13. 2, 6. Mommsen (Eph. Epig. i. 222) notes that the office of flamen is always in inscriptions 'flaminatus' or 'flamonium,' and that the latter form is preserved by the MSS. of Tacitus, of Cic. (Phil. 13. 19, 41), and of Livy (26. 23).

**quaeque . . . . conveniret.** 'Conventio in manum,' whereby the husband acquired a power analogous to that of a father over his wife, though not essential to marriage as such, was involved in the ceremony of 'confarreatio' or 'coemptio,' or the fact of a year's unbroken 'usus.' A marriage of the latter kind would thus always be 'sine conventione' during the first year, and, even by old law, might thus continue indefinitely, by annual suspension of cohabitation for a 'trinoctium.' In this and other ways marriages 'sine conventione' had come to be the rule; the woman thus becoming 'uxor tantummodo,' not 'mater familias' (Cic. Top. 3, 14). By the old law she gained thereby no freedom, but remained in 'potestate patris;' latterly, however, the 'patria potestas' had become much relaxed, and women were enabled, by legal fictions, to control their own property through a 'procurator,' and acquire practical independence (see Marquardt, Privatl. i. p. 63). To this the marriage of the 'flaminica' would be an exception, being necessarily by 'confarreatio,' and therefore 'cum conventione.'

2. **senatus decreto aut lege.** Nipp. notes that 'leges' still continue to be distinctly mentioned (cp. 11. 13, 2; H. 3. 37, 3; 4. 47, 2), and that several distinct 'leges' of this and later date are specified by jurists, but that their enactment by the comitia must have been a mere formality. It probably corresponded to the formal 'renuntiatio' of elections, or the formal plebiscite by which the tribunitian power of the princeps was ratified (Introd. vi. 75). Similar legislative enactments by 'senatus consulta' are mentioned in 12. 7, 3; 60, 2.

3. **quaedam . . . flexisset**: see note below (§ 5). It would also appear from 3. 71, 3, that Augustus had relaxed the old rule precluding the flamen from a single night's absence: Gellius (l. l.) also alludes to some relaxations without specifying their date or nature.

5. **demutari**; apparently one of the words revived by Tacitus from Plautus.

6. **sacrorum causa**, etc. A defective passage in Gaius (1, 136; see Marquardt, iii. 319, n. 9), alluding to this enactment, appears to show that Augustus had already introduced this limitation of the legal effect of 'confarreatio' in respect of the 'flaminica Dialis' on his restoration of the 'flamonium' in 744, B.C. 10. Mr. Poste considers (Gaius, p. 95) that the relaxation thus introduced by him in that particular instance, was now extended to all cases. The fiction by which she was thus treated as in the power of her husband 'sacrorum causa' would involve her taking his domestic worship instead of that of her paternal house (Poste, l. l.), and would enable her to perform her public sacred duties as priestess of Juno (Plut.

sendas caerimonias, decretum Corneliae virgini, quae in locum Scantiae capiebatur, sestertium viciens, et quotiens Augusta theatrum introisset, ut sedes inter Vestalium consideret.

**17.** Cornelio Cethego Visellio Varrone consulibus pontifices eorumque exemplo ceteri sacerdotes, cum pro incolumitate principis vota susciperent, Neronem quoque et Drusum isdem dis commendavere, non tam caritate iuvenum quam adulatione, quae moribus corruptis perinde anceps, si nulla et ubi nimia est. nam Tiberius haud umquam domui Germanici mitis, tum vero aequari adulescentes senectae suae inpatienter indoluit; accitosque pontifices percontatus est, num id precibus Agrippinae aut minis tribuissent. et illi quidem, quamquam abnuerent, modice perstricti; etenim pars magna e propinquis ipsius aut primores civitatis erant: ceterum in senatu oratione monuit in posterum, ne quis mobiles adulescentium animos praematuris honoribus ad superbiam extolleret. instabat quippe Seianus incusabatque

Quaest. Rom. 86), but would not affect her status in other respects.

1. **caerimonias,** 'the duties of a religious office:' cp. 1. 54, 1.

2. **capiebatur**: cp. 2. 86, 1.

**sestertium viciens**; twice the gift given on a former occasion to a rejected candidate (2. 86, 2). The special encouragement lay in the amount of the gift; for payment in some form had always been given to the Vestals (Liv. 1. 20, 3), and perhaps also to the 'flamines' (Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 79). As a set-off, the Vestal could inherit nothing except by will, and her own property, if she died intestate, escheated to the state (Gell. 1. 12).

3. **sedes inter Vestalium.** Augustus (Suet. Aug. 44) 'solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro, separatim et contra praetoris tribunal dedit.' Such a place as is here given to Augusta was assigned by Gaius to Antonia and to his sisters (Dio, 59. 3, 4), and by Claudius to Messalina (Id. 60. 22, 2). It was perhaps through this association that the Vestals were afterwards charged with the cultus of Augusta (Id. 60. 5, 2).

4. **Cornelio Cethego Visellio Varrone.** The praenomen of the former was 'Servius,' that of the latter 'Lucius' (Henzen 7419 d β). Varro was also 'curator riparum et alvei Tiberis' (C. I. L. vi. 1, 1237). On his father, cp. 3. 41, 3.

5. **pro incolumitate principis vota.** These were offered on a fixed day, shown by later authorities (Gaius, Dig. 50. 16, 223; Plut. Cic. 2, etc.) to be Jan. 3, and must not be confounded with those offered for the state on Jan. 1 (c. 70, 1). The present year was a special occasion, as the 'decennium' of Tiberius (Dio, 57. 24, 1).

6. **Neronem . . . et Drusum.** Tiberius allowed his mother's name to be included in 'vota' (see Act. Arv. A.U.C. 780, A.D. 27), and we often find women nearly related to the princeps thus associated with him, but rarely, if ever, male relatives: see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 798.

7. **caritate . . . adulatione,** causal abl.: cp. Introd. v. § 30.

8. **anceps,** 'perilous:' cp. c. 59, 1; 73, 4; 1. 36, 3.

**si . . . ubi.** On this interchange, cp. 1. 44, 8.

12. **quamquam abnuerent,** i.e. though they took the whole blame on themselves, they were not severely rebuked. The mildness of the censure is explained by the sentence 'etenim . . . erant.'

13. **pars magna,** etc. Young Drusus was himself a pontiff (Introd. ix. note 12), as was also L. Piso the 'praefectus urbis' (6. 10, 3).

16. **extolleret,** 'stimulate:' so 'extollit ira promptum . . . animum' 12. 22, 10.

**incusabat diductam.** This verb has often this construction in Livy.

diductam civitatem ut civili bello; esse qui se partium Agrip-
pinae vocent, ac ni resistatur, fore pluris; neque aliud gliscentis
discordiae remedium quam si unus alterve maxime prompti sub-
verterentur.

**18**. Qua causa C. Silium et Titium Sabinum adgreditur. 1
amicitia Germanici perniciosa utrique, Silio et quod ingentis
exercitus septem per annos moderator partisque apud Germaniam
triumphalibus Sacroviriani belli victor, quanto maiore mole pro-
cideret, plus formidinis in alios dispergebatur. credebant pleri- 2
que auctam offensionem ipsius intemperantia, immodice iactantis
suum militem in obsequio duravisse, cum alii ad seditiones
prolaberentur; neque mansurum Tiberio imperium, si iis quoque
legionibus cupido novandi fuisset. destrui per haec fortunam
suam Caesar inparemque tanto merito rebatur. nam beneficia 3
eo usque laeta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum
antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur.

**19**. Erat uxor Silio Sosia Galla, caritate Agrippinae invisa 1
principi. hos corripi dilato ad tempus Sabino placitum, inmis-
susque Varro consul, qui paternas inimicitias obtendens odiis
Seiani per dedecus suum gratificabatur. precante reo brevem 2
moram, dum accusator consulatu abiret, adversatus est Caesar:

3. **subverterentur**. The change of tense denotes a more remote contingency: see note on 1. 29, 1.

6. **et quod**, etc., 'it was also fatal that,' etc. The construction is equivalent to 'quod plus formidinis dispergebatur, quanto maiore mole procideret ingentis exercitus moderator,' etc. Nipp. notes a similar apposition in 11. 21, 2. The seven years are reckoned from the first mention of Silius as legatus of Upper Germany (1. 31, 2), to the time of his victory over Sacrovir (3, 42–46). His triumphal distinction was mentioned in 1. 72, 1.

11. **suum militem . . . duravisse**: see 1. 31, 3; 37, 4; 40, 1.

12. **mansurum**, sc. 'fuisse:' cp. Introd. v. § 39 c.

13. **destrui fortunam suam**, 'his position was lowered.' On this sense of 'fortuna,' cp. 2. 71, 6, etc. 'Destruere' is thus used with 'auctoritas' in 14. 43, 2, and of persons in H. 1. 6, 1.

14. **inparem**, 'unable to discharge such an obligation.'

15. **exsolvi**: cp. 'initium exsolvendae culpae' H. 4. 62, 6. The sense of 'paying' belongs to this verb frequently in Tacitus, and occasionally in Cic., Liv., etc., but usually with an accus. of the debt or penalty which is paid.

16. **antevenere**, absol. = 'superavere.' No other instance of this use of the word appears to be found.

**odium**, etc. The sentiment is found in Seneca (Ep. 19, 11), 'quidam quo plus debent, magis oderunt: leve aes alienum debitorem facit, grave inimicum.'

17. **caritate Agrippinae**. Almost the same words are repeated in 16. 14, 3 'caritate Agrippinae invisum Neroni.' The genitive in each case is objective, as in c. 17, 1, etc., and as generally in classical usage.

18. **dilato**: cp. c. 68–70.

**ad tempus**, 'for the moment:' cp. 'perturbatio . . . brevis et ad tempus' Cic. Off. 1. 8, 27. The sense in 1. 1, 1 is nearly similar.

**inmissus**, 'was set on:' metaph. from 'inmittere equum,' etc.: cp. c. 54, 1; 11. 1, 1.

19. **paternas inimicitias**, explained by 3. 43, 4.

solitum quippe magistratibus diem privatis dicere; nec infringendum consulis ius, cuius vigiliis niteretur ne quod res publica
3 detrimentum caperet. proprium id Tiberio fuit scelera nuper reperta priscis verbis obtegere. igitur multa adseveratione, quasi aut legibus cum Silio ageretur aut Varro consul aut illud res
4 publica esset, coguntur patres. silente reo, vel si defensionem coeptaret, non occultante cuius ira premeretur, conscientia belli Sacrovir diu dissimulatus, victoria per avaritiam foedata et uxor Sosia arguebantur. nec dubie repetundarum criminibus haere-
5 bant, sed cuncta quaestione maiestatis exercita, et Silius imminentem damnationem voluntario fine praevertit.

1 **20**. Saevitum tamen in bona, non ut stipendiariis pecuniae redderentur, quorum nemo repetebat, sed liberalitas Augusti
2 avulsa, conputatis singillatim quae fisco petebantur. ea prima

4. **priscis verbis**. His answer alluded to the words of the old 'ultimum senatus consultum' ('darent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet'), whereby, in an extreme crisis, a kind of martial law was proclaimed: cp. Sall. Cat. 29, 2; Caes. B. C. 1. 5, 3. This is here assumed as tantamount to a standing order. 'Vigilia consularis' may also be an old phrase (see Cic. Phil. 1. 1, 1). For other such phrases in the mouth of Tiberius, cp. 'exercendas leges esse' (1. 72, 4), 'infensus reipublicae' (c. 70, 7; 6. 24, 1).

**adseveratione**; cp. 2. 31, 4: here used with reference to the solemn expressions just mentioned.

**quasi . . . aut Varro consul**, etc., 'as if Varro were in any true sense a consul, or that state of things a republic.' As far as the mere 'vocabula' went, both were formally such. On the use of the neuter 'illud,' cp. 1. 49, 4.

7. **non occultante**, etc., showing that he knew who his real enemy was. The allusion is probably to the resentment of Tiberius on the grounds mentioned in c. 18, 2. Also the 'odia Seiani,' mentioned above, were in the background.

**conscientia . . . dissimulatus**, 'that the doings of Sacrovir had been ignored through complicity in his rebellion:' cp. 'conscientia rebellionis' 12. 31, 6, etc, 'Acilia . . . dissimulata' 15. 71, 12, 'consulatus dissimulatus' H. 2. 71, 3. In 3. 41, 4 it is stated that the disaffection of Sacrovir was reported to Tiberius, who delayed to deal with it.

8. **per avaritiam**, apparently by extortions from those who had not joined the rebellion: cp. also note on 3. 46, 4.

**uxor Sosia**, sc. 'parum coercita.' For complaints on grounds of this kind, see 3. 33.

9. **haerebant**, sc. 'Silius et Sosia,' 'could not clear themselves of the charges. On the abl., cp. 1. 65, 4.

10. **cuncta . . . exercita**, 'the whole case was conducted on the charge of treason:' cp. 'iudicium . . . exercuit' (1. 44, 3), 'contentiones' (13. 28, 5), etc.

11. **praevertit**, 'anticipated:' so 'praevertit tristia leto' Luc. 8, 30.

12. **tamen**, i. e. though contrary to the custom where sentence was thus anticipated (6. 29, 2). A similar exceptional confiscation took place in the case of Libo (2. 32, 1), and was proposed in that of Piso (3. 17, 8); the senate having power to increase the penalties prescribed by law, as even to substitute death for exile. We find also, from 11. 35, 2, that it was made illegal to preserve the effigy of Silius.

**stipendiariis**, 'the provincial tribute payers.' Strictly the term is distinguished from 'vectigales' (those who paid in kind), as in Cic. Verr. 2. 4, 60, 134; but it is generally used in contrast to 'civitates liberae,' though the latter were not exempt from all payments (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 353, sqq.).

13. **liberalitas**: cp. 2. 37, 2.

14. **singillatim**, i.e. gifts made at various times.

15. **ea prima**, etc.: cp. the character

Tiberio erga pecuniam alienam diligentia fuit. Sosia in exilium
pellitur Asinii Galli sententia, qui partem bonorum publicandam,
pars ut liberis relinqueretur censuerat. contra M'. Lepidus 3
quartam accusatoribus secundum necessitudinem legis, cetera
liberis concessit. hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis gravem et 4
sapientem virum fuisse comperior: nam pleraque ab saevis
adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit. neque tamen tempera-
menti egebat, cum aequabili auctoritate et gratia apud Tiberium
viguerit. unde dubitare cogor, fato et sorte nascendi, ut cetera, 5
ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in
nostris consiliis liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme
obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum. at Mes- 6
salinus Cotta haud minus claris maioribus, sed animo diversus,

given to him in 3. 18, 2. 'Diligentia' is here equivalent to 'studium,' but used with some irony.

2. **pellitur**. This, and 'concessit' below, are used to express the sentences advocated by these senators: cp. 3. 23, 2, etc.

**partem**: cp. 3. 17, 8. Nipp. is probably right in thinking that the property of Sosia alone is meant, that of Silius having been already disposed of.

3. **liberis.** One of them was the C. Silius of 11. 5, 3, etc.

**M'. Lepidus**: cp. note on 3. 32, 2.

4. **quartam.** On such ellipses, cp. Introd. v. § 80. 'Quarta' is thus used in Quint. 8. 5, 19; Dig. 5. 2, 8; 5. 4, 3.

**legis.** The law would be the 'lex Iulia de maiestate,' passed by Augustus. If the derivation most commonly assigned to 'quadruplator' is correct, one fourth would seem to be the usual reward of informers; but it is evidently here a legal 'minimum,' limiting the discretion (cp. 6. 47, 1) of the senate; and the 'lex Papia Poppaea' prescribed, till the time of Nero, a higher proportion (Suet. Ner. 10). The enormous sums sometimes given can be inferred from 16. 33, 4; H. 4. 42, 5.

6. **comperior.** The sentence is taken from Sall. (see Introd. v. § 97, 1), and the deponent form is elsewhere only found in Ter. And. 5. 3, 31; Sall. Jug. 108, 3, and in late prose.

**nam pleraque . . . . flexit.** This seems best taken, with Freinsh., to mean 'he modified many sentences in an opposite direction to the cruel servility of others.' Nipp. takes 'ab' to mean 'regardless of,' and compares 'a fortuitis vel naturalibus causis' (H. 1. 86, 4).

7. **neque tamen**, etc., 'nor yet (though apt to take an independent course) was he wanting in respect of self-control, as is shown by his having uniformly enjoyed the respect and favour of Tiberius.' 'Aequabilis' appears to have this force in H. 4. 5, 4 ('cunctis vitae officiis aequabilis'), as also the adv. in 15. 21, 5 ('aequabilius atque constantius provinciae regentur'): cp. Cic. N. D. 2, 9; Sall. Jug. 53, 1, etc. Nipp. would take 'egebat' as in 13. 3, 3, etc., but the meaning given above appears more suitable to this passage, and supported by 12. 66, 2 ('ministrorum egens'). Lepidus is similarly described in 6. 27, 4, and illustrations of his discretion will be found in 1. 13, 2; 3. 35, 2; 50.

9. **unde dubitare cogor**, etc., i. e. the success of such a man leads me to think that character, as well as destiny, has to do with the regard or aversion of princes. On the sentiment, cp. Introd. iv. p. 22.

11. **abruptam contumaciam**, 'perilous defiance.' That this is the meaning of 'abruptus,' seems suggested by 'periculis' below, and by 'in abruptum tractus' (H. 1. 48, 7), 'per abrupta ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt' (Agr. 42, 5). The metaphor is suggested by such a sense as that in 2. 55, 3. On the sentiment, cp. Introd. iv. p. 20.

12. **Messalinus Cotta**: cp. 2. 32, 2, etc. This decree was still in force in the time of Ulpian, who dates it (Dig. 1. 16, 4, 2) in the year of Cotta's consulship (see 3. 2, 5). Compare the debate bearing on this subject (3. 33, 34).

censuit cavendum senatus consulto, ut quamquam insontes
magistratus et culpae alienae nescii provincialibus uxorum crimi-
nibus perinde quam suis plecterentur.
1 **21.** Actum dehinc de Calpurnio Pisone, nobili ac feroci viro.
is namque, ut rettuli, cessurum se urbe ob factiones accusatorum
in senatu clamitaverat et spreta potentia Augustae trahere in
2 ius Urgulaniam domoque principis excire ausus erat. quae in
praesens Tiberius civiliter habuit: sed in animo revolvente iras
3 etiam si impetus offensionis languerat, memoria valebat. Pisonem
Q. Granius secreti sermonis incusavit adversum maiestatem
habiti, adiecitque in domo eius venenum esse eumque gladio
accinctum introire curiam. quod ut atrocius vero tramissum:
4 ceterorum, quae multa cumulabantur, receptus est reus, neque
peractus ob mortem opportunam. relatum et de Cassio Severo
5 exule, qui sordidae originis, maleficae vitae, sed orandi validus,

3. **perinde quam**: so most edd. (cp. 2. 1, 2). Nipp. retains and defends the MS. 'proinde,' but in all the passages of Tacitus referred to by him the reading is similarly disputed, though 'proinde quam' is a Plautine usage (Truc. 2. 3, 3), and such phrases as 'proinde ac' (Lucr. 3, 1035, 1053) are analogous.

4. **feroci**, in a good sense, as in 1. 2, 1, etc.

5. **ut rettuli**: see 2. 34.

8. **civiliter habuit**: so 'civiliter acceptum' 3. 76, 3.

**revolvente**: cp. 3. 18, 6.

9. **memoria valebat**: see on 1. 7, 11.

**Pisonem Q. Granius**: so Halm, after Lips., for the MS. 'Pisonem que grauius.' Most others read 'Pisonemque Granius,' but that name would hardly stand alone (cp. 1. 74, 1; 6. 38, 4), unless with such a word as 'quidam' (13. 23, 2). The conjunction, though rather near to another ('adiecitque'), might well have been used to connect the new charge with the old grudge, so that Ritter may probably be right in retaining it, and in supposing a praenomen to have been lost after it.

10. **secreti sermonis.** The extension of 'maiestas' not only from written to spoken words, but to words spoken in private life, attempted earlier (1. 74, 3), appears now to be an established principle; we may note also that the mere possession of poison in his house is strained into a charge.

11. **gladio accinctum**: cp. 11. 22, 1, and the precautions taken at one time by Augustus (Suet. Aug. 35). It was unlawful for civilians to carry arms anywhere within the city, and even the praetorian guard were not fully armed (see on 3. 4, 2).

12. **atrocius vero,** 'too atrocious to be true.' Nipp. notes from Müller that this use of the comparative, not strictly parallel to 'minora . . . maiora vero' (H. 1. 29, 1; 2. 70, 4), answers more to those in which it denotes a disproportion, as 'onus . . . animis et . . . corpore maius' (Hor. Ep. 1. 17, 39), 'curatio altior fastigio suo' (Liv. 2. 27, 6), or to those in which the comparative is followed by 'quam,' with an ellipse of some such words as 'esse solet' (cp. H. 1. 22, 1; 3. 7, 2). The expression here might thus be taken as an abbreviation for 'atrocius quam quod verum esse solet.'

13. **neque peractus,** 'his trial was not carried out;' the strict sense of 'reum peragere' (Liv. 4. 42, 6. etc.), which is sometimes merely equivalent to 'accusare.'

14. **opportunam**: cp. Liv. 6. 1, 7 'iudicio eum mors adeo opportuna ut voluntariam magna pars crederet, subtraxit.' The same suggestion appears to be implied here.

15. **orandi validus.** On the genitive, see Introd. v. 33 e γ. Severus is spoken of as the introducer of the new style of oratory (Dial. 19, 1, cp. Introd. v. p. 30),

per immodicas inimicitias ut iudicio iurati senatus Cretam amoveretur effecerat: atque illic eadem actitando recentia veteraque odia advertit, bonisque exutus, interdicto igni atque aqua, saxo Seripho consenuit.

**22.** Per idem tempus Plautius Silvanus praetor incertis causis 1
Aproniam coniugem in praeceps iecit, tractusque ad Caesarem
ab L. Apronio socero turbata mente respondit, tamquam ipse
somno gravis atque eo ignarus, et uxor sponte mortem sump-
sisset. non cunctanter Tiberius pergit in domum, visit cubiculum, 2
in quo reluctantis et impulsae vestigia cernebantur. refert ad 3
senatum, datisque iudicibus Urgulania Silvani avia pugionem

and as a speaker of much genius and elegance, but apt to sacrifice weight to virulence (Dial. 26, 4; Quint. 10. 1, 116). M. Seneca (Exc. Contr. 3, praef. 1–8) gives a full description of his style.

1. **per immodicas inimicitias,** 'by unrestrained aggressiveness:' cp. 'facilis capessendis inimicitiis' 5. 11, 1.

**iurati senatus**: see on 1. 74, 5. Probably many senators and their families had personally suffered from him (cp. 1. 72, 4).

**Cretam amoveretur.** This was evidently only a 'relegatio,' as he was not deprived of his property, the present sentence being one of full exile and deportation.

3. **advertit,** 'drew on himself:' the accusative is analogous to the personal accusative with this verb (1. 41, 1; 2. 17, 2; 6. 44, 1).

**interdicto igni atque aqua**: cp. 6. 30, 1. Nipp. takes the latter ablatives as depending on 'interdicto,' which is itself abl. abs., like 'libero' (3. 60, 6). But the simpler construction is possible and preferable: cp. 'interdicta voluptas' Hor. Ep. 1. 6, 64.

**saxo Seripho.** On the abl., cp. 'Delo' 3. 61, 1. On Seripho, see 2. 85, 4: here it is contemptuously called a mere rock.

4. **consenuit.** According to Jerome on Eus. Chron. (Op. viii. p. 574, Migne), he died there in the utmost want in 787, A. D. 34, the twenty-fifth year of his exile. There is some reason, however, to suspect the correctness of the date (see on 1. 72, 4).

5. **praetor.** According to an inscription cited by Nipp. (Bull. Arch. 1869, p. 123) he was 'praetor urbanus;' one of his colleagues being M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (cp. c. 62, 1).

6. **in praeceps,** i.e. from the upper story, by the window or stairs: cp. 6. 49, 1. Quintilian (7. 2, 24) records a similar question in the trial of one Naevius, 'praecipitata esset ab eo uxor, an se ipsa sua sponte iecisset.'

**ad Caesarem.** It is to be observed that Caesar takes a similar course to that in Piso's case (3. 10, 6), by 'remitting' the case to the senate, after some preliminary investigation.

7. **L. Apronio**: cp. 1. 56, 1, etc.

**tamquam ipse,** sc. 'fuisset:' cp. Introd. v. § 39 b.

8. **sumpsisset**: cp. 3. 7, 2.

10. **impulsae,** 'thrown by violence.'

11. **datis iudicibus.** Nipp. (on 2. 79, 2) takes this to mean that the senate appointed a judicial committee from its own members. But it may also mean that they referred the case to the ordinary law-courts, which, as implied in 2 79, 2; 3. 12, 10, had proper jurisdiction in such a case. At a later time we find ordinary criminal offences of this kind tried before the full senate (13. 44, 9; H. 4. 44, 3).

**Silvani avia.** The relationship is fully discussed by Borghesi (Œuvres, v. 308) and Nipp. This Silvanus was probably eldest son of M. Plautius, M. f. A. n. Silvanus, cos. 752, B.C. 2, and subsequently 'triumphalis' (Dio, 56. 12, 2; Inscr. Orell. 622); who might well have been son of Urgulania (inferred from her friendship with Augusta to have been of considerable age). It is also probable that P. Plautius Pulcher, quaestor in 784, A. D. 31 (Inscr. Orell. 723), A. Plautius (13. 22, 3), Q. Plautius (6. 40, 1), and Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (H. 4. 53, 3) were his brothers, and Plautia Urgulanilla (Suet. Cl. 26, 27) his sister.

nepoti misit. quod perinde creditum quasi principis monitu ob
4 amicitiam Augustae cum Urgulania. reus frustra temptato ferro venas praebuit exsolvendas. mox Numantina, prior uxor eius, accusata iniecisse carminibus et veneficiis vaecordiam marito, insons iudicatur.

1 **23**. Is demum annus populum Romanum longo adversum Numidam Tacfarinatem bello absolvit. nam priores duces ubi impetrando triumphalium insigni sufficere res suas crediderant, hostem omittebant; iamque tres laureatae in urbe statuae et adhuc raptabat Africam Tacfarinas, auctus Maurorum auxiliis, qui, Ptolemaeo Iubae filio iuventa incurioso, libertos regios et
2 servilia imperia bello mutaverant. erat illi praedarum receptor ac socius populandi rex Garamantum, non ut cum exercitu incederet, sed missis levibus copiis, quae ex longinquo in maius audiebantur; ipsaque e provincia, ut quis fortuna inops, moribus turbidus, promptius ruebant, quia Caesar post res a Blaeso gestas, quasi nullis iam in Africa hostibus, reportari nonam legionem iusserat, nec pro consule eius anni P. Dolabella retinere ausus erat, iussa principis magis quam incerta belli metuens.

1. **quasi principis monitu**, sc. 'factum.'

3. **Numantina**. Borghesi (Œuvres, v. 309) notes that she was daughter of Q. Fabius Numantinus, cos. 743, B.C. 10; and, after being divorced from Silvanus, had married Sex. Appuleius (1. 7, 1); as appears from the following inscription (Murat. 1133, 9), '[Sex.] Apuleio Sex. f. Gal(eria), Sex. n. Sex. pron., Fabia Numantina nato ultimo gentis suae.' The husband alluded to in the charge must, however, be Silvanus.

4. **accusata iniecisse**: cp. 'deferuntur consensisse' 13. 23, 1 and see Introd. v. § 45.

6. **longo**. It had lasted on and off for seven years: cp. 2. 52, 1.

8. **impetrando . . . sufficere**: cp. 3. 72, 4.

**res** = 'res gestas.'

9. **tres . . . statuae**. Express mention is made of an award of 'triumphalia' to Camillus (2. 52, 9) and Blaesus (3. 72, 6). Apronius, though not stated (3. 21) to have received them for this service, was already 'triumphalis' (1. 72, 1).

10. **raptabat**, 'was ravaging': so in 12. 54, 4; elsewhere only in Stat. Th. 6, 115. 'Rapere' is also so used (13. 6, 1), after Vergil, etc.

11. **Ptolemaeo Iubae filio**: see on c. 5, 3. He was summoned to Rome and there put to death by Gaius in 793, A.D. 40 (Dio, 59. 25, 1).

**incurioso**, absol., as in 6. 17, 5; H. 1. 34, 2: more commonly with gen. as 2. 88, 4. The adj. is post-Augustan.

**libertos**, etc., 'hendiadys,' for 'libertorum regiorum servilia imperia.'

13. **rex Garamantum**: see 3. 74, 2.

**non ut**, etc., 'not so far as to take the field.' The construction is changed in the next clause to abl. abs.

14. **in maius audiebantur**, 'which, as coming from afar, were magnified by rumour.' Nipp. has collected many instances in which 'audiri' means 'to be heard of' (as 2. 68, 2; 82, 4, etc; and in Cic. and Liv); but 'in maius audiri' appears to be ἅπ. εἰρ. For similar phrases, see Introd. v. § 60 b.

15 **fortuna inops**. The MS. has 'fortune;' whence the edd. generally read 'fortunae.'

16. **a Blaeso**: see 3. 73, 74.

17. **nonam legionem**: see on c. 5, 4.

18. **P. Dolabella**: see on 3. 47, 4. Nipp. notes that the 'sors Asiae' had already fallen to two of his juniors (see Introd. vii. pp. 95, 96).

19. **metuens**, taken with 'iussa' by zeugma, in the sense of 'reverencing.'

**24.** Igitur Tacfarinas disperso rumore rem Romanam aliis 1
quoque ab nationibus lacerari eoque paulatim Africa decedere,
ac posse reliquos circumveniri, si cuncti quibus libertas servitio
potior incubuissent, auget vires positisque castris Thubuscum
oppidum circumsidet. at Dolabella contracto quod erat militum, 2
terrore nominis Romani et quia Numidae peditum aciem ferre
nequeunt, primo sui incessu solvit obsidium locorumque oppor-
tuna permunivit; simul principes Musulamiorum defectionem
coeptantes securi percutit. dein quia pluribus adversum Tac- 3
farinatem expeditionibus cognitum, non gravi nec uno incursu
consectandum hostem vagum, excito cum popularibus rege
Ptolemaeo quattuor agmina parat, quae legatis aut tribunis data;
et praedatorias manus delecti Maurorum duxere: ipse consultor
aderat omnibus.

**25.** Nec multo post adfertur Numidas apud castellum semi- 1
rutum, ab ipsis quondam incensum, cui nomen Auzea, positis
mapalibus consedisse, fisos loco, quia vastis circum saltibus clau-
debatur. tum expeditae cohortes alaeque, quam in partem 2
ducerentur ignarae, cito agmine rapiuntur. simulque coeptus
dies et concentu tubarum ac truci clamore aderant semisomnos

1. **Igitur Tacfarinas.** For similar complicated periods, see Introd. v. § 92.

**disperso rumore**: cp. H. 2. 42, 2; 96, 3; and 'dispergere,' with accus. and inf. 14. 38, 4; H. 2. 1, 3.

4. **incubuissent**, 'made an effort:' cp. 'si simul incubuissent' c. 73, 3, etc.: more commonly with dative.

**Thubuscum.** Wilmanns (C. I. L. viii. 2, p. 754) takes this place to be Tupusuctu (or Tubusuctu), the Tubusuptu of Pl. N. H. 5. 2, 1, 21 (cp. also Ptol. 4. 2, 31, who gives a similar name near to Auzea); which appears to have been a little S. W. of Saldae (see Kiepert's map, in C. I. L. viii. 2), on the border, at that time, of Mauretania (Introd. vii. p. 97, n. 13). Nipp. reads 'Thubursicum;' which is the name of two places in the province, one of which, in Numidia, is more suitable in locality to the mention here made of the Musulamii (see on 2. 52, 2); but far less so to Auzea (c. 25, 1). There appear thus to be no means of giving a consistent geographical representation of this campaign.

7. **sui incessu.** No particular emphasis (as in 2. 13, 1; 6. 7, 4, etc.) seems to be here intended by the use of this form instead of the possessive pronoun: see Introd. v. § 33 a.

8. **Musulamiorum**: see on 2. 52, 2.

10. **non gravi nec uno**, 'not by a concentrated attack, or one in heavy marching order.'

13. **consultor**: so used in 6. 10, 2, and often in Sallust, but by other writers (as Cic.) usually of one who asks advice.

15. **semirutum**, 'half-levelled:' cp. 1. 61, 3.

16. **Auzea.** No other place of this name is identified but the later 'colonia Auziensis,' of which some ruins and inscriptions (cp. Insc. Orell. 529; C. I. L. viii. 2, p. 769) have been found at Sour-Guzlan or Hamza, at the north side of Jebel Deira near the source of the Adous, the site of the modern Aumale (see Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p 328). Such a locality is well suited to that of Thubuscum (c. 24, 1), but far from the country inhabited by the Musulamii.

**positis mapalibus**: cp. 3. 74, 5.

19. **simulque . . . et**: cp. 'simul haec, et' 1. 65, 5.

20. **aderant in**: so 'adesse in senatum' Cic. Phil. 5. 7, 19, etc.: not elsewhere in Tacitus; who however has other analo-

in barbaros, praepeditis Numidarum equis aut diversos pastus
3 pererrantibus. ab Romanis confertus pedes, dispositae turmae, cuncta proelio provisa: hostibus contra omnium nesciis non arma, non ordo, non consilium, sed pecorum modo trahi, occidi, capi.
4 infensus miles memoria laborum et adversum eludentis optatae
5 totiens pugnae se quisque ultione et sanguine explebant. differtur per manipulos, Tacfarinatem omnes, notum tot proeliis, con-
6 sectentur: non nisi duce interfecto requiem belli fore. at ille deiectis circum stipatoribus vinctoque iam filio et effusis undique Romanis, ruendo in tela captivitatem haud inulta morte effugit isque finis armis impositus.

1 **26**. Dolabellae petenti adnuit triumphalia Tiberius, Seiano
2 tribuens, ne Blaesi avunculi eius laus obsolesceret. sed neque Blaesus ideo inlustrior, et huic negatus honor gloriam intendit: quippe minore exercitu insignis captivos, caedem ducis bellique
3 confecti famam deportarat. sequebantur et Garamantum legati, raro in urbe visi, quos Tacfarinate caeso perculsa gens, set culpae
4 nescia, ad satis faciendum populo Romano miserat. cognitis

gous constructions (cp. c. 56, 2: Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 80).

1. **praepeditis**, 'shackled' or 'hobbled,' πεποδισμένοι (Xen. Cyr. 3. 3, 27, etc.).

2. **ab Romanis**, 'on the side of:' elsewhere, in this sense, Tacitus has always 'apud,' as 1. 65, 1, etc.; but the use is analogous to 'a tergo,' 'a fronte,' etc.

**dispositae**, 'stationed at intervals.'

3. **provisa**: cp. 2. 14, 2.

4. **trahi, occidi, capi**, i.e. those who were dragged away were slain or made prisoners. Tacitus gives a similar description more fully in Agr. 37. 2 'sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare.'

5. **et adversum . . . pugnae**. This genitive is best taken, with Dräger, as depending on 'memoria;' the sense being that of 'memor quotiens pugnam adversus eludentes optasset.' 'Eludere' is used, as in 3. 74, 1; 13. 37, 1, for the fuller expression 'bellum eludere' (2. 52, 5). Nipp. less well takes 'adversum eludentes' as depending on 'infensus,' and 'optatae . . . pugnae' on 'ultione et sanguine.'

6. **differtur**, 'the word is passed:' cp. 3. 12, 7. This sense of 'differre' is not found in Caes., Cic., or Sall.

9. **deiectis**, 'struck down.' Here the MS. has 'delectis,' and, in c. 51, 4, 'delecto,' with there a dot under the 'c,' whence 'deleto' is read by some there, and 'deletis' suggested by Pfitzner (p. 36) here; but that 'deiectus' and 'delectus' are liable to be confused in the MS., is shown by the former being written evidently for the latter in c. 44, 3; 48, 4; cp. 'prolectae' for 'proiectae' in 3. 65, 4.

**effusis**, 'opening out on all sides:' cp. 2. 11, 3, etc.

11. **armis** = 'bello:' cp. 3. 55, 1, etc.

13. **tribuens**, 'paying Seianus the compliment that his uncle's glory should not be effaced' cp. 3. 72, 74. On this sense of 'tribuere' cp. c. 17, 2; 6. 50, 5, etc., and the use of 'dare' (1. 7, 10, etc.) and 'praestare' (3. 12, 10, etc.).

**neque Blaesus . . . . et**. On this construction, cp. 2. 34, 7.

15. **insignis captivos**. Among them was the son of Tacfarinas (c. 25, 6).

16. **deportarat**. Used by zeugma with 'caedem ducis,' in the sense of 'had achieved.'

17. **set culpae nescia**: so Halm. Orelli keeps the MS. reading 'et;' which many editors, thinking the statement contrary to the facts (c. 23, 2), have variously altered so as to give an opposite meaning. See Halm, Comm. Crit.; Baiter, Orell.; Pfitzner, p. 104. But the people, who are here stated to have sent the embassy, need

dehinc Ptolemaei per id bellum studiis repetitus ex vetusto more honos missusque e senatoribus qui scipionem eburnum, togam pictam, antiqua patrum munera, daret regemque et socium atque amicum appellaret.

**27.** Eadem aestate mota per Italiam servilis belli semina fors 1 oppressit. auctor tumultus T. Curtisius, quondam praetoriae cohortis miles, primo coetibus clandestinis apud Brundisium et circumiecta oppida, mox positis propalam libellis ad libertatem vocabat agrestia per longinquos saltus et ferocia servitia, cum velut munere deum tres biremes adpulere ad usus commeantium illo mari. et erat isdem regionibus Cutius Lupus quaestor, cui 2 provincia vetere ex more calles evenerant: is disposita classiari-

not have been cognisant of the action of their king; and if they had been so, Halm rightly notes that 'perculsa gens' would have required no addition.

1. **repetitus,** 'was revived.'

**ex vetusto more honos missusque.** Halm and Orelli have followed Doed. in extracting this text from the MS., which has 'ex uetusto more omissusque,' with dots above and below 'o.' The older editions and Nipp follow Lips. in reading 'ex vetusto mos missusque;' but Doed.'s reading is supported by Heraeus from c. 16, 2; and 'vetere ex more' (c. 27, 2), etc.

2. **togam pictam,** i e. 'triumphalem' (Pl. N. H. 8. 48, 74, 195).

3. **antiqua munera.** According to Livy (30. 15, 11), Masinissa received through Scipio the same gifts, with the addition of a curule chair; which was also probably sent to Ptolemaeus, as it is represented, with the sceptre, on his coins (see Dict. of Biog.). Similar gifts were sent to Porsena (Dion. Hal. 5. 35), and probably to Ariovistus (Caes. B. G. 1. 43, 4).

5. **mota . . . semina,** 'the seeds already scattered.'

6. **Curtisius;** not otherwise known as a Roman name. Nipp. suggests that perhaps it should be read 'Curtilius' (13. 56, 5, etc.).

8. **positis,** 'published:' cp. 1. 7, 5.

9. **longinquos,** probably best taken as 'remote;' referring to the Appennine forests as at some distance from any such town as Brundusium. The alternative translation 'extensive,' may perhaps derive support from the meaning of 'longinquitas' in 3. 5, 4; 6. 44, 4.

10. **biremes;** 'Liburnae,' as distinct from triremes (App. Ill. 3; Luc. Phars. 3, 534), from the fleet of Ravenna: see Introd. vii. p. 109. These would appear to have had a naval patrol in the Adriatic for the protection or assistance of traffic. For the use of 'adpellere,' see note on 2. 24, 3.

11. **Cutius.** This name is found in inscriptions (cp. Wilmanns 1178); and the correction to 'Curtius' is therefore needless.

12. **provincia . . . calles evenerant.** Orelli retains the MS. text 'evenerat,' while Halm follows Haase, as above. Nipp. and many others follow Lips. in reading 'Cales' for 'calles.' The quaestorian 'provinciae' in Italy are called by Dio (55. 4, 4) an institution of Augustus, but are probably connected with the institution of four 'quaestores classici' on the conquest of Italy: see on 11. 22, 8; and Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 556. One of these 'provinciae' is the well known 'Ostiensis,' which had important duties connected with the corn supply of Rome (Cic. Mur. 8, 18; Sest. 17, 39; Vell. 2. 94, 1); another the 'Gallica,' with its station perhaps at Ariminum, and extending later over ἡ περὶ Πάδον Γαλατία (Plut. Sert. 4). A third was evidently placed in South Italy, but its designation is uncertain. Cicero (Att. 2. 9, 1) speaks of a quaestor at Formiae, also (in Vatin. 5, 12) of assigning duties at Puteoli to one who had by lot an 'aquaria provincia' (see Momms. l. l.). The conjecture of Lipsius, designating this province from Cales, is supported by Mommsen (l. l.) who thinks that this, the oldest Latin colony in Campania, may have been at the time of the conquest of Italy, sufficiently important to have been the head

orum copia coeptantem cum maxime coniurationem disiecit. 3 missusque a Caesare propere Staius tribunus cum valida manu ducem ipsum et proximos audacia in urbem traxit, iam trepidam ob multitudinem familiarum, quae gliscebat inmensum, minore in dies plebe ingenua.

1 **28.** Isdem consulibus miseriarum ac saevitiae exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius (nomen utrique Vibius Serenus) in 2 senatum inducti sunt. ab exilio retractus inluvieque ac squalore obsitus et tum catena vinctus pater oranti filio comparatur, adulescens multis munditiis, alacri vultu, structas principi insidias, missos in Galliam concitores belli index idem et testis dicebat, adnectebatque Caecilium Cornutum praetorium ministravisse pecuniam; qui taedio curarum, et quia periculum pro exitio 3 habebatur, mortem in se festinavit. at contra reus nihil infracto animo obversus in filium quatere vincla, vocare ultores deos, ut sibi quidem redderent exilium, ubi procul tali more ageret, filium autem quandoque supplicia sequerentur. adseverabatque inno-

quarters of a district extending even to Brundisium. The MS. text has little to recommend it; for the passage in Suet. Jul. 19 ('provinciae minimi negotii, hoc est sylvae callesque') has no reference to Italian quaestorial districts, and is not a matter-of-fact designation of any province: but it is perhaps as well to adhere to the MS., in the absence of any alternative reading supported by positive evidence. Tacitus speaks of the institution as a thing of the past; the last remaining of these 'provinces,' the 'Ostiensis' and 'Gallica,' having been abolished by Claudius (Suet. Cl. 24; Dio, 60. 24, 3).

**classiariorum**, the marines (ἐπιβάται) from the three biremes.

1. **coeptantem cum maxime**, 'at its very outset:' cp. 3. 59, 4.

2. **tribunus**, i. e. of the praetorian guard.

3. **proximos audacia**, 'the next in daring.' The reading of the old editions, 'audaciae,' appears to have been a mere error; the MS. having 'audatia.'

4. **multitudinem familiarum**: cp. 3. 53, 5.

**inmensum**, adverbial: cp. 3. 30, 2, etc.

7. **Vibius Serenus.** On the father, see 2. 30, 1; on his banishment, c. 13, 2. The son is mentioned again in c. 36, 4.

8. **inluvie . . . obsitus**: cp. 6. 43, 3: apparently suggested by the description in Liv. 29. 16, 6 'legati . . . obsiti squalore et sordibus.' 'Inluvies' is rarely found in prose before Tacitus.

9. **pater oranti filio comparatur**: so Halm and Nipp. partly after Madvig, (see Halm, Comm. Crit.), for the MS. 'peroranti filio praeparatur.' Orelli reads 'pater orante filio: praeparatus' (partly after Freher, partly after Venturius), and several other variations have been suggested. 'Comparatur' would be a figure from gladiators matched for a duel (Cic., Liv., etc.): 'praeparatus' would be taken with 'munditiis.'

11. **in Galliam.** The elder Serenus was proconsul of Baetica about the time of the rebellion of Sacrovir.

12. **adnectebat**; absol., as in 2. 26, 5, where it is followed by a jussive subjunct.

**Caecilium Cornutum**, identified by Borghesi (1. 463) with M. Caecilius Cornutus, one of a board 'locorum publicorum iudicandorum' (C. I. L. vi. 1, 1267 a, b), apparently at a date before his praetorship: Nipp. thinks him probably also identical with M. Cornutus, one of the 'Arvales' in 767 and 774, A.D. 14 and 21 (Id. 2023 a, b).

13. **periculum pro exitio.** This, like the expressions in c. 33, 3, appears certainly to be an exaggeration of the facts at this period.

17. **quandoque**: cp. 1. 4, 5.

centem Cornutum et falso exterritum; idque facile intellectu, si
proderentur alii: non enim se caedem principis et res novas uno
socio cogitasse.

**29.** Tum accusator Cn. Lentulum et Seium Tuberonem nomi- 1
nat, magno pudore Caesaris, cum primores civitatis, intimi ipsius
amici, Lentulus senectutis extremae, Tubero defecto corpore,
tumultus hostilis et turbandae rei publicae accerserentur. sed hi
quidem statim exempti: in patrem ex servis quaesitum, et
quaestio adversa accusatori fuit. qui scelere vaecors, simul vulgi 2
rumore territus, robur et saxum aut parricidarum poenas mini-
tantium, cessit urbe. ac retractus Ravenna exsequi accusatio- 3
nem adigitur, non occultante Tiberio vetus odium adversum
exulem Serenum. nam post damnatum Libonem missis ad 4
Caesarem literis exprobraverat suum tantum studium sine fructu
fuisse, addideratque quaedam contumacius quam tutum apud

1. **falso**: so Halm and Orelli, after Orsini, on the analogy of other passages (3. 60, 5; 6. 8, 1; 11. 18, 5; G. 36, 1). Nipp. and Dräger retain the MS. 'falsa,' which would be an accus. of the class noted in Introd. v. § 12 d.

**si proderentur alii.** Probably 'proderentur' is ironical. If the names of others were 'divulged,' they would clear themselves, and thus discredit the whole charge.

2. **non enim**, etc. This anticipates the objection that there might have been none to name but Cornutus.

4. **Cn. Lentulum**: see c. 44, 1; 1. 27, 1.

**Seium Tuberonem**: see 2. 20, 2.

7. **accerserentur.** The MS. has this form here, and 'arcessebat' with the same construction in 2. 50, 1. The evidence of both the Med. MSS. would go to show that Tacitus used both forms: see Gerber and Greef, Lex.

8. **exempti**, 'were freed from the charge.' Tacitus elsewhere uses this verb, in this sense, with a dative, as 2. 55, 3, etc. According to Dio (57. 24, 8), Lentulus laughed aloud at hearing the charge, and Tiberius said, 'I deserve to live no longer, if even Lentulus hates me.' Dio places this case a year later.

**ex servis**, probably by the fiction mentioned in 2. 30, 3.

10. **rumore**: cp. 3. 29, 5, etc.

**robur**, the 'Tullianum' (cp. 3. 50, 1) called by this name in Lucr. (3, 1017) Hor. (Od. 2. 13, 19), Liv. (38. 59, 10), etc. The usual explanation given is that cited from Paullus (see Orelli and Nipp.) 'robus quoque in carcere dicitur is locus quo praecipitatur maleficorum genus, quod ante arcis robusteis includebatur.' Prof. Munro (on Lucr. l. l.) notes that some take it to be there the 'eculeus.'

**saxum**: cp. 2. 32, 5.

**parricidarum poenas.** These are partly described in a well-known passage of Cicero (pro Rosc. Amer. 25, 70), and more fully in Dig. 48. 9, 9 'poena parricidii more maiorum haec instituta est, ut parricida virgis sanguineis verberatus, deinde culleo insuatur cum cane, gallo gallinaceo et vipera et simia: deinde in mare profundum culleus iactatur.' See also Juv. 8, 214, and Prof. Mayor's note there.

11. **ac**, often used at the beginning of a sentence, and sometimes where an adversative particle might have been expected: cp. 14. 64, 1, etc.

12. **adigitur.** The use of this verb with inf. (as c. 45, 3; 6. 27, 3; 41. 1, etc.) is poetical: cp. Verg. Aen. 6, 696, etc.

14. **suum tantum studium**, 'that only his own zeal was unrewarded.' On the rewards then given see 2. 32, 1. That Vibius was praetor not later than 770, A.D. 17, would follow from his having been proconsul of Spain five years after that date; whence Nipp. suggests that he may have had nothing to gain by the decree made in favour of the other accusers of Libo.

aures superbas et offensioni proniores. ea Caesar octo post annos rettulit, medium tempus varie arguens, etiam si tormenta pervicacia servorum contra evenissent.

**30.** Dictis dein sententiis ut Serenus more maiorum puniretur, quo molliret invidiam, intercessit. Gallus Asinius *cum* Gyaro aut Donusa claudendum censeret, id quoque aspernatus est, egenam aquae utramque insulam referens dandosque vitae usus cui vita concederetur. ita Serenus Amorgum reportatur. et quia Cornutus sua manu ceciderat, actum de praemiis accusatorum abolendis, si quis maiestatis postulatus ante perfectum iudicium se ipse vita privavisset. ibaturque in eam sententiam, ni durius contraque morem suum palam pro accusatoribus Caesar inritas leges, rem publicam in praecipiti conquestus esset: subverterent potius iura quam custodes eorum amoverent. sic delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum et *ne* poenis quidem umquam satis coercitum, per praemia eliciebantur.

**31.** His tam adsiduis tamque maestis modica laetitia intericitur, quod C. Cominium equitem Romanum, probrosi in se carminis convictum, Caesar precibus fratris, qui senator erat, concessit. quo magis mirum habebatur gnarum meliorum, et

**apud aures**: see note on 1. 31, 5.

2. **varie arguens**, 'bringing various charges respecting the interval.'

**etiam si**, etc., 'though, through the obstinacy of the slaves, the torture had ended in failure.'

4. **more maiorum**: cp. 'more prisco' 2. 32, 5.

5. **cum.** The necessity for inserting this word in the MS. text is obvious, but the position doubtful: see Halm, Comm. Crit.; Pfitzner, p. 98.

**Gyaro aut Donusa.** On the former, see 3. 68, 2. Donysa, either the modern Stenosa, east of Naxos, or Heraclia, between Naxos and Ios, is no larger than Gyaros, and is not apparently known as even inhabited, but is called 'viridis' by Vergil (Aen. 3, 125).

7. **vitae usus**, not here parallel to 'mortis usus' (1. 70, 6), but apparently for the concrete 'utensilia.'

8. **Amorgum reportatur.** He was evidently that enemy of Seianus who was pardoned and released just before the fall of the latter: see Dio, 58. 8, 3.

9. **de praemiis . . . . abolendis.** We gather that these were paid, though the remaining property was usually in such cases not confiscated: cp. c. 20, 3; and 6. 29, 2.

11. **ibatur**: cp. 'itum in sententiam' 3. 23, 2. The imperf. expresses what was on the point of happening.

12. **contraque . . . palam**, 'with unusual openness.'

13. **inritas**, sc. 'fore.'

**in praecipiti**, 'at the brink of a precipice:' cp. 'praecipitia' 2. 39, 3.

14. **custodes.** The informers are called 'custodes' in 3. 28, 4, in a somewhat different sense.

15. **ne poenis quidem.** The modern editors all follow Bekker in inserting 'ne.' The older editions follow the MS. marginal correction of 'umquam' to 'numquam.' The sentiment is that of Domitian in his best period of rule, 'princeps, qui delatores non castigat, irritat' (Suet. Dom. 9).

19. **fratris, qui senator erat.** Borghesi (ii. 153) shows that this is probably the T. Cominius, T. f. Po(llia) Proculus, who was under Claudius proconsul of Cyprus, where his name is recorded on coins (Mionn. iii. 671).

20. **concessit**: cp. 2. 55, 2.

**gnarum**, here constructed with a

quae fama clementiam sequeretur, tristiora malle. neque enim
socordia peccabat; nec occultum est, quando ex veritate, quando 3
adumbrata laetitia facta imperatorum celebrentur. quin ipse, 4
conpositus alias et velut eluctantium verborum, solutius promp-
tiusque eloquebatur, quotiens subveniret. at P. Suillium quaes- 5
torem quondam Germanici, cum Italia arceretur convictus pecu-
niam ob rem iudicandam cepisse, amovendum in insulam censuit,
tanta contentione animi, ut iure iurando obstringeret e re publica
id esse. quod aspere acceptum ad praesens mox in laudem 6
vertit regresso Suillio; quem vidit sequens aetas praepotentem,
venalem et Claudii principis amicitia diu prospere, numquam bene
usum. eadem poena in Catum Firmium senatorem statuitur, 7
tamquam falsis maiestatis criminibus sororem petivisset. Catus,
ut rettuli, Libonem inlexerat insidiis, deinde indicio perculerat.
eius operae memor Tiberius, sed alia praetendens, exilium depre- 8
catus est: quo minus senatu pelleretur non obstitit.

**32.** Pleraque eorum, quae rettuli quaeque referam, parva for- 1

gen. and afterwards with a dependent clause: cp. Introd. v. § 91, 8.

2. **socordia**, 'from thoughtlessness:' cp. 'socors' c. 39, 1. The abl. is causal.

4. **conpositus**, 'artificial.' When used of persons and not, as more usually, of their look or manner (1. 7, 2, etc.), this word has generally an abl. of respect (as 2. 34, 6) or accus. with 'in' or 'ad' (as 3. 44, 4) to explain it.

**velut eluctantium verborum**; 'with words seeming to struggle for utterance:' genit. of quality.

**solutius**, 'with less restraint:' cp. 'dicta factaque . . . solutiora' 16. 18, 2.

5. **P. Suillium**, surnamed Rufus. His mother Vistilia was also, by other husbands, mother of Corbulo and of Caesonia, wife of Gaius (Pl. N. H. 7. 5, 4, 39). Ovid addresses an Epistle (ex P. 4. 8) to Suillius, who had married his step-daughter (l. l. v. 11, 90). He may have been 'quaestor consulis' (see on 16. 34, 1) to Germanicus, or have accompanied him in his 'proconsulare imperium' (Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 554).

6. **arceretur** = 'arcendus censeretur:' cp. c. 20, 2; 3. 23, 2, etc.

**convictus . . . cepisse**. This constr. is found in 13. 44, 7; Sall. Cat. 52, 36; Liv. 45, 10, 14, etc. (cp. Introd. v. § 45). 'Capere' is the regular term for receiving money as a bribe: cp. 3. 67, 28; 6. 30, 1; Cic., etc.

7. **ob rem iudicandam**. Cic. uses the same formula in describing this offence (Verr. 2. 2, 32, 78).

8. **ut iure iurando obstringeret**: so Halm, Orelli, Nipp., after Ritter, for the MS. 'uteiurando' corrected in the margin to 'ut et iurando.' On the construction, cp. 1. 14, 6; and on the practice of voting on oath, c. 21, 5; 1. 74, 5. It appears from Pl. Epp. 5. 13 (14), 4, that one senator could require another to swear 'e republica esse quod censuisset.'

9. **aspere acceptum**, 'received with indignation:' so 'accipere aliquid mollius' (2. 30, 2), 'excusatius' (3. 68, 1), 'laetius' (6. 10, 2), 'sinistre' (H. 1. 7, 3), 'atrocius' (H. 1. 23, 2), 'grate' (H. 1. 85, 1), etc.

10. **sequens aetas**. He was cos. suff. in or before 799, A. D. 46, and is further mentioned 11. 1; 4; 5; 13. 42; 43.

13. **tamquam**: cp. c. 13, 3.

14. **ut rettuli**: 2. 27, 2.

**indicio**: so most modern edd. after Vertranius, for the MS. 'iudicio.'

16. **quo minus senatu pelleretur**. On the power of the senate, when acting judicially, to expel its own members, cp. 12. 59, 4; 13. 11, 2; 14. 59, 6; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 906. On expulsion by the princeps, see 2. 48, 3, etc.

sitan et levia memoratu videri non nescius sum: sed nemo
annales nostros cum scriptura eorum contenderit, qui veteres
2 populi Romani res conposuere. ingentia illa bella, expugna-
tiones urbium, fusos captosque reges, aut si quando ad interna
praeverterent, discordias consulum adversum tribunos, agrarias
frumentariasque leges, plebis et optimatium certamina libero
3 egressu memorabant: nobis in arto et inglorius labor; immota
quippe aut modice lacessita pax, maestae urbis res et princeps
4 proferendi imperi incuriosus erat. non tamen sine usu fuerit
introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex quis magnarum saepe
rerum motus oriuntur.

1 **33.** Nam cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut
singuli regunt: delecta ex iis et consociata rei publicae forma
laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud diuturna esse
2 potest. igitur ut olim plebe valida, vel cum patres pollerent,

1. **levia memoratu**; so 'vix credibile memoratu' H. 2. 73, 1: cp. 'dignum memoratu' Liv. 4. 43, 1.

2. **annales nostros**: cp. 3. 65, 1. On the application of this title to this work of Tacitus, see Introd. i. p. 5.

**scriptura**: cp. 3. 3, 2.

**contenderit** = 'comparaverit:' so in 12. 1, 2; 13. 3, 3; and in Cic., etc. On the tense, cp. Introd. v. § 51 c.

**veteres p. R. res**: cp. 1. 1, 4; from which it would appear that such an expression includes the whole period down to the time of Actium.

3. **conposuere**: cp. 'res . . . compositae' 1. 1, 5. The MS. 'cõpossiuere' appears to show trace of an archaic form 'conposivere.'

5. **praeverterent.** As the deponent appears elsewhere to be always used in this phrase (cp. 2. 55, 6), Nipp. thinks it probable that here 'praeverterentur' should be read.

6. **libero egressu**: 'egressus' probably means 'digression,' as in Quint. 4. 3, 12; the foreign history being looked on as the main theme from which they sometimes turned aside. Nipp. rather takes the words to mean, 'with room to expatiate;' great events giving scope for grandeur of style.

7. **in arto**, 'in a restricted field.' In the similar expression 'in tenui labor' (Verg. G. 4, 6), the thought is rather of the thing on which the toil is spent.

9. **incuriosus**, with gen. in 2. 88, 4, and Gell. On the point of view from which this foreign policy is regarded, see Introd. viii. p. 119.

10. **magnarum rerum motus oriuntur**, 'great events are set in motion.' Compare the sentiment of Livy (27. 9, 1), 'ex parvis rebus saepe magnarum momenta pendent;' and that of Aristotle (Pol. 5. 4, 1), *γίγνονται αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν*. The expression used by Tacitus seems to show that this distinction had not escaped him.

12. **Nam**, etc. The thought is that, under whichever of the possible forms of government you live, political sagacity implies a study of the character of the sovereign power.

13. **delecta ex iis**, etc. Such a government was the ideal of Polybius (6. 3, 7), and of Cicero, who says 'quartum quoddam genus maxime probandum censeo quod ex his quae prima dixi moderatum et permixtum tribus' (de Rep. 1. 29, 45: cp. also 35, 54; 45, 69; 2. 23, 41). Polybius further (6. 11, 6) finds the nearest realisation of such an ideal in the Roman constitution at his time. Tacitus need not be supposed to deny that most stable constitutions have been more or less mixed; but only to assert that an ideal equilibrium is impossible. He would consider the Roman government to have been not so much at any one time a combination of all three forms, as at different times an exemplification of each.

noscenda vulgi natura et quibus modis temperanter haberetur, senatusque et optimatium ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant, callidi temporum et sapientes credebantur, sic converso statu neque alia re Romana quam si unus imperitet, haec conquiri tradique in rem fuerit, quia pauci prudentia honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt, plures aliorum eventis docentur. ceterum ut profutura, ita minimum oblectationis adferunt. nam situs gentium, varietates proeliorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum: nos saeva iussa, continuas accusationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium et easdem exitu causas coniungimus, obvia rerum similitudine et satietate. tum quod antiquis scriptoribus rarus obtrec-

1. **noscenda vulgi natura.** This is best taken as nom., with 'erat' supplied, and 'noscendum' again supplied with 'quibus . . . haberetur:' cp. 'decreta pecunia . . . utque' 1. 15, 4.

**temperanter haberetur,** 'might be discreetly controlled.' On the use of 'haberi,' cp. 1. 54, 4, etc.

2. **senatusque,** etc. This sentence answers to 'cum patres pollerent,' as the one before it to 'plebe valida;' the form of expression being as if the former sentence had run 'qui . . . cognoverant,' etc.

3. **callidi temporum**: such a construction occurs in H. 2. 31, 4; also in Colum. 2. 2, 1, etc.: cp. Introd. v. § 33 e, *a*.

4. **neque alia,** etc., 'being a virtual monarchy.' The constitution under the principate was not formally monarchical: see Introd. vi. pp. 81–83.

**haec,** i.e. 'quae rettuli quaeque referam;' such small occurrences, illustrating the character of the princeps and the senate.

5. **in rem fuerit,** 'may have been useful.' 'In rem' is thus used in H. 3. 8, 1, and often in Plaut., Sall., Liv., etc. The utility of history as a political guide is similarly described in Thuc. 1. 22, 4.

6. **eventis,** 'the experiences.' The word occurs here alone in Tacitus; but Cic. thus uses 'eventa nostra' (Fam. 1. 7, 9; 5. 12, 6) and 'alterius' (Tusc. 5. 12, 36): cp. 'ex aliorum eventis . . . providere' (Auct. ad Her. 4. 9, 13).

7. **ut . . . ita**: cp. 1, 12, 1; 42, 5; 3. 43, 4.

8. **varietates,** 'vicissitudes:' so 'varietates annonae' (Liv. 7. 31, 1).

9. **exitus,** 'deaths;' as in 1. 10, 2, etc.

**redintegrant,** 'refresh:' cp. 'columbae . . . aëre redintegrentur' (Varr. R. R. 3. 7, 6).

11. **easdem exitu causas.** Halm here retains the MS. text, which must be taken to mean 'causas eundem exitum habentes,' i.e. 'always resulting in condemnation.' The statement, though an exaggeration of the facts, would agree with that in c. 28, 2; but the construction is harsh, and there is much to be said for the emendation of Pichena, adopted by Ritt., Orelli, and Nipp., and advocated by Heraus, 'easdem exitii causas.' The expression would be Tacitean (cp. c. 52, 5; 58, 2, etc.), and the sameness here referred to would be the constant jealousy, fear, or avarice of princes.

**coniungimus,** 'string together.' The verb is somewhat similarly used of narrating events continuously in 6. 38, 1; 12. 40, 8; 13, 9. 6.

**obvia,** 'forcing itself upon notice.' Nipp. compares 'obvia ostentatione' (Pl. Epp. 1. 8, 17).

12. **tum quod.** The explanation of this passage by Joh. Müller (Beitr. sect. 3, pp. 46–51) is now adopted by Nipp.; namely, that this clause must be referred back to the beginning of the digression in c. 32: one of the causes why this work is not to be compared to those of the old historians having there been given ('ingentia illi bella . . . incuriosus erat'); the second being here introduced, but with an anacoluthon, as if the former passage had begun 'primum quod ingentia,' etc. But it seems on the whole less difficult to understand 'tum quod' (='huc accedit quod') with Doed. as giving another reason for 'minimum oblectationis adferunt.' His book will

tator, neque refert cuiusquam Punicas Romanasne acies laetius extuleris: at multorum, qui Tiberio regente poenam vel infamias subiere, posteri manent. utque familiae ipsae iam extinctae sint, reperias qui ob similitudinem morum aliena malefacta sibi obiectari putent. etiam gloria ac virtus infensos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diversa arguens. sed ad inceptum redeo.

**34.** Cornelio Cosso Asinio Agrippa consulibus Cremutius Cordus postulatur, novo ac tunc primum audito crimine, quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium Romanorum

not please; firstly, owing to the wearisome monotony of its subjects; secondly, because many readers will take personal offence at the mention of individuals, or of particular qualities.

1. **Romanasne.** So Halm., after Nipp. for the MS. 'Romanasve,' which appears contrary to usage in a question between alternatives (in Hor. Sat. 1. 2, 63, 76, '-ne' appears to be now generally read). See note on 6. 23, 1.

2. **regente**, used thus of a princeps in 13. 3, 1.

**poenam vel infamias.** Nipp. draws a distinction here between the singular and plural; but they are often interchanged in Tacitus without apparent difference (cp. Introd. v. § 2; also 'visum . . . auditus' 13. 5, 2). The plural 'infamiae' occurs in Plaut. Pers. 3. 1, 19, and is used by Tacitus analogously to 'audaciae' (1. 74, 1), 'iracundias' (14. 4, 2), etc. A full list of his abstract plurals is given by Dr. (Synt. und Stil, § 2).

3. **utque**, 'and though:' cp. c. 40, 6, etc.

4. **reperias.** Halm follows Madvig in reading this for the MS. 'reperies:' see on 6. 22, 2.

**sibi obiectari**, i. e. will think the mention of another's crimes pointed at them.

5. **ut . . . arguens**, 'as criticising from too close a point of view the opposite qualities.' The same sense of shame is not felt at a picture of 'prisca virtus.'

6. **ad inceptum.** Orelli and Nipp. follow Halm in this reading for the MS. 'ancepto.' Older editions had followed the marginal text 'ad incepta;' but 'inceptum' is thus used elsewhere by Tacitus (6. 22, 6), and in Sall. Cat. 7, 7; Jug. 4, 9; 42, 5. (The two latter places have the same expression as that read here.)

7. **Cornelio Cosso**, etc. The full names can be supplied from Dio (Argum. to B. 57) as 'Cossus Cornelius Cossi f. Lentulus,' and 'M. Asinius M. f. Agrippa:' cp. also Insc. Orell. 2546; Henzen 7419 d β. The former is an elder brother of Lentulus Gaetulicus (see on c. 42, 3), the latter (see on c. 61, 1) one of the sons of Asinius Gallus and Vipsania.

**Cremutius Cordus.** Dio (57. 24, 2) states that he was an old man and had lived a blameless life. The treatise ('de consolatione') addressed to his daughter Marcia by L. Seneca adds more particulars, and ascribes this prosecution to the offence of Seianus at some of his sharp sayings; one of which has been mentioned on 3. 72, 5.

8. **tunc primum audito.** Tacitus glances here at similar charges entertained by Domitian, who put to death Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio for praise of Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus: see Agr. 2, 2.

9. **editis annalibus.** Cordus had written the history of his own generation only, 'unius saeculi facta' (Sen. Cons. ad Marc. 26, 5), and had probably not carried it beyond the death of Augustus. The expression here would imply that it was only now published; whereas Dio (l. l.) and Suetonius (Tib. 61) assert that the work was read by or to Augustus without disapproval. Tacitus is not likely to have been ignorant of this statement, or to have omitted it, had he believed it: nor is it probable that such a passage as that referred to in Suet. Aug. 35 was read to Augustus; and to say that selections had been read to him would prove nothing. A few sentences are given by M. Seneca (Suas. 6, 19) from his laudation of Cicero, which is hardly considered worthy of him (Id. 28).

**Romanorum ultimum.** Cordus had doubtless quoted with approval the words used by Brutus himself upon the death of Cassius (Plut. Brut. 44, 1005; App. B. C,

ultimum dixisset. accusabant Satrius Secundus et Pinarius 2
Natta, Seiani clientes. id perniciabile reo, et Caesar truci vultu defensionem accipiens, quam Cremutius, relinquendae vitae certus, in hunc modum exorsus est: 'verba mea, patres conscripti, arguuntur: adeo factorum innocens sum. sed neque haec in princi- 3
pem aut principis parentem, quos lex maiestatis amplectitur: Brutum et Cassium laudavisse dicor, quorum res gestas cum plurimi composuerint, nemo sine honore memoravit. Titus 4
Livius, eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret; neque id amicitiae eorum offecit. Scipionem, Afranium, hunc 5
ipsum Cassium, hunc Brutum nusquam latrones et parricidas, quae nunc vocabula inponuntur, saepe ut insignis viros nominat. Asinii Pollionis scripta egregiam eorundem memoriam tradunt; 6

114). If he had spoken in his own person he would doubtless have also included Brutus himself in the expression, which Suetonius (l. l.) represents him as doing. Philopoemen has been similarly called 'the last of the Greeks' (Plut. Philop. 1, 356).

1. **Satrius Secundus**: cp. 6. 8, 10; 47, 2. Seneca says to Marcia (l. l. 22, 4) 'Seianus patrem tuum clienti suo Satrio Secundo congiarium dedit.'

**Pinarius Natta**, mentioned in Sen. Ep. 122, 11. The family was old and noble (Cic. de Div. 2. 21, 47, etc.), and several references to them are collected by Borghesi (v. 311; see Nipp. here). An inscription (I. R. N. 1896) mentions one L. Pinarius L. f. Natta, who had filled various offices and magistracies up to that of aedile, and who may be the person here mentioned.

3. **accipiens**: cp. the use of 'tegens' (c. 12, 2).

**certus**, 'resolved upon.' Such an application of this word to persons, whether used (as here and in 12. 66, 2; H. 4. 14, 1) with the genit., or (as in c. 57, 1) with the inf. appears first in Vergil (e. g. Aen. 4, 554; 564).

5. **neque haec**: cp. c. 26, 2; 2. 34, 7.

**in principem**, etc., sc. 'dicta arguuntur.' On this limitation of the law of 'maiestas,' see on 3. 50, 6.

8. **composuerint**: cp. 1. 1, 5.

**nemo . . . . memoravit.** The object has to be supplied from 'quorum,' as if the sentence had run 'quos, quum eorum,' etc.

9. **fidei.** Nipp. takes this here to mean 'impartiality' or 'candour.' M. Seneca (Suas. 6, 22) speaks of Livy as 'candidissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum aestimator.' The genitive with 'praeclarus,' though not elsewhere found, is analogous to many others (Introd. v. § 34 e $\gamma$).

10. **Pompeianum.** On this name, see 1. 10, 1, etc.

11. **Scipionem, Afranium.** Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio was father-in-law to Pompeius and his colleague in part of his third consulship in 702, B.C. 52. L. Afranius was cos. in 694, B.C. 60, and legatus of Pompeius in Spain. Scipio committed suicide and Afranius was killed, shortly after their defeat at Thapsus in 708, B. C. 46.

12. **parricidas.** Valerius Maximus often uses this term of Brutus (1. 5, 7, etc.), of Cassius (1. 8, 8), and of the conspirators in general (1. 6, 13, etc.): cp. also Florus, 4. 7, 1.

13. **ut insignis viros**, 'as one would speak of distinguished men.'

14. **Pollionis scripta.** According to Suidas (s. v. Ἀσίνιος Πωλλίων) the history of Pollio consisted of seventeen books. It began from 694, B. C. 60 (Hor. Od. 2. 1, 1), and is cited by Priscian (see Nipp.) as mentioning an event as late as 742, B.C. 12, but the regular narrative is thought not to have gone down so far. A passage on the character of Cicero is preserved in M. Sen. Suas. 6, 24. See also Suet. Caes. 30, 55, 56; de Gramm. 10; Val. Max. 8. 13, ext. 4; App. B. C. 2. 82; Plut. Caes. 46 (730).

Messalla Corvinus imperatorem suum Cassium praedicabat: et
7 uterque opibus atque honoribus perviguere. Marci Ciceronis
libro, quo Catonem caelo aequavit, quid aliud dictator Caesar
8 quam rescripta oratione, velut apud iudices, respondit? Antonii
epistulae, Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Augustum probra, set
multa cum acerbitate habent; carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta
contumeliis Caesarum leguntur: sed ipse divus Iulius, ipse divus
Augustus et tulere ista et reliquere, haud facile dixerim, modera-
tione magis an sapientia. namque spreta exolescunt: si irascare,
adgnita videntur.'

**35.** 'Non attingo Graecos, quorum non modo libertas, etiam
2 libido impunita; aut si quis advertit, dictis dicta ultus est. sed
maxime solutum et sine obtrectatore fuit prodere de iis, quos
3 mors odio aut gratiae exemisset. num enim armatis Cassio et

1. **Messalla Corvinus.** His history of the wars after Julius Caesar's death is cited by Plutarch (Brut. 40, 1004; 45, 1005, etc.) and by Suetonius (Aug. 74); but the tense of 'praedicabat' points rather to habitual expressions in conversation. He was next in command under Brutus and Cassius in the campaign of Philippi (Vell. 2. 71, 1).

2. **opibus atque.** So Halm and Orelli with Acid., for the MS. 'opibusque atque,' which Nipp. with some hesitation retains. Such a combination of conjunctions is elsewhere found (cp. c. 3, 4); but the juxta-position of three words ending in 'que,' with vowels following, would be most inharmonious.

**perviguere,** 'prospered to the end of life' (ἅπ. εἰρ.).

**Ciceronis libro.** To this treatise, entitled 'Cato' (Cic. Att. 13. 46, 2; Gell. 13. 19), Caesar replied in an 'Anticato' (Plut. Caes. 54, 733; Gell. 4, 16), consisting of two books (Suet. Jul. 56; Juv. 6, 338); which we here gather to have been in the form of speeches.

3. **quid aliud . . . quam.** Nipp. notes that 'nihil aliud quam' and similar expressions are used brachylogically, with such a meaning as 'only,' as in 13. 40, 6; H. 2. 91, 4: cp. also 'nihil amplius quam vendidit' M. Sen. Contr. 34, 4, 'nihil amplius quam monuit' Suet. Claud. 16.

**dictator Caesar.** Nipp. thinks this expression is chosen, rather than the more usual 'Divus Iulius,' to lay stress on Caesar's power at the time.

4. **Antonii epistulae.** Suetonius refers to these (Aug. 7, 63) and quotes from them (Id. 16, 69). A more public letter is preserved in Cic. Phil. 13. 10, 22, sqq.

5. **Bruti contiones.** It is implied that these were still before the public.

6. **Bibaculi,** M. Furius Bibaculus, born, according to Jerome, in 655, B. C. 99, but probably later, at Cremona. Quintilian (10. 1, 96) and Diomedes (see Nipp.) name him with such iambographers as Lucilius, Catullus, and Horace; but this estimate is hardly borne out by the few fragments preserved (Suet. de Gramm. 9, 11); and his heroics appear to have been turgid (Hor. Sat. 1. 10, 36; 2. 5, 41).

**Catulli.** The poems referred to are 29, 54, 57, 95. On the treatment of him by Caesar, see Suet. Jul. 73.

7. **Caesarum;** 'Iulii et Augusti.' Catullus alludes only to the former, and probably died soon after 707, B.C. 47; but Bibaculus may have libelled Augustus.

8. **reliquere,** 'left them alone.'

10. **adgnita,** 'admitted to be true:' so 'adgnoscere crimen' 6. 8, 2; H. 3. 75, 4.

11. **Non attingo,** 'I do not mention:' cp. 'seditionem attigit' 1. 35, 1.

**etiam,** without 'sed:' cp. 3. 19, 2, and note on 1. 77, 1.

12. **advertit,** absol.; as in 3. 52, 2, etc.

13. **solutum.** The full expression 'solutum poena' is found in 14. 28, 2. The meaning is nearly similar to that in c. 31, 4.

14. **num . . . an.** The first alternative is assumed to be negatived and the latter affirmed: cp. 'numquid duas habetis pa-

Bruto ac Philippenses campos optinentibus belli civilis causa
populum per contiones incendo? an illi quidem septuagensimum
ante annum peremti, quo modo imaginibus suis noscuntur, quas
ne victor quidem abolevit, sic partem memoriae apud scriptores
retinent? suum cuique decus posteritas rependit; nec deerunt, 4
si damnatio ingruit, qui non modo Cassii et Bruti set etiam mei
meminerint.' egressus dein senatu vitam abstinentia finivit. 5
libros per aediles cremandos censuere patres: set manserunt,
occultati et editi. quo magis socordiam eorum inridere libet, 6
qui praesenti potentia credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis
aevi memoriam. nam contra punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas,
neque aliud externi reges aut qui eadem saevitia usi sunt, nisi
dedecus sibi atque illis gloriam peperere.

**36.** Ceterum postulandis reis tam continuus annus fuit, ut 1
feriarum Latinarum diebus praefectum urbis Drusum, auspicandi

trias? an est una illa patria communis' (Cic. Legg. 2. 2). 'Enim,' the conjecture of Halm for the MS. 'eum,' is now generally adopted rather than the marginal 'cum,' read by older editors.

2. **septuagensimum**, a round number for the sixty-sixth year.

3. **imaginibus suis.** Besides their preservation in families (see on 3. 76, 5), we hear of a bronze statue of Brutus preserved at Mediolanum by order of Augustus (Plut. comp. Dionis cum Bruto, 5). A few busts, and several of his coins exist, some of which bear his head; others, as also those of Cassius, have such inscriptions as 'Libertas,' 'Eid. Mart,' and appropriate symbols: see Dio, 47. 25, 3; Cohen, i. p. 26–29.

**noscuntur** = 'adgnoscuntur:' so 'nosco crines,' etc. (Verg. Aen. 6, 810): cp. 2. 28, 1.

4. **ne . . . quidem.** The MS. 'nec . . . quidem' has been rejected by nearly all editors (after J. F. Gron.) here and in 14. 35, 2; also generally, though with less certainty, in H. 4. 38, 2.

5. **rependit.** The MS. has 'rependunt,' which has been rejected by all editors as an assimilation to 'deerunt;' 'posteritas,' however equivalent to 'posteri' (cp. 3. 19, 3; H. 1. 1, 2; Agr. 46, 4), not appearing to be anywhere used with a plural verb.

6. **set etiam.** The MS. has 'sedet etiam,' from which it appears possible that the true reading is 'sed et,' and 'etiam' a gloss.

7. **vitam abstinentia finivit.** Seneca (Cons. ad Marc. 22, 6) gives a touching account of his concealment of his purpose from his daughter Marcia till the fourth day, and describes the disappointment of the accusers at finding their prey had escaped them.

8. **libros**, etc. M. Seneca (Praef. Controv. Lib. 10, 5) speaks of this penalty as first devised against T. Labienus, probably in 765, A.D. 12 (Dio, 56. 27, 1). This duty appears to have been considered to belong to the aediles in virtue of their 'cura urbis' (Introd. vi. p. 76) but to have been delegated by them to the 'tresviri capitales' (Agr. 2, 1).

9. **occultati**, etc. Their preservation was due to Marcia (Sen. l. l. 1, 3), and their publication, as also that of the works of T. Labienus and Cassius Severus (c. 21), permitted by Gaius (Suet. Cal. 16).

**socordiam . . . . inridere libet**, the action of Nero (14. 50, 2) and of Domitian (Agr. 2, 1) is especially alluded to.

14. **postulandis reis continuus**, 'incessantly occupied with accusations.' This expression is used of a person in 11. 5, 1, as here of a personification. The construction is not elsewhere found, but appears to be an abl. of respect, analogous to 'equis assignandis . . . diligentes' (Cic. Rep. 2. 20, 32), etc.

15. **praefectum urbis.** This survival of the old representative of the magistrates during their absence ('praefectura urbis ob ferias Latinas') coexisted with the new and permanent office instituted by Augus-

gratia tribunal ingressum, adierit Calpurnius Salvianus in Sextum Marium: quod a Caesare palam increpitum causa exilii Salviano fuit. obiecta publice Cyzicenis incuria caerimoniarum divi Augusti, additis violentiae criminibus adversum cives Romanos. et amisere libertatem, quam bello Mithridatis meruerant, circumsessi nec minus sua constantia quam praesidio Luculli pulso rege. at Fonteius Capito, qui pro consule Asiam curaverat, absolvitur, conperto ficta in eum crimina per Vibium Serenum. neque tamen id Sereno noxae fuit, quem odium publicum tutiorem faciebat. nam ut quis destrictior accusator, velut sacrosanctus erat: leves ignobiles poenis adficiebantur.

**37.** Per idem tempus Hispania ulterior missis ad senatum legatis oravit, ut exemplo Asiae delubrum Tiberio matrique

tus (see 6. 11), and probably existed till the 'feriae' themselves ceased to be held. It had been long the practice to give it by way of compliment to young men of rank; hence Gellius (14, 8) mentions the juristic question whether this 'praefectus urbis,' not being a senator, could convene the senate. Claudius would have had it but for his unfitness (Suet. Cl. 4); and Nero subsequently held it (Id. Ner. 7). This tenure of it by young Drusus is attested by an inscription (Introd. iii. p. 8).

**auspicandi gratia,** 'to inaugurate his office.'

1. **Calpurnius Salvianus.** Borghesi (v. 311) and Nipp. show that he was probably of Spanish origin; an earlier person of the name being mentioned at Corduba (Bell. Alex. 53, 55; Val. Max. 9. 4, 2), and the name being found in an inscription there (C. I. L. ii. 2265). Sex. Marius also was connected with Spain (6. 19, 1).

2. **increpitum.** It was contrary to the usual practice to bring before the praefectus at such times other than 'tralaticiae et breves postulationes' (Suet. Ner. 7), and the introduction of a criminal charge would especially be 'mali ominis.'

**causa exilii,** i. e. 'prompted a decree of the senate to banish him.'

3. **publice Cyzicenis,** τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν. This use of 'publice' is found in c. 43, 5; 3. 31, 7; H. 1. 51, 6, 66, 3, etc., and occasionally in other authors; being used, in opposition to 'privatim' or 'viritim,' to contrast communities with individuals, in Cic. Verr. 2. 3, 27, 66; Caes. B. C. 2. 21, 5; Bell. Alex. 65, 4: see other instances given here by Nipp.

**incuria,** etc. According to Dio (57. 24, 6) they had begun a temple to Augustus and not finished it.

4. **additis violentiae criminibus.** For a similar offence, Augustus had already deprived them of autonomy in 734, B.C. 20 (Dio, 54. 7, 6), but had restored it five years later (Id. 23, 7).

6. **circumsessi,** etc, in 680, 681, B.C. 74, 73: see App. Mithr. 72–76.

**sua.** The Cyziceni are in thought the subject of the sentence.

7. **Fonteius Capito,** C. Fonteius C. f. C. n. Capito, cos. 765, A.D. 12 (Fast. Cap.: see C. I. L. i. p. 550). His father was a follower of Antonius (Hor. Sat. 1. 5, 32) and cos. suff. in 721, B.C. 33 (C. I. L. i. p. 544): his son cos. in 812, A.D. 59 (14. 41). On the probable date of this Capito's proconsulate of Asia, see Introd. vii. p. 95.

8. **Vibium Serenum,** the son mentioned in c. 28, 1.

10. **destrictior.** The metaphor is taken from a sword ever drawn. We should rather speak figuratively of a person whose sword was always out, or who 'had thrown away the scabbard.' Nipp. gives instances of the word from Val. Max., who has 'destricta censura' (2. 9, 6), 'vindicta' (6. 3, 1), 'feneratrix' (8. 2, 2): cp. also 'destricte minatus' (Pl. Epp. 9. 21, 4).

12. **Hispania ulterior**: see on c. 13, 2. This desire appears to arise from a similar motive to that of Asia (c. 15, 4), namely, their gratitude for the punishment of Serenus.

eius exstrueret. qua occasione Caesar, validus alioqui spernendis honoribus et respondendum ratus iis quorum rumore arguebatur in ambitionem flexisse, huiusce modi orationem coepit: 'scio, patres conscripti, constantiam meam a plerisque desideratam, quod Asiae civitatibus nuper idem istud petentibus non sim adversatus. ergo et prioris silentii defensionem, et quid in futurum statuerim, simul aperiam. cum divus Augustus sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum sisti non prohibuisset, qui omnia facta dictaque eius vice legis observem, placitum iam exemplum promptius secutus sum, quia cultui meo veneratio senatus adiungebatur. ceterum ut semel recepisse veniam habuerit, ita omnes per provincias effigie numinum sacrari ambitiosum, superbum; et vanescet Augusti honor, si promiscis adulationibus vulgatur.

**38.** Ego me, patres conscripti, mortalem esse et hominum officia fungi satisque habere, si locum principem impleam, et vos testor et meminisse posteros volo; qui satis superque memoriae meae tribuent, ut maioribus mei dignum, rerum vestrarum providum, constantem in periculis, offensionum pro utilitate publica

1. **validus . . . spernendis honoribus.** On the construction, cp. 3. 10, 4; on the fact, 3. 47, 5, etc.

**alioqui**, 'besides,' i.e. 'without such special ground:' cp. 'ditem alioqui coloniam' H. 3. 32, 4, and the nearly similar sense in c. 11, 4.

3. **flexisse**: cp. c. 41, 2; 1. 34, 5.

**huiusce modi.** Similar terms are used in giving his speech in 3. 52, 4.

4. **constantiam**, etc., 'that many regretted my want of firmness;' i.e. that he had departed ('in ambitionem flexisse') from his general principle ('validum spernendis honoribus') on that occasion.

6. **silentii.** It is implied that he had only tacitly assented to the permissive decree (c. 15, 5).

8. **templum apud Pergamum**: cp. c. 55, 6, and note on 1. 10, 5. This temple dates from 725, B.C. 29 (Dio, 51. 20, 7), and is represented on coins (Eckh. vi. 100, 101).

**sisti**: cp. 2. 7, 3. On this constr. with 'prohibere,' cp. 1. 69, 1.

9. **qui . . . observem**: see 1. 77, 4.

10. **placitum**: cp. 2. 66, 3.

11. **senatus**: see c. 15, 4. This was to Tiberius what the conjunction of Rome was to Augustus; yet even with this association such a precedent was not to be commonly followed.

**ut**, concessive.

12. **omnes per.** The error of the MS., which has 'per' before and after 'omnes,' is thus corrected by Nipp. in accordance with the most general Tacitean usage. Older editions read 'per omnes.'

**effigie numinum**: cp. 1. 10, 5.

13. **vanescet**: cp. 2. 40, 1.

15. **mortalem esse.** Pliny (Pan. 2) praises Trajan for similarly rejecting the extravagances of servility, 'putat nec minus hominem se quam hominibus praeesse meminit.'

16. **fungi.** On the constr., cp. 3. 2, 1.

**satis habere, si**: cp. 2. 37, 5.

18. **ut . . . credant**, 'supposing (or 'on condition') that they believe.' With 'ut,' in this sense, the addition of 'ita' is generally required, as in Cic. de Off. 1. 25, 88 ('ita probanda est mansuetudo . . . ut adhibeatur . . . severitas'), but is sometimes omitted, as in Cic. de Am. 15, 52 ('quis est qui velit, ut neque diligat . . . nec . . . diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis'), and Liv. 28. 13, 1. The nearest approach to it elsewhere in Tacitus is the use of 'ut' in the protasis, with the force of 'although,' followed by a negation (cp. c. 40, 6): cp. Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 183, and Nipp. here.

non pavidum credant. haec mihi in animis vestris templa, hae pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae. nam quae saxo struuntur, si iudicium posterorum in odium vertit, pro sepulchris spernuntur. proinde socios cives et deos ipsos precor, hos ut mihi ad finem usque vitae quietam et intellegentem humani divinique iuris mentem duint, illos ut, quandoque concessero, cum laude et bonis recordationibus facta atque famam nominis mei prosequantur.' perstititque posthac secretis etiam sermonibus aspernari talem sui cultum. quod alii modestiam, multi, quia diffideret, quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur. optumos quippe mortalium altissima cupere: sic Herculem et Liberum apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos: melius Augustum, qui speraverit. cetera principibus statim adesse:

**offensionum**: cp. 3. 54, 11. Such a genitive with 'pavidus' is found in H. 5. 14, 4; Sen. (Trag.), and Luc.

3. **pro sepulchris spernuntur**, i.e. 'pro sepulchris accipiuntur et spernuntur:' cp. 'pro nullo pondere verba cadunt' Ov. Her. 3. 98, 'pro vano verba benigna cadunt' Propert. 1. 10, 24. The comparison modifies the sense of 'spernuntur.' The temple of an unpopular prince has no more sanctity than a tomb; it is not desecrated, but neglected and unvisited by the public. For the sentiment, cp. *ὡς δὲ τάφον νῦν σε παρερχόμεθα* Anth. Pal. 5. 21, 6.

4. **et deos.** The MS. repeats these words twice, whence the marginal correction 'deos et deas,' which weakens the rhetorical climax, but may possibly be a formula used by Tiberius (cp. 6. 6, 1). Such use of 'et' in the third place after asyndeta is common in Tacitus and Livy (Dräger, Synt. und Stil, § 106); and here 'socii' and 'cives' are referred to as one class (= 'homines') by 'illos.'

5. **humani divinique iuris**: cp. 3. 70, 4.

6. **duint.** The archaic form is suitable to the language of prayer, as in Cic. Cat. 1. 9, 22; Liv. 10. 19, 17, etc.

**quandoque**: cp. 1. 6, 2, etc.

**concessero**: see note on 2. 71, 2.

8. **perstitit . . . aspernari**: cp. 'si perstiteris . . . referre' Cic. Fin. 2. 33, 107. That his refusal was not so persistent as Tacitus supposed, would appear from an inscription recording the erection, in 782, A.D. 29, of a temple to Tiberius (apparently without the addition of Rome or the senate) in Cyprus (see Leutsch, in Philol. 23. 750); also from an inscription, whether of temple or altar, 'Romae et Imp. Ti. Caesari Augusto sacrum,' at Mograwa in Africa Byzacena (C. I. L. viii. 1, 685).

9. **alii . . . interpretabantur**, 'some explained this as modesty, many, as caused by self-distrust, some, as a sign of mean-spiritedness.' The construction is varied in each clause, and is in each abbreviated. With 'modestiam' we should expect 'tamquam,' with 'degeneris animi,' 'signum;' in the second, 'quod' is lost sight of, and 'aspernari talem cultum' supplied, and 'diffideret' used absolutely, as in 13. 21, 9. The first view assumes the sincerity of the reasons assigned by Tiberius himself; which, while declining the honour, are consistent with a belief that he has deserved well of posterity. The second view asserts that he had no such faith in the judgment of the future on himself, and assigns as the motive not true modesty, but mere self-depreciation. The third affirms that he did not even care for fame, simply because he had no loftiness of soul; whereas the highest natures, whatever their confidence in themselves might be, have always aimed at the highest honours, and the highest that an autocrat can desire is posthumous renown.

10. **degeneris animi.** The expression is used in H. 3. 85, 2. The word is used of 'preces' and 'vultus' (12. 19, 1; H. 3. 65, 4): cp. 'degeneres animos timor arguit' Verg. Aen. 4, 13.

12. **melius**, sc. 'egisse:' cp. 1. 43, 1.

13. **qui speraverit.** He expresses this belief in a letter to Tiberius (Suet. Aug.

unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam
contemptu famae contemni virtutes.

**39.** At Seianus nimia fortuna socors et muliebri insuper cupi- 1
dine incensus, promissum matrimonium flagitante Livia, com-
ponit ad Caesarem codicillos: moris quippe tum erat quamquam
praesentem scripto adire. eius talis forma fuit: benevolentia 2
patris Augusti et mox plurimis Tiberii iudiciis ita insuevisse, ut
spes votaque sua non prius ad deos quam ad principum aures
conferret. neque fulgorem honorum umquam precatum: ex- 3
cubias ac labores, ut unum e militibus, pro incolumitate impera-
toris malle. ac tamen quod pulcherrimum adeptum, ut con- 4
iunctione Caesaris dignus crederetur: hinc initium spei. et 5
quoniam audiverit Augustum in conlocanda filia non nihil etiam
de equitibus Romanis consultavisse, ita, si maritus Liviae quae-
reretur, haberet in animo amicum sola necessitudinis gloria
usurum. non enim exuere inposita munia: satis aestimare fir- 6

71) 'benignitas enim mea me ad caelestem gloriam efferet,' but the passage seems not seriously meant.

**statim**, i. e. 'simul cum principatu.'

1. **insatiabiliter**; in Lucr. 3, 907; Pl. Epp. 9. 6, 3.

2. **contemptu**, 'through despising.' Such an ablative appears to be intermediate between instrumental and causal: cp. 3. 54, 3; 6. 45, 3; H. 1. 6, 1.

3. **socors.** His success up to this point made him take a bold step too thoughtlessly.

4. **promissum**: see on c. 3, 3.

5. **moris . . . tum erat.** The custom had been introduced by Julius (Plut. Caes. 17, 716), and was adopted by Augustus for all important communications, even towards Livia (Suet. Aug. 84). Tacitus appears to imply that it no longer obtained in his time.

6. **eius**, sc. 'scripti,' substituted in thought for the preceding 'codicilli.' It is difficult to see what authentic record could have been known to Tacitus of this letter or the reply.

7. **iudiciis.** The special use of this word to denote tokens of favourable opinion is illustrated by Nipp. from Agr. 43, 4, also from Cic. ad Fam. 10. 1, 4 ('quidquid in eum iudicii officiique contuleris'), and 13, 46 ('patroni iudicio ornatus'); Plin. Epp. ad Trai. 4, 6 ('ut . . . gloriari iudiciis tuis possim').

11. **coniunctione Caesaris**: see on c. 7, 2; 3. 29, 5. The expression here used could be justified, even if the intention could no longer be carried out.

13. **in conlocanda filia.** Suetonius (Aug. 63) states that, after the death of Agrippa, several persons, including some knights, were thought of in choosing a husband for Julia. In c. 40, 8 C. Proculeius is instanced.

14. **ita**, 'after this example.'

15. **sola necessitudinis gloria usurum**, 'who would gain only honour by such an alliance:' cp. 'tantum infamia usurus' 3. 57, 3. He would seek no political advancement, for he had no wish to give up his 'praefectura' (held only by knights) and to become a senator. He must have retained his command with senatorial rank when he became consul in 784, A.D. 31, and the office was afterwards sometimes held by senators (cp. H. 4. 68, 3; Suet. Tit. 6).

16. **satis aestimare.** Nipp. renders this 'he sufficiently appreciated (knew how to value rightly, and would therefore desire no more than) the protection afforded to his house,' etc., contending that 'aestimare' has never the force of 'existimare.' But the frequent use of simple verbs for compounds in Tacitus (Introd. v. § 40) must be borne in mind, and the meaning of 'existimare,' apparently most suitable here, is not impossible in 13. 42, 5 ('gravius aestimandum').

mari domum adversum iniquas Agrippinae offensiones, idque liberorum causa; nam sibi multum superque vitae fore, quod tali cum principe explevisset.

**40.** Ad ea Tiberius laudata pietate Seiani suisque in eum beneficiis modice percursis, cum tempus tamquam ad integram consultationem petivisset, adiunxit: ceteris mortalibus in eo stare consilia, quid sibi conducere putent; principum diversam esse sortem, quibus praecipua rerum ad famam derigenda. ideo se non illuc decurrere quod promptum rescriptu, posse ipsam Liviam statuere, nubendum post Drusum an in penatibus isdem tolerandum haberet; esse illi matrem et aviam, propiora consilia. simplicius acturum, de inimicitiis primum Agrippinae, quas longe acrius arsuras, si matrimonium Liviae velut in partes domum Caesarum distraxisset. sic quoque erumpere aemulationem feminarum, eaque discordia nepotes suos convelli: quid

2. **liberorum causa**, i.e. to protect them after his death; for he himself could not be harmed while Tiberius lived, and had no wish to survive him.

**multum superque**, ἅπ. εἰρ. for 'satis superque' (Dräger).

4. **Ad ea**, etc. Tacitus has condensed the substance of two answers; the first, given at once, is briefly dismissed ('laudata pietate,' etc.); the second, delivered after an interval, begins with 'adiunxit.'

5. **tamquam ad integram consultationem**, 'as though to reflect upon it as an open question.' This motive may perhaps not have been stated, but left to be inferred. On 'tamquam,' cp. Introd. v. § 67. The sense of 'integram' resembles that in 3. 8, 2 ('integrum iudicium'), and in Cic. Att. 16. 2, 4 ('integrum consilium').

6. **in eo stare**, 'took their stand upon the question,' i.e. confined themselves to it.

8. **praecipua rerum**, 'the more important business:' cp. c. 41, 4.

**ad famam derigenda**, 'must be guided with a view to public opinion,' not by simple consideration of personal or family interest: cp. 'ad utilitatem . . . dirigenda' Dial. 5, 3. On the form 'derigere,' see note on 2. 31, 2.

**ideo**, etc., 'therefore he did not have recourse to that answer so ready to hand:' namely, that Livia could decide for herself, or consult her more natural advisers. He felt that, for the reasons given above, he could not thus shift the responsibility.

9. **rescriptu**. Dräger notes this supine as ἅπ. εἰρ.: cp. 'promptum effectu' H. 2. 76, 2.

11. **tolerandum**, 'that she should continue:' so 'longius tolerare posse' (of holding out in a siege) in Caes. B. G. 7. 71, 4.

**matrem et aviam**, Antonia and Augusta.

12. **simplicius acturum**, 'he would deal more frankly' (see on 1. 69, 4), i.e. he would not leave his disapprobation to be inferred from an evasive answer.

13. **si matrimonium . . . distraxisset.** Nipp. explains this to mean that, while Agrippina and Livia were widows, both were equally members of the 'domus Caesarum,' of which Tiberius was sole head. The marriage of either, besides giving her an advantage over her rival, would create another house within a house.

14. **sic quoque**, 'even as things were at present:' cp. 15. 17, 3, and 'sic melius' 1. 34, 4.

15. **nepotes suos convelli.** This verb is used of a house or family (6. 40, 3; 12. 1, 1; 65, 3) in the sense of being shaken to its foundations by an attack or crisis; here it is used of several persons, probably in the sense of being 'torn asunder' (cp. 1. 32, 3), i.e. no longer united as a family. Nipp. takes it in the sense in which it is used of Tiberius himself in 6. 48, 4 (where see note). It seems to be forgotten that the son of Drusus was but six years old,

si intendatur certamen tali coniugio? 'falleris enim, Seiane, si te mansurum in eodem ordine putas, et Liviam, quae Gaio Caesari, mox Druso nupta fuerit, ea mente acturam, ut cum equite Romano senescat. ego ut sinam, credisne passuros qui fratrem eius, qui patrem maioresque nostros in summis imperiis videre? vis tu quidem istum intra locum sistere: sed illi magistratus et primores, qui te invitum perrumpunt omnibusque de rebus consulunt, excessisse iam pridem equestre fastigium longeque antisse patris mei amicitias non occulti ferunt perque invidiam tui me quoque incusant. at enim Augustus filiam suam equiti Romano tradere meditatus est. mirum hercule, si cum in omnis curas distraheretur immensumque attolli provideret quem coniunctione tali super alios extulisset, C. Proculeium

and that the others, though not without individual jealousies, were all of one house.

1. **intendatur**: cp. 2. 57, 3, etc.

**falleris enim.** On the sudden change to 'oratio recta,' see Introd. v. § 94. The connection of thought is, 'you cannot remain as you are; such a wife must force you into an ambitious position.' The whole of this passage to 'permixtos,' especially the portion 'vis tu . . . incusant,' is made to contain a covert irony, in allusion to the assumed humility of c. 39. 5, 6.

2. **in eodem ordine,** explained by 'equite Romano' below.

**Gaio Caesari . . . nupta.** This marriage must have taken place before he was sent to the East in 753, B.C. 1, when she could hardly have been more than twelve years old. The date of her marriage with Drusus cannot be fixed.

4. **ego ut sinam,** 'though I were to permit it:' see note on c. 38, 1.

5. **fratrem,** etc. Germanicus, the elder Drusus, and the Claudii and Drusi of former times.

6. **vis tu quidem**: see c. 39, 6.

**sistere** = 'stare:' cp. H. 3. 21, 2: with the exception of Varr. L. L. 5, 53, this sense is previously wholly poetical (e.g. Verg. G. 1, 479; Aen. 3, 7, etc.).

**magistratus,** etc. ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ . . . οἱ ἐλλόγιμοι καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον συνεχῶς ἐφοίτων Dio, 57. 21, 4.

7. **te invitum perrumpunt,** 'break through your reserve against your will.' The sense, as perhaps in 3. 15, 4, is a metaphor from breaking into a fortress, and much the same as that of 'quietem inrumpere' (c. 67, 1). The MS. 'invite' has been corrected in the margin and in the old editions to 'invito,' which Nipp. retains, taking 'perrumpunt' to mean 'break through this barrier,' i.e. that interposed by the difference of rank between you and them.

9. **antisse . . . amicitias.** The acc. with this verb is generally personal (cp. 3. 47, 4; 66, 5; 15. 50, 3; H. 1. 87, 4, etc.); so that probably 'amicitias' is best taken for the concrete 'amicos,' as in Suet. Tib. 51, etc. The comparison intended is chiefly with the friends of Augustus of equestrian rank, as Maecenas, Crispus Sallustius, Proculeius, etc.

**non occulti ferunt,** 'openly maintain:' cp. 'occulti' 3. 29, 2, and the use of 'ferre' in 6. 26, 3; 49, 3, etc.

10. **at enim** = ἀλλὰ γάρ, anticipating an objection, and referring to c. 39, 5.

12. **in omnis curas distraheretur,** 'had his attention distracted between all kinds of cares,' i.e. had to look at difficulties on every side. 'In' has the force of 'inter' in 2. 67, 4, etc.

**immensum,** adv. as in c. 27, 3, etc He foresaw that his son-in-law would attain an enormous elevation, and might hence think that he had better not be already too great.

13. **C. Proculeium**: see Hor. Od. 2. 2, 5. Dio (54. 3, 5) states that he was brother of Varro Muraena (see on 1. 10, 3), and of Terentia, wife of Maecenas, but the relationship is not clearly made out.

et quosdam in sermonibus habuit insigni tranquillitate vitae, nullis rei publicae negotiis permixtos. sed si dubitatione Augusti movemur, quanto validius est quod Marco Agrippae, mox mihi conlocavit? atque ego haec pro amicitia non occultavi: ceterum neque tuis neque Liviae destinatis adversabor. ipse quid intra animum volutaverim, quibus adhuc necessitudinibus inmiscere te mihi parem, omittam ad praesens referre: id tantum aperiam, nihil esse tam excelsum, quod non virtutes istae tuusque in me animus mereantur, datoque tempore vel in senatu vel in contione non reticebo.'

**41.** Rursum Seianus, non iam de matrimonio, sed altius metuens, tacita suspicionum, vulgi rumorem, ingruentem invidiam deprecatur. ac ne adsiduos in domum coetus arcendo infringeret potentiam aut receptando facultatem criminantibus praeberet, huc flexit, ut Tiberium ad vitam procul Roma amoenis locis degendam impelleret. multa quippe providebat: sua in manu aditus literarumque magna ex parte se arbitrum fore, cum per milites commearent; mox Caesarem vergente iam senecta

1. **quosdam,** sc. 'alios:' Nipp. compares 'tecum et cum quibusdam' Cic. Fam. 4. 6, 2, also Caes. B. G. 6. 24, 2.

2. **negotiis permixtos**: cp. 'consiliis permixtum' 3. 38, 2.

3. **quanto validius**, etc., i.e. his ultimate decision is far more important than his previous thought. On these marriages, cp. 1. 3, 1; 53, 2; Introd. viii. p. 113.

5. **ceterum**: he seems here to fall back on the evasive reply which he had taken credit for not making, 'posse ipsam Liviam statuere,' etc.

6. **quibus**, etc., 'by what ties I contemplate connecting you with me.' He is called 'gener' in 5. 6, 2; 6. 8, 6; and some member of the imperial house is called his μελλόνυμφος (Dio, 58. 7, 5). Zonaras, who otherwise closely follows Dio, states (11. 2) that it was Julia, the daughter of Drusus and Livia; others have thought that it was Livia herself who was ultimately betrothed to him. Neither can well be alluded to here, for the alliance with Livia is here to be understood as refused, and Julia was still the wife of Nero. Unless, therefore, Tacitus or his authority has here inserted these words by error, we must suppose that only some vague promise is held out in them. See note on 6. 27, 1.

10. **in contione**, i.e. in edict.

11. **altius metuens**: cp. 'altior pavor' (16. 29, 1), and note on 1. 32, 7. His reply shows that he understood the irony of c. 40, 7, etc.; and he beseeches Tiberius not to harbour suspicion against him, or listen to idle tales and malignant attacks on him. On 'tacita suspicionum,' see Introd. v. § 32 b.

13. **in domum.** Nipp. rightly takes this closely with 'adsiduos,' 'streaming into his house.' Seneca, under similar circumstances, discontinued such receptions: see 14. 56, 6.

18. **per milites.** The 'speculatores,' among other duties, appear to have been the 'tabellarii' of the princeps (Suet. Cal. 44).

**commearent,** sc. 'litterae.' The verb is generally used of persons, but also of 'sermones' (2. 28, 2), 'navis' (Cic. Verr. 2. 5, 18, 46), etc.

**vergente senecta.** Nipp. shows that this is abl. abs. and not depending on 'mollitum.' The retirement would cooperate with the consciousness of failing power by enervating him. Walther appears right in understanding 'vergens senecta' like 'provecta senectus' (1. 4, 2), and as a stronger term than 'vergens

secretoque loci mollitum munia imperii facilius tramissurum; et minui sibi invidiam adempta salutantum turba, sublatisque inanibus veram potentiam augeri. igitur paulatim negotia urbis, populi adcursus, multitudinem adfluentium increpat, extollens laudibus quietem et solitudinem, quis abesse taedia et offensiones ac praecipua rerum maxime agitari.

**42.** Ac forte habita per illos dies de Votieno Montano, celebris ingenii viro, cognitio cunctantem iam Tiberium perpulit ut vitandos crederet patrum coetus vocesque, quae plerumque verae et graves coram ingerebantur. nam postulato Votieno ob contumelias in Caesarem dictas, testis Aemilius e militaribus viris dum studio probandi cuncta refert et quamquam inter obstrepentes magna adseveratione nititur, audivit Tiberius probra quis per occultum lacerabatur, adeoque perculsus est, ut se vel statim vel in cognitione purgaturum clamitaret precibusque proximorum, adulatione omnium aegre componeret animum. et Votienus quidem maiestatis poenis adfectus est: Caesar obiectam sibi adversus reos inclementiam eo pervicacius amplexus,

aetas,' used by Tiberius of himself two years (c. 9, 5), and even eight years earlier (2. 43, 1).

1. **secreto,** 'seclusion;' as 'secretum Asiae' H. 1. 10, 2, etc. This substantive sense appears first in Vergil (e.g. G. 4, 403, etc.).

3. **veram potentiam augeri**: so Halm, Nipp., Orell., after Marcilius, for the MS. 'vera potentia augere.' The intransitive use of 'augere' could be defended (cp. Cato, ap. Gell. 18. 12, 7; Sall. Fr. H. 1. 48 D, 51 K, G. p. 144, § 6); but it is awkward to supply 'se' as its subject, and Tacitus has elsewhere 'augere potentiam.' For other suggestions, see Baiter and Halm (Comm. Crit.); the text above answers best to 'minui . . . invidiam.'

6. **ac praecipua rerum maxime agitari** (sc. 'ac in quibus,' etc.), 'and where the most weighty affairs (cp. c. 40, 1) come in for the chief attention,' without the constant interruptions of smaller matters.

7. **celebris ingenii viro.** He is frequently mentioned as an orator and declaimer, by M. Seneca (see Controv. 20, 12; 28. 15, 17; Praef. Lib. 9), who states that he had before sustained an accusation at the hands of P. Vinicius (see 3. 11, 2), and that Scaurus (see 1. 13, 4, etc.) used to call him the Ovid of orators, for his tendency to repeat himself, and for other qualities. Julius Montanus, a poet (Ov. ex P. 4. 16, 11; M. Sen. Contr. 16, 27; L. Sen. Ep. 122, 11) is not, as Lips. had thought, the same person.

8. **cunctantem iam,** i.e. 'already beginning to think of it:' thus 'dubitaverat' ('had thought of') c. 57, 5.

10. **coram** (sc. 'ipso'), what had been said of him behind his back was now repeated as evidence before his face. For 'ingerebantur,' cp. 1. 72, 2.

**postulato.** This process is distinguished below from the actual 'cognitio.' That a preliminary examination of the charge took place at this stage, is seen from c. 21, 4, etc.

11. **Aemilius**: see on 2. 11, 2.

13. **obstrepentes**: cp. 'obturbabant . . . patres specie detestandi' 6. 24, 4.

15. **purgaturum.** Nipp. shows that 'probra' is to be supplied: cp. c. 3. 13, 2; 16. 24, 1; and 'purgare crimina' Cic. Clu. 1, 3, etc.

17. **maiestatis poenis.** Jerome on Eus. Chron. (Op. viii. 568, Migne) records, on 782, A.D. 29, 'Votienus Montanus, Narbonensis orator, in Balearibus insulis moritur, illuc a Tiberio relegatus.'

18. **amplexus,** 'accepting the imputation:' cp. 6. 8, 1, etc.

Aquiliam adulterii delatam cum Vario Ligure, quamquam Lentulus Gaetulicus consul designatus lege Iulia damnasset, exilio punivit Apidiumque Merulam, quod in acta divi Augusti non iuraverat, albo senatorio erasit.

1 **43.** Auditae dehinc Lacedaemoniorum et Messeniorum le-
gationes de iure templi Dianae Limnatidis, quod suis a maioribus suaque in terra dicatum Lacedaemonii firmabant annalium memoria vatumque carminibus, sed Macedonis Philippi, cum quo bellassent, armis ademptum ac post C. Caesaris et M. Antonii
2 sententia redditum. contra Messenii veterem inter Herculis
posteros divisionem Peloponnesi protulere, suoque regi Denthaliatem agrum, in quo id delubrum, cessisse; monimentaque eius
3 rei sculpta saxis et aere prisco manere. quod si vatum, anna-

1. **delatam.** The genitive with this word (cp. 6. 47, 2; 14. 48, 2) is Tacitean: see Introd. v. § 33 c.

**Vario Ligure**, mentioned again 6. 30, 1. The name 'P. Varius P. f. Aem. Ligus filius' is found on an inscription at Alba Pompeia in honour of young Tiberius Gemellus (C. I. L. v. 2, 7598).

**Lentulus Gaetulicus.** Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus had been praet. peregr. in 776, A.D. 23 (see Nipp.), and is known as an epigrammatist (Mart. 1. praef. Pl. Epp. 5. 3, 5), and has been thought by some (from Suet. Cal. 8) to have written history. On his subsequent life, see 6. 30; on his brother, above, c. 34, 1. The cognomen was acquired by his father Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Cossus (cos. 753, B.C. 1) for victories in Africa (Vell. 2. 116, 2). On 'damnasset,' see note on 3. 36, 3.

2. **exilio.** This involved loss of citizenship and property; the 'lex Iulia' (see on 2. 50, 2) only partial loss of the latter.

3. **in acta . . . iuraverat**: see on 1. 72, 2.

4. **albo senatorio**: cp. 'album iudicum' (Suet. Cl. 16, etc.). This λεύκωμα was first posted up by Augustus in 745, B.C. 9 (Dio, 55. 3, 3). On the expulsion of senators by the princeps, cp. 2. 48, 3, etc.

5. **Lacedaemoniorum**, etc. Achaia, though under Caesar (1. 76, 4), seems here to be still treated as a senatorial province.

6. **iure**, 'the right over.'

**Limnatidis**, situate in the place called Λίμναι (Paus. 4. 31, 3). Strabo says (8. 4, 9, 362) τὸ δ' ἐν Λίμναις τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐν μεθορίοις ἐστὶ τῆς τε Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας. He also states that an outrage committed there caused the first Messenian war. The site and remains of the temple are at Volimnos on the western slope of Taygetus: see the map in Dict. of Geog. ii. p. 343; also Grote, Hist. vol. ii. ch. 7, p. 572.

7. **annalium**, 'history;' as c. 34, 1, etc.

8. **Philippi**, the father of Alexander the Great. He invaded Laconia in B.C. 337, after Chaeronea; see Strab. 8. 4, 8, 361; Grote, Hist. ch. 90 (vol. xi. p. 704).

9. **C. Caesaris**, the dictator.

10. **Herculis posteros**, Temenus, Kresphontes, and the sons of Aristodemus: see Grote, Part i. ch. 18 (vol. ii. p. 6).

11. **regi Denthaliatem.** The MS. has 'recident heliatem,' with 'a' over the first 'e' of the last word. Lips. hence restored 'regi Dentheliatem.' Halm follows Nipp. in reading it as above, from the form in Steph. Byz. (p. 225, Mein.) Δενθάλιοι (vv. ll. Δελθάννοι, Δελθάνιοι) πόλις μία τῶν περιμαχήτων Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις. For its situation, see the map noted above.

12. **cessisse**, sc. 'dicebant;' supplied from 'protulere.'

13. **saxis et aere.** On such extensions of the local abl., see Introd. v. § 25.

**vatum annalium.** The insertion of 'que,' or 'aut' has been proposed (see Halm, Comm. Crit.); but the asyndeton suits the rhetorical character of the passage, and might be used to emphasize 'annalium' (cp. Introd. v. § 65), or somewhat contemptuously, to dismiss all such

lium ad testimonia vocentur, plures sibi ac locupletiores esse; neque Philippum potentia sed ex vero statuisse: idem regis Antigoni, idem imperatoris Mummii iudicium; sic Milesios permisso publice arbitrio, postremo Atidium Geminum praetorem Achaiae decrevisse. ita secundum Messenios datum. et Segestani aedem Veneris montem apud Erycum, vetustate dilapsam, restaurari postulavere, nota memorantes de origine eius et laeta Tiberio. suscepit curam libens ut consanguineus. tunc

evidence as trivial (Pfitzner, p. 107). A long list of enumerative asyndeta from Tacitus is given here by Nipp.

1. **vocentur**, 'are challenged to;' like 'vocare in ius,' etc.

**locupletiores**, 'more trustworthy;' a frequent sense in Cic. with 'auctor' or 'testis.'

2. **potentia**, 'arbitrarily;' i.e. 'because he was master:' cp. 'qui vi et potestate non iure et legibus cognoscunt' (Dial. 19, 5); where the abl. appears to partake both of instrumental and causal character.

**ex vero**, 'from the truth of the case.'

3. **Antigoni**. Antigonus Doson occupied Sparta after the victory of Sellasia in B.C. 222 (Polyb. 2. 70); Mummius had arranged the affairs of Achaia after the fall of Corinth in 608, B.C. 146.

4. **permisso publice arbitrio**; rightly explained by Nipp. to mean 'the arbitration having been entrusted to their state' (cp. 'publice' c. 36, 2). Record of similar awards is often found; and this particular one was inscribed on the base of the statue of Nikè by Paeonios at Olympia, and is given and explained by Mr. Hicks (Manual of Greek Inscriptions, No. 200), to whom I am also indebted for its date as probably that of the consulship of Q. Calpurnius Piso (A. U. C. 619, B.C. 135). The awarding body was a panel of 600 dikasts; the majority (584 to 16) being such as to justify Mr. Hicks' inference that the case was clear, and that the subsequent counter-decision (see § 1) was probably an instance in which Antonius had traded on the memoranda of Caesar.

**Atidium Geminum**. Borghesi (v. 311) shows that, as the gens Atidia has no republican nobility, this person was probably praetorian proconsul (see on 1. 74, 1) at some time after 725, B.C. 29: see more fully in Nipp.'s note.

5. **secundum Messenios datum**, sc. 'iudicium' or 'ius templi;' the question mooted at the beginning of the chapter. Boundary stones in accordance with this award, and apparently belonging to this date, inscribed Ὅρος Λακεδαίμονι πρὸς Μεσσήνην, are still seen on the spot: see map above cited.

6. **Segestani . . . montem apud Erycum**. Segesta (the Greek Ἔγεστα) and the mountain of Eryx were both in the north-west corner of Sicily; the latter being identified with Monte S. Giuliano near Trapani (Drepanum), and the ruins of the former traceable north-west of Calatafimi, west of Alcamo. The city of Eryx on the slope of the mountain appears to have been deserted (Strab. 6. 2, 6, 272), probably ever since its destruction by Hamilcar Barca in the first Punic war (Diod. 23. 9; 24. 8), and we gather here that its territory had passed to the Segestans; but the temple on the summit had been of old (Thuc. 6. 46, 3), and continued to be, very famous; and the goddess had also under this title a temple in Rome. The form 'Erycus' is found in Cic. Verr. 2. 2, 8, 22; 47, 115.

**vetustate dilapsam**. The expression is used by Livy (4. 20, 7). Here the MS. has 'delapsam;' but this form appears plainly to be an error in 1. 16, 5; and, in the parallel passages H. 1. 68, 2; 86, 3, the MS. has 'di:' cp. also 'viam . . . vetustate dilapsam' Insc. Henzen 5119.

7. **de origine**. Both cities were inhabited by Elymi, who claimed a Trojan origin (Thuc. 6. 2, 3). Segesta (the Acesta of Verg. Aen. 5, 718) and the temple (Id. 759) boasted Aeneas as founder; the eponymus of Eryx was also called a son of the goddess (Id. 24 and 412); whence both are connected with the ancestry of the Iulii.

8. **suscepit curam**. According to Suetonius (Cl. 25) the actual work was carried out by Claudius, at the cost of the aerarium.

tractatae Massiliensium preces probatumque P. Rutilii exemplum; namque eum legibus pulsum civem sibi Zmyrnaei addiderant. quo iure Vulcatius Moschus exul in Massilienses receptus bona sua rei publicae eorum ut patriae reliquerat.

**44.** Obiere eo anno viri nobiles Cn. Lentulus et L. Domitius. Lentulo super consulatum et triumphalia de Getis gloriae fuerat bene tolerata paupertas, dein magnae opes innocenter partae et modeste habitae. Domitium decoravit pater civili bello maris potens, donec Antonii partibus, mox Caesaris misceretur. avus Pharsalica acie pro optumatibus ceciderat. ipse delectus cui minor Antonia, Octavia genita, in matrimonium daretur, post exercitu flumen Albim transcendit, longius penetrata Germania quam quisquam priorum, easque ob res insignia triumphi adeptus est. obiit et L. Antonius, multa claritudine generis, sed

1. **preces**, i.e. that the will of Volcatius Moschus might be allowed.

**P. Rutilii**: see 3. 66, 2: by 'legibus,' a judicial sentence is meant.

3. **quo iure**, taken with 'receptus.'

5. **Cn. Lentulus**: see 1. 27, 1, and note there. The date there given of his consulship is consistent with his being 'senectutis extremae' (c. 29, 1).

6. **de Getis**. This appears certainly to be intended in the MS. 'degetes.' The same people appear to have been known as Getae and Daci; Cotiso being called king of the former by Suetonius (Aug. 63), and of the latter by Horace (Od. 3. 8, 18), etc. Several petty wars against Dacians on the Danube are recorded in the time of Augustus (see Mon. Anc. v. 44, Gr. xvi. 11, and Mommsen there), and Florus (2, 28) mentions the name of a Lentulus in connection with one of them, which Mommsen thinks to have taken place in 759, A.D. 6. The correction of Lips., 'Gaetulis,' would identify this Lentulus with the elder Gaetulicus (see on c. 42, 3); who is thought to have lived to a later date, and to have been the 'Cossus' who, according to Seneca (Ep. 83, 13), succeeded L. Piso (6. 10, 3) as praefectus urbis.

7. **partae**: so Halm, Orelli, Nipp., etc., after Lips., from the MS. 'paratae.' That the former is the usual word for 'acquired,' appears from c. 51, 2; 66, 1; 1. 9, 2; 6. 18, 2; etc.

8. **pater**. On the family of the Domitii Ahenobarbi, see Suet. Ner. 1–5. This one, who is there called the best of the race, delivered up to Antonius in 714, B.C. 40, the republican fleet under his command, and thus procured the reversal of the condemnation which he had incurred by the 'lex Pedia;' and subsequently attained a consulship in 722, B.C. 32. He deserted to Caesar shortly before Actium, and died a few days afterwards.

9. **avus**, L. Domitius, cos. 700, B.C. 54; one of the most energetic and uncompromising opponents of Caesar: see Suet. Ner. 3, etc. He was slain in the pursuit after Pharsalia (Caes. B. C. 3. 99, 4).

10. **ipse**: see Suet. Ner. 4, 5. L. Domitius, Cn. f. L. n. Ahenobarbus, cos. 738, B.C. 16, was procos. of Africa in 742, B.C. 12 (Insc. Or. 3693, Henzen 5369), one of the 'Arvales' (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2023 a), and was honoured by a statue in the Acropolis of Athens (C. I. Att. iii. 1, 581). Suet. calls him haughty, cruel, and prodigal.

11. **minor Antonia**. Here, and in 12. 64, 4, Tacitus appears to confound the two sisters: see Introd. ix. note 20. Dio, in his mention of this marriage (48. 54, 4), confounds this Domitius with his father.

12. **Albim transcendit**. This took place in some year previous to his command in Lower Germany in 752, B.C. 2 (Dio. 55, 10 a, 2). He was then in command on the Danube, crossed the Elbe without opposition, and settled a band of Hermunduri in the territory of the Marcomani. He must therefore have crossed the upper Elbe, in Bohemia: see 2. 46, 5. Dräger notes that this verb is nowhere else used of crossing a river.

13. **quam quisquam priorum**, sc.

inprospera. nam patre eius Iulo Antonio ob adulterium Iuliae morte punito hunc admodum adulescentulum, sororis nepotem, seposuit Augustus in civitatem Massiliensem, ubi specie studiorum nomen exilii tegeretur. habitus tamen supremis honor, ossaque tumulo Octaviorum inlata per decretum senatus.

**45.** Isdem consulibus facinus atrox in citeriore Hispania admissum a quodam agresti nationis Termestinae. is praetorem provinciae L. Pisonem, pace incuriosum, ex inproviso in itinere adortus uno vulnere in mortem adfecit; ac pernicitate equi profugus, postquam saltuosos locos attigerat, dimisso equo per derupta et avia sequentis frustratus est. neque diu fefellit: nam prenso ductoque per proximos pagos equo, cuius foret cognitum. et repertus cum tormentis edere conscios adigeretur, voce magna sermone patrio frustra se interrogari clamitavit: adsisterent socii ac spectarent; nullam vim tantam doloris fore, ut veritatem eliceret. idemque cum postero ad quaestionem retraheretur, eo nisu proripuit se custodibus saxoque caput adflixit, ut statim

'penetraverat.' The construction is apparently sacrificed to brevity of expression: cp. 13. 19, 3. For a full discussion of it, see Joh. Müller, Beitr. sect. 3, pp. 51–53. Drusus had already reached, but not crossed, the Lower Elbe from the west (Dio, 55. 1, 2), and the fleet of Tiberius afterwards sailed up it (Vell. 2. 106); but in the time of Tacitus this 'flumen inclutum et notum olim, nunc tantum auditur' (G. 41, 2).

1. **Iulo Antonio**: see on 1. 10, 3. He had married Marcella, daughter of Octavia (Introd. ix. note 18).

3. **seposuit.** This word is often used of a mild or virtual exile by Tacitus (as H. 1. 13, 9, etc.), and Suetonius (Oth. 3, etc.).

**Massiliensem.** Strabo (4. 1, 6, 181) describes Massilia as a school of Hellenic culture, frequented not only by provincials, but also by Roman nobles, who often preferred it to Athens. Agricola, who was born near it, studied there (Agr. 4, 3).

**specie**: cp. 'specie secessus' 1. 4, 4.

5. **tumulo Octaviorum,** i.e. that of his grandmother's family; not the same as the tomb of the Caesars (1. 8, 6, etc.).

6. **citeriore Hispania,** Hispania Tarraconensis: see on c. 5, 2.

7. **Termestinae.** These people are mentioned in Liv. Epit. 54, and the name is found on coins. Τέρμες is mentioned in Ptol. 2. 6, 56 (cp. Pl. N. H. 3. 3, 4, 27), Τερμαντία in App. Hisp. 76. The name is still traced in a locality suitable to these notices, at the sources of the Douro near Osma, not far from the site of Numantia.

**praetorem,** properly 'legatum Augusti propraetore.'

8. **L. Pisonem.** Borghesi (v. 312) thinks this Piso probably a son of the 'praefectus urbis' (6. 10, 3) and the 'maior iuvenum' (cp. note on c. 62, 1) addressed by Horace (A. P. 366) some thirty-five years before this date: also that he may most probably have been cos. suff. in 760, A.D. 7. One of the name is also recorded as a 'duumvir' at Pola (C. I. L. 5. 1, 54).

9. **in mortem**: see Introd. v. § 60 b; also c. 62, 4.

10. **saltuosos locos,** repeated in 6. 34, 2. On the plural 'loci,' cp. 1. 61, 2.

11. **derupta et avia**: cp. 'avia ac derupta' 6. 21, 2.

13. **adigeretur,** with inf., cp. c. 29, 3.

16. **postero,** sc. 'die.' In the similar passage in 15. 57, 3, and in Caes. B. G. 7. 11, 5, 'dies' is in the context: cp. 'in posterum' c. 73, 7; and on other such ellipses, Introd. v. § 80.

17. **proripuit.** This verb appears only here to take the construction of 'eripere.'

exanimaretur. sed Piso Termestinorum dolo caesus habetur; quippe pecunias e publico interceptas acrius quam ut tolerarent barbari cogebat.

**46.** Lentulo Gaetulico C. Calvisio consulibus decreta triumphi insignia Poppaeo Sabino contusis Thraecum gentibus, qui montium editis sine cultu atque eo ferocius agitabant. causa motus super hominum ingenium, quod pati dilectus et validissimum quemque militiae nostrae dare aspernabantur, ne regibus quidem parere nisi ex libidine soliti, aut si mitterent auxilia, suos ductores praeficere nec nisi adversum accolas belligerare. ac tum rumor incesserat fore ut disiecti aliisque nationibus permixti diversas in terras traherentur. sed antequam arma inciperent, misere legatos amicitiam obsequiumque memoraturos, et mansura haec, si nullo novo onere temptarentur: sin ut victis servitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et iuventutem et promptum

1. **habetur.** Nipp. notes that this verb in this sense is not often used with inf. or part.: cp. 12. 15, 2; also 'volentia plebi facturus habebatur' Sall. H. 4, 31 D, 56 K, 33 G.

2. **quippe**: so Halm, after Bezzenb. for the MS. 'qui.' Orell. and Nipp. read 'quia,' after Pich.

**e publico**, sc. 'Termestinorum;' frauds of its citizens or magistrates on their own community: for intervention of Roman magistrates in such cases, see note on 2. 54, 2.

4. **Lentulo . . . Calvisio.** On the former, see c. 42, 3. C. Calvisius Sabinus is mentioned again in 6. 9, 5; also as legatus of Pannonia under Gaius, when he was accused and committed suicide (Dio, 59. 18, 4; cp. H. 1. 48, 4). His father C. Calvisius C. f. Sabinus was consul in 750, B.C. 4 (C. I. L. i. p. 548).

5. **Poppaeo Sabino**: see 1. 80, 1, and note there.

**contusis**; cp. 12. 31, 3; H. 4. 28, 4, etc.: a poetical expression (Verg., Hor., etc.), but used also by Cic., Sall., Liv.

**montium editis.** On the genitive, cp. Introd. v. § 32 b. Mount Haemus is specified in c. 51, 6. The tribes may probably be those which rose before (cp. 3. 38, 5).

6. **sine cultu**; so Halm and Orelli, after Bezzenb., for the MS. 'incultu,' corrected in the margin to 'inculti,' which is read by the old editors. Nipp. retains the original MS. text, taking it as a modal abl., like 'catervis' (c. 51, 1). The word is found in Sall. and Liv., but so bare and harsh a construction as 'incultu agitare' is hardly justified by such uses as 'iniussu,' etc.; and 'incultu' could easily have arisen from 'sine cultu' by the absorption of 's' following 'editis,' and alteration of 'ine cultu' to 'incultu.' 'Cultus' is used of luxuries and refinements of life in 3. 30, 4; also in Caes. B. G. 1. 1, 3, etc. Another very probable correction, 'incultius,' is supported by the occurrence of 'incultius agitare' (or 'agere'), in this sense, twice in Sallust (Jug. 19, 6; 89, 7): see Bursian, Jahresberichte, iii. 786.

8. **militiae nostrae**, i.e. to the auxiliary forces. Many such bodies of Thracian troops are mentioned in Inscriptions: see Henzen, Index, pp. 137, 139. This passage shows that the dependent kingdoms had to furnish troops to the Roman armies, but that the obligation had been hitherto enforced in a modified form.

11. **disiecti**, 'broken up:' cp. 1. 32, 7; 3. 2, 5. That the auxiliary forces were liable to serve in any part of the empire, is abundantly shown by inscriptions and other evidence. Thus a Sygambrian cohort is employed here (c. 47, 5).

12. **diversas**: cp. 1. 17, 5, etc.

**arma inciperent**; a phrase formed on the analogy of 'bellum incipere.' On this use of 'arma,' cp. 3. 55, 1, etc.

13. **misere . . . memoraturos**: cp. 2. 58, 1.

libertati aut ad mortem animum. simul castella rupibus indita conlatosque illuc parentes et coniuges ostentabant bellumque impeditum arduum cruentum minitabantur.

**47**. At Sabinus, donec exercitus in unum conduceret, datis mitibus responsis, postquam Pomponius Labeo e Moesia cum legione, rex Rhoemetalces cum auxiliis popularium, qui fidem non mutaverant, venere, addita praesenti copia ad hostem pergit compositum iam per angustias saltuum. quidam audentius apertis in collibus visebantur, quos dux Romanus acie suggressus haud aegre pepulit, sanguine barbarorum modico ob propinqua suffugia. mox castris in loco communitis valida manu montem occupat, angustum et aequali dorso continuum usque ad proximum castellum, quod magna vis armata aut incondita tuebatur. simul in ferocissimos, qui ante vallum more gentis cum carminibus et tripudiis persultabant, mittit delectos sagittariorum. ii dum eminus grassabantur, crebra et inulta vulnera fecere: propius incedentes eruptione subita turbati sunt receptique subsidio Sugambrae cohortis, quam Romanus promptam ad pericula nec

1. **libertati aut ad mortem**: cp. Introd. v. § 88; also 'vim oppidanis ac in mercatores' 12. 55, 1.

**castella rupibus indita**; so 'inditam monti . . . urbem' (Flor. 1. 36): cp. 'tecta imposita rupibus' Liv. 21. 32, 7, 'arces Alpibus impositas' Hor. Od. 4. 14, 12.

3. **impeditum arduum cruentum.** The asyndeta form a rhetorical climax: cp. c. 43, 3, etc.

5. **Pomponius Labeo**: see 6. 29, 1. Dio (58. 24, 3) describes him as Μυσίας ὀκτὼ ἔτεσι μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἄρξας. The legati of Moesia were, as a rule, consulars; so that Labeo, though generally styled ordinary governor of Moesia, may have been subordinate to Sabinus: see note on 1. 80, 1; Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 147.

6. **Rhoemetalces**: see 2. 67, 4; 3. 38, 4; 4. 5, 5.

7. **praesenti copia.** Macedonia, though usually a senatorial province (see on 1. 76, 4), was evidently not wholly 'inermis.'

8. **compositum,** 'concentrated:' cp. 3. 74, 5, etc.

**audentius visebantur,** 'were more boldly showing themselves.'

9. **suggressus**: cp. 2. 12, 2.

11. **suffugia**: cp. 3. 74, 2.

**in loco,** 'where he was:' cp. 1. 63, 7.

**montem . . . angustum,** etc., 'a narrow summit, extending in an unbroken ridge:' so Caes. B. G. 7. 44, 3 'dorsum . . . prope aequum, sed . . . angustum.'

13. **armata aut incondita.** 'Aut' is apparently to be taken as in 1. 55, 2, etc.; for, although there is no strict antithesis, even the 'inconditi' being defenders (not the same as the 'imbelles' of c. 49, 3), and even the 'armati' being 'inconditi' (cp. 2. 12, 2, etc.); an intelligible contrast can still be drawn between forces organized after their own fashion, and a mere rabble who could only throw stones, etc. Nipp. reads 'at,' after Rhenanus.

14. **more gentis.** Thucydides (4. 126, 5) makes Brasidas thus describe the warfare of these or similar races: πλήθει ὄψεως δεινοὶ καὶ βοῆς μεγέθει ἀφόρητοι, ἥ τε διὰ κενῆς ἐπανάσεισις τῶν ὅπλων ἔχει τινὰ δήλωσιν ἀπειλῆς. So Livy (38. 17, 4) makes Manlius speak of the 'cantus ineuntium proelium, et ululatus et tripudia,' etc., characteristic of the Gauls.

15. **persultabant,** in Lucr. 1. 14, and in prose from Livy; often in Tacitus, as 11. 9, 1; H. 5. 15, 1, etc.

17. **recepti,** 'rescued,' 'enabled to withdraw.'

18. **Sugambrae**: see on 2. 26, 3. Sygambrian cohorts are mentioned in in-

minus cantuum et armorum tumultu trucem haud procul instruxerat.

**48.** Translata dehinc castra hostem propter, relictis apud priora munimenta Thraecibus, quos nobis adfuisse memoravi. iisque permissum vastare, urere, trahere praedas, dum populatio lucem intra sisteretur noctemque in castris tutam et vigilem capesserent. id primo servatum: mox versi in luxum et raptis opulenti omittere stationes, lascivia epularum aut somno et vino procumbere. igitur hostes incuria eorum conperta duo agmina parant, quorum altero populatores invaderentur, alii castra Romana adpugnarent, non spe capiendi, sed ut clamore, telis, suo quisque periculo intentus sonorem alterius proelii non acciperet. tenebrae insuper delectae augendam ad formidinem. sed qui vallum legionum temptabant, facile pelluntur; Thraecum auxilia repentino incursu territa, cum pars munitionibus adiacerent, plures extra palarentur, tanto infensius caesi, quanto perfugae et proditores ferre arma ad suum patriaeque servitium incusabantur.

**49.** Postera die Sabinus exercitum aequo loco ostendit, si barbari successu noctis alacres proelium auderent. et postquam castello aut coniunctis tumulis non degrediebantur, obsidium coepit per praesidia, quae opportune iam muniebat; dein fossam

scriptions (Henzen 6704, Wilm. 1270). Nipp. cites another, showing that, at the date 887, A. D. 134, one was still stationed in Moesia.

3. **hostem propter,** 'near the enemy:' 'propter' is thus used, with similar anastrophe, in 14. 9, 3; 15. 47, 3.

4. **Thraecibus,** those under Rhoemetalces (c. 47, 1).

6. **lucem intra sisteretur,** 'should be checked before nightfall:' cp. 'quem sisti . . posse speraverat' H. 2. 11, 5, etc.

**noctemque . . . . capesserent**; apparently a brevity of expression for 'noctu in castris se tutarentur vigiliasque capesserent. 'Capessere' is generally used of undertaking a duty, as c. 16, 6; 3. 29, 1, etc.; but is also generally read with 'otium' in 14. 3, 1.

8. **somno et vino procumbere.** The expression seems a reminiscence of Verg. Aen. 9, 236 'somno vinoque soluti;' but the ablatives here appear to be those of manner (see Introd. v. § 28), equivalent to 'somnolenti et vinolenti.' They may also be taken as causal, which explanation is perhaps best suited to 'lascivia epularum.'

10. **alii.** This, following 'altero,' is explained by Nipp. to mean 'others,' not 'the others;' the passage being so far an anacoluthon that 'altero' has strictly no correlative to it.

11. **adpugnarent**: cp. 2. 81, 1.

**clamore telis,** etc. Here 'clamore' and 'telis' may be taken, as causal ablatives, either with 'intentus' (as in 16. 8, 1) or with 'non acciperet.' 'Suo periculo' may be explained, with Nipp. and Dräger, as a dative depending on 'intentus' (cp. 5. 10, 3; H. 1. 79, 1; 2. 41, 1); but, by making it a similar ablative, and by taking them all with 'intentus,' the rhetorical climax of the asyndeta (cp. c. 46, 5) is rendered more forcible.

12. **sonorem**: cp. 1. 65, 1.

15. **adiacerent**; cp. 1. 65, 1, 'lying along,' instead of standing on guard.

16. **quanto . . . incusabantur**: cp. Introd. v. § 64, 2.

19. **si,** 'in case that:' cp. 1. 48, 1.

22. **praesidia,** 'fortified outposts.'

loricamque contexens quattuor milia passuum ambitu amplexus est; tum paulatim, ut aquam pabulumque eriperet, contrahere claustra artaque circumdare; et struebatur agger, unde saxa hastae ignes propinquum iam in hostem iacerentur. sed nihil aeque quam sitis fatigabat, cum ingens multitudo bellatorum inbellium uno reliquo fonte uterentur; simul equi armenta, ut mos barbaris, iuxta clausa, egestate pabuli exanimari; adiacere corpora hominum, quos vulnera, quos sitis peremerat; pollui cuncta sanie, odore, contactu.

**50.** Rebusque turbatis malum extremum discordia accessit, his deditionem, aliis mortem et mutuos inter se ictus parantibus; et erant qui non inultum exitium, sed eruptionem suaderent. neque ignobiles tantum his diversi sententiis, verum e ducibus Dinis, provectus senecta et longo usu vim atque clementiam Romanam edoctus, ponenda arma, unum adflictis id remedium disserebat, primusque se cum coniuge et liberis victori permisit: secuti aetate aut sexu inbecilli et quibus maior vitae quam gloriae cupido. at iuventus Tarsam inter et Turesim distrahebatur. utrique destinatum cum libertate occidere, sed Tarsa properum finem, abrumpendas pariter spes ac metus clamitans, dedit exemplum demisso in pectus ferro; nec defuere qui eodem modo oppeterent. Turesis sua cum manu noctem opperitur, haud nescio

These were ready to hand, and formed the supports of his line of circumvallation.

1. **loricam,** 'a breast-work;' cp. H. 4. 37, 4; sometimes spoken of as a protection added to the 'vallum' (Caes. B. G. 7. 72, 4; Curt. 9, 18, etc.); at other times as a slighter protection instead of regular entrenchments; which is the meaning here. 'Contexens' is used by zeugma with 'fossam.'

3. **agger**: see 2. 81, 2.

5. **aeque quam**: cp. 2. 52, 5.

**bellatorum inbellium.** This can be taken well as an asyndeton pointing a contrast, such as is frequent in rhetorical passages (cp. Introd. v. § 65). Some have thought the insertion of 'que' necessary; others, as Dräger, take the words as an oxymoron.

6. **simul equi.** The MS. has 'simuleque,' for which most edd. read as above, after Lipsius. Other suggestions are 'simul equae' (Walther); 'simul aeque' (Ber.), and 'simulque' (Orsini), which last is adopted by Nipp. and is perhaps best.

13. **neque ignobiles,** etc.: so Halm and Nipp., after Madvig (Adv. Crit. ii. 548). 'His sententiis' would thus refer to the two opinions held by the party of resistance, represented below by Tarsa and Turesis, and the 'ignobiles' are contrasted with 'e ducibus Dinis.' None of the explanations of the MS. text 'quamvis diversi sententiis' appear satisfactory, and those who retain it, as Orell., Ritt., mostly bracket the words as a gloss.

15. **edoctus,** with accus., as in 13. 47, 2; H. 2. 90, 2.

19. **properum finem.** The suggested corrections 'properandum' or 'properum per' (see Pfitzner, pp. 100, 149) appear needless and injurious to the force of the passage. The sense of such a verb as 'suadens' can easily be supplied from the gerundive and 'clamitans,' and such exclamatory sentences, expressive of the emotion of the speaker, are elsewhere used by Tacitus: see 1. 35, 2; 41, 2, etc.

21. **oppeterent**: cp. 2. 24, 3.

3 duce nostro; igitur firmatae stationes densioribus globis. et
ingruebat nox nimbo atrox, hostisque clamore turbido, modo per
vastum silentium, incertos obsessores effecerat, cum Sabinus
circumire, hortari ne ad ambigua sonitus aut simulationem quietis
casum insidiantibus aperirent, sed sua quisque munia servarent
immoti telisque non in falsum iactis.

1 **51.** Interea barbari catervis decurrentes nunc in vallum manu-
alia saxa, praeustas sudes, decisa robora iacere, nunc virgultis et
cratibus et corporibus exanimis complere fossas, quidam pontis
et scalas ante fabricati inferre propugnaculis eaque prensare,
2 detrahere et adversum resistentis comminus niti. miles contra
deturbare telis, pellere umbonibus, muralia pila, congestas lapi-
dum moles provolvere. his partae victoriae spes et, si cedant,
insignitius flagitium, illis extrema iam salus et adsistentes pleris-
3 que matres et coniuges earumque lamenta addunt animos. nox
aliis in audaciam, aliis ad formidinem opportuna; incerti ictus,
vulnera inprovisa; suorum atque hostium ignoratio et montis
anfractu repercussae velut a tergo voces adeo cuncta miscuerant,
4 ut quaedam munimenta Romani quasi perrupta omiserint. neque
tamen pervasere hostes nisi admodum pauci: ceteros, deiecto

1. **stationes**: cp. 1. 28, 5; perhaps here 'out-posts,' as in 6. 34, 1.

**globis**: cp. 2. 11, 4.

2. **modo.** Nipp. compares the similar omission of 'modo' in the first clause in 6. 32, 2, and the parallel abbreviations 'his, rursus illis,' 'hos, rursus illos' (H. 3. 22, 3; 83, 1).

3. **cum . . . circumire**: cp. 2. 31, 1.

4. **ad ambigua sonitus**, sc. 'animum intendentes.' The expression resembles those in which 'ad' has the force of 'in answer to,' or a similar meaning, as 'ad ea' (1. 26, 2, etc.), 'ad omnis nuntios' (H. 3. 56, 2), etc.

5. **casum . . . aperirent**, 'give an opportunity,' i.e. of escape; like 'locum aperire' 13. 37, 4, etc.

7. **catervis.** This modal abl. (see Introd. v. § 28) is frequently used in describing military formations: cp. H. 2. 42, 4; 3. 29, 3; 5. 16, 1. In Caes. 'cuneatim,' and in Sall. and Liv. 'catervatim,' are found.

**manualia saxa**: so 'manuales lapides' Sisenn. ap. Non. 449, 2; the χειροπληθεῖς λίθοι of Xen. An. 3. 3, 17, and (according to common derivation) the Homeric χερμάδια.

10. **propugnaculis**, 'turrets.' In this description throughout, Tacitus seems to imagine Roman works of a more substantial character than such as appear implied in c. 49, 2.

**prensare**: cp. the similar description in 1. 68, 2.

12. **muralia pila**: cp. Caes. B. G. 5. 40, 6; 7. 82, 1; apparently longer than the 'pila' used in line of battle. 'Provolvere' is used here by zeugma.

14. **insignitius**: cp. 3. 70, 4.

15. **matres et coniuges**: cp. c. 46, 5; the 'imbelles' of c. 49, 3.

16. **aliis . . . aliis.** The first are the barbarians, the second the Romans.

**in . . . ad**, interchanged, as in 1. 28, 7.

**incerti ictus**, 'the having to aim at random.'

18. **velut a tergo**, taken closely with 'voces;' 'cries seeming to come from the rear owing to the echo.'

20. **deiecto**: so Halm, after Orelli, for the MS. 'delecto,' supposing the error to be the same as in c. 25, 6; 2. 60, 2; and the reverse of that in c. 44, 3; 4, 48. The MS. has a dot under the 'c,' suggesting the correction 'deleto,' adopted by the old

promptissimo quoque aut saucio, adpetente iam luce trusere in summa castelli, ubi tandem coacta deditio. et proxima sponte incolarum recepta: reliquis, quo minus vi aut obsidio subigerentur, praematura montis Haemi et saeva hiems subvenit.

**52.** At Romae commota principis domo, ut series futuri in Agrippinam exitii inciperet, Claudia Pulchra sobrina eius postulatur accusante Domitio Afro. is recens praetura, modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere, crimen inpudicitiae, adulterum Furnium, veneficia in principem et devotiones obiectabat. Agrippina semper atrox, tum et periculo propinquae accensa, pergit ad Tiberium ac forte sacrificantem patri repperit. quo initio invidiae non eiusdem ait mactare divo Augusto victimas et posteros eius insectari. non in effigies mutas divinum spiritum transfusum: se imaginem veram, caelesti sanguine ortam, intellegere discrimen, suscipere sordes. frustra Pulchram praescribi,

edd. and by Nipp.; but that word is used rather of bodies of men than individuals (H. 2. 14, 6; 4. 18, 2; 79. 4).

2. **coacta**, 'was enforced:' cp. 13. 43, 4; 16. 19, 4.

**sponte**, with genit. in 2. 59, 3, etc.; with 'incolarum' again 13. 39, 7.

5. **commota** = 'concussa.' It had lost some of its stability by the death of Drusus, also by the intrigues already set in motion (c. 12, etc.) against Agrippina and her sons.

6. **sobrina eius.** On this relationship, see Introd. ix. note 18, and Borghesi (i. 417). Her father was cos. in 742, B.C. 12, and was son of App. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 716, B.C. 38). On her son, see c. 66, 1.

7. **Domitio Afro**: see c. 66, 1; Dial. 13, 3; 15, 3; Dio, 59. 19; Pl. Epp. 2. 14, 10, etc. Quintilian often refers to him, and considered him the best orator he had ever heard (10. 1, 118). His death is noticed in 14. 19, 1.

**recens praetura.** On the abl., cp. 1. 41, 5. He became consul in 792, A.D. 39 (Dio, 59. 20, 1), and was 'curator aquarum' from 802, A.D. 49, till his death (Frontin. de Aq. 102). He appears to have had sons in high rank under Domitian (see Insc. Orell. 773; Henzen, p. 75).

**modicus dignationis.** On the gen., cp. 2. 73, 3. As he had already been 'praetor,' 'dignatio' is here to be taken of his personal consideration or reputation, as in 6. 27, 2; H. 3. 80, 3, etc. It is seen from what follows that his fame as an orator had not yet been established.

8. **properus**, here alone with inf.: cp. Introd. v. § 47. For another Tacitean usage of this word, cp. 11. 26, 4, etc.

9. **devotiones**: cp. 2. 27, 2; 69, 5, etc.

10. **atrox**, perhaps here, like 'ferox,' in a good sense (cp. Hor. Od. 2. 1, 24). Tacitus however uses it generally in a bad sense, as in 12. 22, 1; 13. 13, 4, etc.

11. **sacrificantem patri**, as one of the 'sodales Augustales' (1. 54, 2).

12. **quo initio**, abl. abs.: cp. 'eo principio' 1. 16, 3.

**invidiae**: cp. c. 53, 1; 3. 67, 4.

13. **effigies mutas.** She is supposed to point to some statue before which sacrifice was being offered.

14. **se imaginem**: so Halm and Orelli, after Mur. The MS. has 'sed maginem,' with 'i' written above, whence the general reading 'sed imaginem;' but 'i' and 't' are constantly confused, hence 'se imaginem' may have been corrupted into 'setmaginem,' whence would come the MS. text above: see Halm, Comm. Crit.; Pfitzner, p. 43.

**intellegere**, etc., 'saw that the danger was her own, took to herself the suppliant's garb:' the latter expression is no doubt metaphorical. 'Sordes' is used of the general condition of an accused person (6. 8, 4; 12. 59, 3).

15. **praescribi**, 'is made the pretext:'

cui sola exitii causa sit quod Agrippinam stulte prorsus ad cultum delegerit, oblita Sosiae ob eadem adflictae. audita haec raram occulti pectoris vocem elicuere, correptamque Graeco versu admonuit non ideo laedi, quia non regnaret. Pulchra et Furnius damnantur. Afer primoribus oratorum additus, divulgato ingenio et secuta adseveratione Caesaris, qua suo iure disertum eum appellavit. mox capessendis accusationibus aut reos tutando prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit, nisi quod aetas extrema multum etiam eloquentiae dempsit, dum fessa mente retinet silentii inpatientiam.

**53**. At Agrippina pervicax irae et morbo corporis inplicata, cum viseret eam Caesar, profusis diu ac per silentium lacrimis, mox invidiam et preces orditur: subveniret solitudini, daret maritum; habilem adhuc iuventam sibi, neque aliud probis quam ex matrimonio solacium; esse in civitate *qui* . . . Germanici coniugem ac liberos eius recipere dignarentur. sed Caesar non ignarus, quantum ex se peteretur, ne tamen offensionis aut metus manifestus foret, sine responso quamquam instantem reliquit.

so used only here and in 11. 16, 7, but Caesar thus uses 'honesta praescriptio' (B. C. 3. 32, 4).

1. **ad cultum delegerit**, = 'colendam delegerit.'

2. **Sosiae**: see c. 19, 1.

**raram**, taken closely with 'occulti pectoris:' it was not his habit to speak out.

3. **correptam**, this appears to express the action described by Suetonius, who says (Tib. 53) 'manu apprehendit.'

**Graeco versu**. Suetonius (l. l.) appears to translate the line, 'si non dominaris, filiola, iniuriam te accipere existimas:' whence some have exercised their ingenuity in an attempt to restore the Greek original. Its sentiment seems suggested by the dictum of Jason of Pherae, πεινῆν ὅτε μὴ τυραννοῖ (Ar. Pol. 3. 4, 9).

5. **primoribus oratorum**: see above, § 1.

6. **suo iure disertum**, 'one who could claim the title of orator by right.' So Cicero (Arch. 8, 18) appears to quote Ennius as calling poets 'iure suo sancti.'

8. **nisi quod**. This qualifies the praise of his eloquence. He was less high-principled than eloquent, and even the latter gift at last forsook him. On 'nisi quod' cp. 1. 33, 6. Quintilian describes (12. 11, 3) this failing of Afer in old age, and records that it was said 'malle eum deficere quam desinere.'

11. **pervicax**, with genit. in H. 4. 5, 5; elsewhere, according to Dräger, only in Appul.: so used after the analogy of 'tenax' and many other words.

**inplicata**: so 'implicitus morbo' Lucr. 6, 1232; Caes. B. C. 3. 18, 1, etc.

13. **invidiam et preces**: cp. 3. 67, 4.

14. **habilem**, sc. 'matrimonio.' She must have been about thirty-nine or forty years old (Introd. ix. note 8).

**probis** = 'pudicis:' so used of women in Ter. Ad. 5. 8, 7; Sall. Cat. 25, 2, etc.

15. **esse in civitate**. 'Qui' and some other word or words have been lost, as the MS. shows a gap of about fourteen letters.

17. **ex se peteretur**: so Halm and Dräger, after Wurm, for the MS. 'ex re p. peteretur,' generally read as 'ex re-publica,' and explained as 'how important, viewed politically, was her request' (cp. c. 31, 5, etc.). Madvig suggests 'ea re peteretur.' The substantial meaning is the same in any case, that to give a new husband to the granddaughter of Augustus and mother of the natural heirs to the principate was a very grave matter.

18. **manifestus**, with gen. as in 2. 85, 3, etc.

id ego, a scriptoribus annalium non traditum, repperi in commentariis Agrippinae filiae, quae Neronis principis mater vitam suam et casus suorum posteris memoravit.

**54.** Ceterum Seianus maerentem et inprovidam altius perculit, immissis qui per speciem amicitiae monerent paratum ei venenum, vitandas soceri epulas. atque illa simulationum nescia, cum propter discumberet, non vultu aut sermone flecti, nullos attingere cibos, donec advertit Tiberius, forte an quia audiverat; idque quo acrius experiretur, poma, ut erant adposita, laudans nurui sua manu tradidit. aucta ex eo suspicio Agrippinae, et intacta ore servis tramisit. nec tamen Tiberii vox coram secuta, sed obversus ad matrem non mirum ait, si quid severius in eam statuisset, a qua veneficii insimularetur. inde rumor parari exitium, neque id imperatorem palam audere, secretum ad perpetrandum quaeri.

**55.** Sed Caesar quo famam averteret, adesse frequens senatui legatosque Asiae, ambigentes quanam in civitate templum

1. **scriptoribus annalium**, i.e. professed historians, such as he usually follows. Their works are here contrasted with a more private or family memoir.

**in commentariis Agrippinae filiae.** The only other express mention of these is in Plin. N. H. 7. 8, 6, 46 'Neronem . . . pedibus genitum scribit parens eius Agrippina.' On their probable indirect influence on the narrative of Tacitus, see Introd iii. p. 11. That the elder Agrippina was also a writer appears from Suet. Aug. 86.

**quae . . . memoravit.** The addition of these words seems to imply that the book was no longer well known in the time of Tacitus.

4. **inprovidam**, referring to her general character.

5. **immissis**: cp. c. 19, 1.

6. **soceri**, used of Tiberius as the adoptive father of her husband.

**nescia**: cp. 3. 1, 1.

7. **propter**, 'next to him.' The pronominal accusative is constantly omitted by Tacitus (Introd. v. § 8). On 'discumbere' as used of a single person, cp. 3. 14, 2.

**non vultu aut sermone flecti**, 'never changed expression or spoke;' abl. of respect, as 'sermone ac vultu intentus' 6. 50, 1. Nipp. gives several other instances in which these words are coupled. 'Flecti' is used by zeugma with 'sermone.'

8. **advertit**, 'noticed it:' cp. 6. 40, 1; 12. 51, 5, etc.

9. **quo acrius experiretur**, 'for a more testing experiment.' The sense is analogous to the frequent one of activity in research, etc.

**ut erant adposita**, 'as soon as they had been placed on the table,' i.e. before he or others had tasted them (Doed.).

11. **coram.** Nipp. takes this to mean 'personally addressed to her;' noting that 'coram' acquires the sense of 'personally' in c. 75, 1; 14. 13, 1; cp. 'testimonia . . . coram et praesentes dicere' Dial. 36, 5, 'si . . . coram potius, me praesente, dixissent' Cic. Leg. Agr. 3. 1, 1. The sense of 'openly' (cp. 6. 8, 8; 13. 25, 4) is also applicable in this, and in most of these passages.

12. **obversus ad matrem**, she is to be understood as placed on the other side of him.

**si quid severius statuisset.** Suetonius says (Tib. 53) that he never again invited Agrippina; and his words at this time may have expressed no more than this intention.

16. **famam**, the 'rumor' of c. 54, 4. He wished to seem wholly occupied in public business.

17. **ambigentes**, 'disputing:' cp. 3. 43, 4, etc.

2 statueretur, pluris per dies audivit. undecim urbes certabant,
pari ambitione, viribus diversae. neque multum distantia inter
se memorabant de vetustate generis, studio in populum Roma-
3 num per bella Persi et Aristonici aliorumque regum. verum
Hypaepeni Trallianique Laodicenis ac Magnetibus simul tramissi
4 ut parum validi; ne Ilienses quidem, cum parentem urbis Romae
5 Troiam referrent, nisi antiquitatis gloria pollebant. paulum
addubitatum, quod Halicarnasii mille et ducentos per annos nullo
motu terrae nutavisse sedes suas vivoque in saxo fundamenta
6 templi adseveraverant. Pergamenos (eo ipso nitebantur) aede

**templum**: see c. 15, 5.

4. **bella**: during the war with Perseus, 583–586, B.C. 171–168, these cities formed part of the dominion of Eumenes II., king of Pergamum, who assisted the Romans, though with some suspicion of duplicity. The gen. 'Persi,' formed from 'Perses,' like 'Achilli,' etc., is found also in Sall. (H. 1, 6 D, 7 K, 8 G). The war with Aristonicus, who claimed the kingdom of Pergamum after the death of Attalus, was in 623–625, B.C. 131–129 (Liv. Epit. 59; Vell. 2. 4, etc.). By 'aliorum regum' are meant Mithridates, Pharnaces, and the Parthians.

5. **Hypaepeni**. Hypaepa (τὰ Ὕπαιπα) was on the southern slope of Tmolus, whence its name (Steph. Byz.). It appears to have been still existing in the time of that author; its site and remains are identified by Leake (Asia Minor, p. 256) with a place called Beréki or Birghe.

**Tralliani**. Tralles, on the southern slope of Messogis, at the site of the present Aidin Guzelhissar, is very often mentioned in ancient authors, and generally noted as an important and wealthy city; but its condition at this time may have been still affected by the consequences of an earthquake, after which it had received bounty from Augustus (Strab. 12. 8, 18, 579).

**Laodicenis**. Laodiceia ad Lycum, on the borders of Phrygia and Caria, near the Lycus, a tributary of the Maeander, is also very often mentioned, and generally as an important commercial city (cp. 14. 27, 1): considerable ruins still exist at Eskihissar. It appears to have suffered a similar disaster to that of Tralles (Strab. l. l.).

**Magnetibus**, probably, as in 3. 62, 1, Magnesia on the Maeander is meant.

**simul**: cp. 3. 64, 3.

6. **parum validi**, sc. 'opibus;' not important enough to be selected for such prominence.

**Ilienses**: see note on 2. 54, 3. Here, as there, the name is restored from the context, the MS. having 'nellienses.'

8. **Halicarnasii**: so Halm and Nipp. with Plin. N. H. (several places). Orelli retains the MS. 'Alicarnasii,' the old editions generally read Halicarnassii. This once famous Carian city, on the site of Budrum, appears never to have completely recovered its destruction by Alexander (see Grote, Hist. vol. xii. pp. 127–133), and in later times to have retained celebrity only through its Mausoleum. An inscription, however, has been found there, dating as late as the time of Diocletian (C. I. L. iii. 1, 449).

**mille et ducentos per annos**, i.e. during their whole history: the number is a round one, reckoned from the supposed date of their foundation (see Nipp.'s note). They were a colony from Troezen (Hdt. 7. 99, 4), or, according to a later version (Mela, 1. 16, 85), from Argos.

9. **vivo in saxo**, 'in natural rock;' so as to avoid the necessity of laying concrete: this expression appears to be from Verg. Aen. 1, 167: cp. Ov. F. 5, 661. The chief buildings of the city were on a rocky hill (Newton, Trav. and Disc. ii. 205).

**fundamenta templi**, sc. 'fore:' cp. Introd. v. § 39 c.

10. **Pergamenos**: cp. c. 37, 4; 3. 63, 3.

**eo ipso nitebantur**, i.e. the fact by which they supported their claim was considered even to make against it. It was not thought well that two temples to Caesars should be in the same city. On the use of parentheses in Tacitus, see Introd. v. § 82.

**aede Augusto ibi sita**. The MS. has 'aedem . . . sitam,' which could be taken as part of the parenthesis and explanatory of 'eo ipso,' which Haase fur-

Augusto ibi sita satis adeptos creditum. Ephesii Milesiique, hi
Apollinis, illi Dianae caerimonia occupavisse civitates visi. ita
Sardianos inter Zmyrnaeosque deliberatum. Sardiani decretum 7
Etruriae recitavere ut consanguinei: nam Tyrrhenum Lydum-
que Atye rege genitos ob multitudinem divisisse gentem; Ly-
dum patriis in terris resedisse, Tyrrheno datum novas ut conderet
sedes; et ducum e nominibus indita vocabula illis per Asiam,
his in Italia; auctamque adhuc Lydorum opulentiam missis in
Graeciam populis, cui mox a Pelope nomen. simul literas 8
imperatorum et icta nobiscum foedera bello Macedonum uberta-
temque fluminum suorum, temperiem caeli ac dites circum terras
memorabant.

**56.** At Zmyrnaei repetita vetustate, seu Tantalus Iove ortus 1
illos, sive Theseus divina et ipse stirpe, sive una Amazonum con-

ther alters to 'quo ipso;' but most editors have followed Lips. in correcting the text as above.

1. **Ephesii Milesiique**: see 3. 61, 1; 63, 5. The temple of Caesar was not to be placed in a city where any other and more popular worship would eclipse it.

2. **caerimonia**, 'the rites' or 'worship:' so more commonly in plur. as 'incuria caerimoniarum . . . Augusti' c. 36, 2. For a different use of the singular, see 3. 61, 3, etc.

3. **Sardianos.** It is to be inferred that they had recovered from the disaster caused by the earthquake (2. 47, 3).

**Zmyrnaeos**: see 3. 63, 4.

**decretum Etruriae**, i.e. of the old league of the twelve cities (Liv. 5. 1, 8; 33, 9, etc.) before the Roman conquest of Etruria.

4. **Tyrrhenum Lydumque.** This legend is found first in Hdt. 1, 94; and, with some differences, in Dion. Hal. 1, 27; Strab. 5. 2, 2, 4, 219, 222.

5. **Atye**, according to Hdt. (l. l.) son of Manes; Strabo (l. l.) gives another form of the pedigree, and also mentions a version making him son of Heracles and Omphale.

7. **vocabula** = 'nomina:' cp. 1. 3, 7.

**per . . . in**: see Introd. v. § 62.

8. **adhuc**: cp. 1. 17, 5.

**in Graeciam.** It has been thought that Tacitus would have more correctly specified the part of Greece, and may have written 'in insulam,' for which 'in Graeciam' was perhaps originally a marginal gloss.

9. **a Pelope.** Pelops is a Phrygian in Hdt. (7. 8, 11, etc.) and others; a Lydian in Pindar (Ol. 1, 37, etc.) and Pausanias (5. 1, 6).

**literas**, 'documents,' from former Roman generals.

10. **bello Macedonum**, that with Perseus, mentioned above.

**ubertatem fluminum.** Strictly, the river of Sardes is the Pactolus, which had lost its fame in the time of Strabo; but the Hermus, and its other tributaries, are probably here included in the description.

11. **dites . . . terras.** Strabo (13. 4, 5, 626) speaks most strongly of the fertility of the Σαρδιανὸν πεδίον and of those adjoining it, the districts watered by the Hermus and Cayster.

13. **repetita vetustate**, 'having retraced their antiquity;' or rather that of the old deserted city (see on 3. 63, 4). It is observable that nothing is said of their Aeolic colonisation (Hdt. 1. 149, 1). Both Smyrna and Sardes had an ancient worship (3. 63, 4).

14. **Theseus.** An epigram (Anth. Pal. ii. 442) refers to such a belief—*εἴπερ Ἀθηναῖοι Σμύρναν ἀπῳκίσαμεν*. Theseus, according to some legends (Plut. Thes. 6; Diod. 4. 59; Paus. 1. 17, 3), was son not of Aegeus, but of Poseidon.

**una Amazonum**; an eponymous *Σμύρνα*, who, according to Strabo (14. 1, 4, 633), founded Smyrna, afterwards called Ephesus, from which Smyrna proper was a daughter city. Pliny (N. H. 5. 29, 31, 118) makes an Amazon the direct foundress of Smyrna.

didisset, transcendere ad ea quis maxime fidebant in populum Romanum officiis, missa navali copia non modo externa ad bella, sed quae in Italia tolerabantur; seque primos templum urbis Romae statuisse, M. Porcio consule, magnis quidem iam populi Romani rebus, nondum tamen ad summum elatis, stante adhuc Punica urbe et validis per Asiam regibus. simul L. Sullam testem adferebant, gravissimo in discrimine exercitus ob asperitatem hiemis et penuriam vestis, cum id Zmyrnam in contionem nuntiatum foret, omnes qui adstabant detraxisse corpori tegmina nostrisque legionibus misisse. ita rogati sententiam patres Zmyrnaeos praetulere. censuitque Vibius Marsus, ut M'. Lepido, cui ea provincia obvenerat, super numerum legaretur, qui templi curam susciperet. et quia Lepidus ipse deligere per modestiam abnuebat, Valerius Naso e praetoriis sorte missus est.

**57.** Inter quae diu meditato prolatoque saepius consilio tandem Caesar in Campaniam *abscessit*, specie dedicandi templa

1. **transcendere**, 'passed on:' so in Vell. 2. 130, 3, and Quint.

**ad ea quis . . . officiis.** Nipp. gives several instances in which the substantive, belonging to the demonstrative, is attracted to the relative (cp. Madv. § 319, obs.). It is here also to be noted that the sentence is not in meaning strictly equivalent to 'ea, quis maxime fidebant, officia,' (which would imply that some services to Rome were relied on rather than others); but 'officia' is rather to be understood as in apposition with 'ea:' 'what they most relied on, namely, their services,' etc.: cp. 'nec ulla . . . quam illa colluvies' 14. 15, 4.

2. **externa ad bella**; the war with Antiochus, 563–566, B.C. 191–188; in which their services are mentioned by Livy (37. 16, 1; 54, 1; 38. 39, 11) and Appian (Syr. 2, etc.).

3. **in Italia.** The Social war of 664–667, B.C. 90-87, must be meant.

4. **M. Porcio.** Cato the Censor was consul in 559, B.C. 195.

6. **validis . . . regibus**; e.g. before Antiochus had been weakened by the war above mentioned.

7. **gravissimo in discrimine**; in the first Mithridatic war, in 670, B.C. 84.

8. **in contionem nuntiatum**, a Greek constr. like *εἰσήγγελλον εἰς τὴν βουλήν* (Isoc. de Big. 6, 348).

9. **qui adstabant**: cp. Introd. v. § 49.

10. **ita**, 'on these grounds:' cp. c. 43, 6.

11. **Zmyrnaeos praetulere.** A Smyrnaean coin is extant, bearing on the obverse the figure of Tiberius in the centre of a temple, and the inscription *Σεβαστὸς Τιβέριος*, the reverse being inscribed *Σεβαστή* and *Σύνκλητος*: see Eckh. ii. 547.

**Vibius Marsus**: cp. 2. 74, 1.

**M'. Lepido**: cp. 3. 32, 2. His proconsulate is also attested by an inscription at Pergamum 'praef. fabr. M'. Lepidi procos.' (C. I. L. iii. 1, 398). That 'ea provincia' is Asia, is implied in 'Zmyrnaeos.'

12. **super numerum legaretur**, 'a supernumerary legate should be appointed:' cp. 2. 47, 5. According to Dio (53. 14, 7) the legati of a consular proconsul were three in number; but Nipp. notes that his statement that they were also consulars is not borne out by inscriptions.

15. **meditato**; passive, as in 3. 5, 6, etc.: not here apparently in the same sense as 'meditans' in 3. 31, 2.

16. **abscessit**: so Halm; Otto and Haase insert 'concessit' (cp. 3. 31, 2) before or after 'in Campaniam;' and other such corrections have been made by others. Nipp. and Orelli retain the MS. text, supplying the idea of a verb of motion from the sense (see Introd. v. § 38 b). The remedies are violent, but on the other hand the passages cited by Nipp. seem hardly parallel. Such omissions are suitable to epistolary style; or to rapid

apud Capuam Iovi, apud Nolam Augusto, sed certus procul urbe degere. causam abscessus quamquam secutus plurimos auctorum ad Seiani artes rettuli, quia tamen caede eius patrata sex postea annos pari secreto coniunxit, plerumque permoveor, num ad ipsum referri verius sit, saevitiam ac libidinem cum factis promeret, locis occultantem. erant qui crederent in senectute corporis quoque habitum pudori fuisse: quippe illi praegracilis et incurva proceritas, nudus capillo vertex, ulcerosa facies ac plerumque medicaminibus interstincta; et Rhodi secreto vitare coetus, recondere voluptates insuerat. traditur etiam matris inpotentia extrusum, quam dominationis sociam aspernabatur neque depellere poterat, cum dominationem ipsam donum eius

narrative, as in 14. 8, 4; Liv. 41. 3, 5; 44. 24, 1; in Cic. Acad. Pr. 1. 1 the verb can be supplied from a sentence above; in Sall. Jug. 100, 1 the soundness of the text is not unquestioned; in none of these instances is the idea of the verb, as here, the prominent thought of the whole passage; which is therefore more likely to have run here as in 3. 31, 2.

1. **apud Capuam Iovi.** This temple, placed on a Capitol at Capua resembling that of Rome, is called 'Capitolium' in Suet. Tib. 40.

**apud Nolam Augusto**, on the spot where Augustus had died (cp. 1. 9, 1); Dio says (56. 46, 3) *ἡ ἐν τῇ Νώλῃ οἰκία, ἐν ᾗ μετήλλαξεν, ἐτεμενίσθη.* In personally consecrating these, Tiberius probably acted as 'pontifex maximus:' see note on 2. 49, 2.

**certus**, this use with the inf. is poetical (Verg. Aen. 4, 564, etc.): see note on c. 34, 2.

2. **causam . . . rettuli**, 'I have referred the cause:' so in 6. 49, 2. The suggestions of Seianus have been mentioned in c. 41, 2. On the reasoning of Tacitus, see Introd. iv. p. 26; viii. p. 126. He appears here to overlook the probability that the original retirement may have been due to one cause, its continuance to another.

4. **coniunxit.** The expression is probably equivalent to 'sex annos continuos mansit in secreto' (Gerber and Greef, Lex.), and akin to 6. 26, 3, rather than to c. 33, 3. 'Secreto' could be taken as abl. of quality.

**plerumque permoveor**, 'I often hesitate.' Dräger notes a similar brachylogy in Cic. Clu. 37 'adducti sunt iudices ('were induced to believe') non modo potuisse,' etc.: cp. Att. 11. 16, 2.

7. **habitum**: cp. on 1. 10, 7. His personal appearance is described by Suetonius (Tib. 68) without reference to any particular time of life. His bearing is there recorded as stiff and erect; his countenance as liable to 'crebri et subiti tumores,' mentioned as a specific disease by Galen (*περὶ συνθέσεως φαρμ.* 5, 12). That his features were otherwise handsome and distinguished, is stated by Suetonius, and evidenced by his coins and other representations, especially the famous sitting statue in the Vatican (Mus. Chiar. 400).

9. **medicaminibus interstincta**, 'with patches of plaster:' cp. 'candore interstincto . . . coloribus' Pl. N. H. 37. 10, 54, 143.

**Rhodi**; depending on 'secreto.' On his retirement there, cp. Introd. viii. p. 114.

10. **recondere voluptates**, 'to conceal his self-indulgence.' On the assumption of fact here, see on 1. 4, 4.

**traditur.** On the constr., cp. Introd. v. § 45.

11. **inpotentia**: see 1. 4, 5. This reason for his retirement is also given by Suet. (Tib. 51) and Dio (57. 12), in both of whom stories of their quarrels may be found. The memoirs of Agrippina (see on c. 53, 3) were doubtless full of such material.

12. **depellere**, sc. 'a dominationis societate.' Dio (l. l.) says *καὶ τέλος τῶν μὲν δημοσίων παντάπασιν αὐτὴν ἀπήλλαξεν*; but it appears evident that her influence was paramount to the end of her life: cp. 5. 3, 1.

accepisset. nam dubitaverat Augustus Germanicum, sororis nepotem et cunctis laudatum, rei Romanae imponere, sed precibus uxoris evictus Tiberio Germanicum, sibi Tiberium adscivit. idque Augusta exprobrabat, reposcebat.

**58.** Profectio arto comitatu fuit: unus senator consulatu functus, Cocceius Nerva, cui legum peritia, eques Romanus praeter Seianum ex inlustribus Curtius Atticus, ceteri liberalibus studiis praediti, ferme Graeci, quorum sermonibus levaretur. ferebant periti caelestium iis motibus siderum excessisse Roma Tiberium, ut reditus illi negaretur. unde exitii causa multis fuit properum finem vitae coniectantibus vulgantibusque; neque enim tam incredibilem casum providebant, ut undecim per annos libens patria careret. mox patuit breve confinium artis et falsi,

1. **dubitaverat**, 'had thought about:' so Cic. (Att. 12. 49, 1) 'cum dubitet Curtius consulatum petere;' and Verg. (Aen. 9, 191) 'percipe porro, quid dubitem:' cp. 'cunctantem' c. 42, 1, etc.

3. **evictus**; often used in this sense by Tacitus (e.g. 12. 25, 3; 49, 2; 68, 2) apparently after Vergil (Aen. 4, 474, etc.).

4. **exprobrabat**, 'was taunting him with it:' so 'exprobrare beneficium' (13. 21, 9, etc.), 'officium' (Cic. de Am. 20, 71), etc.

**reposcebat**, 'was demanding its return:' so used of demanding account for a thing, 'reposcentibus prospera aut adversa' H. 3. 13, 6.

5. **arto comitatu**, abl. of quality. This scanty retinue still exemplified the classes of which the 'comitatus principis' was usually composed; namely, of 'amici' of the first and second grade, represented by the senator and the knights; and of a third rank of 'grati' (Suet. Tib. 46), 'convictores,' or *συμβιωταί*, who might be called 'amici' in a less strict sense. See Friedländer, Sitteng. i. pp. 119, 131. Lucilius Longus (c. 15, 2), Vescularius Flaccus (2. 28, 1; 6. 10, 2), and Thrasyllus (6. 20, 3) would represent the same classes even in the Rhodian retirement of Tiberius.

6. **Cocceius Nerva**: cp. 6. 26, 1. Borghesi (i. 434) shows him to have been cos. suff. in some year before 777, A.D. 24. From that year to his death he was 'curator aquarum' (Frontin. de Aq. 102). As a jurist he was the successor of Labeo, as was Masurius Sabinus of Capito (3. 75, 1). His grandson was the emperor Nerva.

7. **ex inlustribus**: cp. 2. 59, 4.

**Curtius Atticus**; afterwards put to death through Seianus (6. 10, 2). He is the Atticus addressed by Ovid (ex P. 2. 4; 7), who speaks of his taste as a literary critic.

8. **Graeci.** Suetonius (Tib. 56, 70) mentions his fondness for the society of 'convictores Graeculi,' especially 'grammatici;' with whom he would argue 'who was Hecuba's mother,' etc. Suetonius names Xeno and Seleucus, both of whom afterwards fell under the displeasure of Tiberius.

**levaretur**, 'he might find relaxation:' cp. 'levamentum' 3. 34, 4.

9. **periti caelestium**: see on 2. 27, 2.

**iis motibus siderum**, 'under such planetary conjunctions:' abl. abs.

13. **libens**, 'of his own choice:' cp. c. 12, 1.

**breve confinium artis et falsi.** The expression resembles that of Vell. 2. 124, 1 ('in arto salutis exitique . . . confinio'); where the idea is not so much that of the frontier line between things (as in G. 3, 3, etc.), as of their proximity to each other: cp. also Pl. Pan. 4 'virtutes nullo vitiorum confinio laederentur.' Tacitus says that the events showed how closely imposture borders upon science, and how truth is surrounded by mystery. That Tiberius would never return, was no mere guess ('haud forte dictum'), but a genuine prediction; but the stars only so far revealed the mystery: that he would die soon, was an impostor's inference from conjecture. On this sense of 'breve,' cp. 'angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur' Dial. 30, 5. On the astrological beliefs of Tacitus, see Introd. iv. p. 22.

veraque quam obscuris tegerentur. nam in urbem non regressurum haud forte dictum: ceterorum nescii egere, cum propinquo rure aut litore et saepe moenia urbis adsidens extremam senectam compleverit.

**59.** Ac forte illis diebus oblatum Caesari anceps periculum auxit vana rumoris praebuitque ipsi materiem cur amicitiae constantiaeque Seiani magis fideret. vescebantur in villa cui vocabulum Speluncae, mare Amunclanum inter *et* Fundanos montes, nativo in specu. eius os lapsis repente saxis obruit quosdam ministros: hinc metus in omnes et fuga eorum qui convivium celebrabant. Seianus genu vultuque et manibus super Caesarem suspensus opposuit sese incidentibus, atque habitu tali repertus est a militibus qui subsidio venerant. maior ex eo, et quamquam exitiosa suaderet, ut non sui anxius, cum fide audiebatur. adsimulabatque iudicis partes adversum Germanici stirpem, subditis qui accusatorum nomina sustinerent maximeque insectarentur Neronem proximum successioni et, quamquam modesta

**falsi** = 'fraudis,' as in 12. 26, 3.

2. **egere**, 'they lived on:' cp. 2. 73, 3; 3. 19, 2, etc.

3. **adsidens.** The accus. with this verb (as in 6. 43, 1) appears to be chiefly poetical (Verg. Aen. 11, 304; Val. Fl.; Sil.); but is also found in Sall. H. 4. 42 D, 1 K, 44 G; (see note on 3. 34, 2.) Stress is laid on his frequent proximity to the city as making the fulfilment of the genuine prediction more remarkable, and on his attainment of extreme old age, as signally falsifying the impostor's inference.

6. **vana rumoris** = 'vanum rumorem.' The idea that he was soon to die, gained strength from having been so near its fulfilment: cp. Suet. Tib. 39.

7. **cui vocabulum Speluncae.** Here, as in 15. 37, 8, the case is doubtful; but as the dative in this construction is elsewhere in Tacitus restricted to that of adjectives (cp. Introd. v. § 16), Nipp. rightly takes these as genitives, that case being certainly so used in 14. 50, 1; H. 4. 18, 6. The place is mentioned in Plin. N. H. 3. 5, 9, 59, and caves of great size by Strabo (5. 3, 6, 233); and the name is still preserved in the modern village Sperlonga, half-way between Terracina and Gaeta, where a cave showing traces of adaptation and decoration can still be seen (see Dict. of Geog.).

8. **Amunclanum.** This is the MS. form here, and the same (or 'Amynclae') is read in Plin. (l. l. etc.). In Pliny's time the town was deserted, having been, according to popular belief, 'a serpentibus deletae' (cp. Serv. on Verg. Aen. 10, 564); but with him also gives its name to the bay (14. 6, 8, 61). Its site was at or close to Sperlonga.

**et Fundanos.** The copula may have dropped out by resemblance to the end of the preceding word, and 'et' thus follows 'inter' in 6. 33, 5. The alternative correction 'Fundanosque' is supported by H. 2. 78, 5.

9. **quosdam ministros.** Suet. (Tib. 39) seems to exaggerate the loss of life, and says nothing of the action of Seianus.

10. **metus in omnes**: cp. c. 2, 1.

11. **genu vultuque et manibus**, i.e. protecting Tiberius with his body, on his hands and knees, and with his face to his. Nipp. thinks the use of 'vultu' instead of 'ore' designed to indicate that he had an expression of anxiety and devotion.

12. **habitu**, 'attitude:' cp. c. 57, 3, etc.

14. **sui anxius**: cp. 2. 75, 1.

**adsimulabat iudicis partes**, i.e. he was himself the real author of the charges, but set up nominal accusers, and himself affected a judicial or impartial attitude: cp. 'speciem iudicis induere' 15. 69, 1. 'Adsimulo' is often thus used in poetry, as in Verg. Aen. 10, 639.

iuventa, plerumque tamen quid in praesentiarum conduceret oblitum, dum a libertis et clientibus, apiscendae potentiae properis, exstimulatur ut erectum et fidentem animi ostenderet: velle id populum Romanum, cupere exercitus, neque ausurum contra Seianum, qui nunc patientiam senis et segnitiam iuvenis iuxta insultet.

**60.** Haec atque talia audienti nihil quidem pravae cogitationis, sed interdum voces procedebant contumaces et inconsultae, quas adpositi custodes exceptas auctasque cum deferrent neque Neroni defendere daretur, diversae insuper sollicitudinum formae oriebantur. nam alius occursum eius vitare, quidam salutatione reddita statim averti, plerique inceptum sermonem abrumpere, insistentibus contra inridentibusque qui Seiano fautores aderant. enimvero Tiberius torvus aut falsum renidens vultu: seu loqueretur seu taceret iuvenis, crimen ex silentio, ex voce. ne nox

1. **in praesentiarum.** This form, though found as early as Cato, appears to have but slowly made its way from common language into literature, and is most frequent in Appuleius. Petronius (c. 58, 70) has invented or taken up another form 'depraesentiarum.' Here the MS. has 'in praesentia rum,' whence Ritt. (1838) thought that Tacitus must have written 'in praesentia' (cp. Agr. 39, 3). Hand (Turs. iii. 235) doubts the genuineness of the word both in Cato and in Tacitus; but it may in the latter be an instance of his fondness for unusual words.

2. **apiscendae potentiae properis.** 'Properus' is used with 'irae' (11. 26, 4), 'vindictae' (14. 7, 2), 'oblatae occasionis' (12. 66, 2). It is perhaps best to take all as genitives of relation (cp. the genitives with 'praecipuus' and 'primus' in 6. 4, 1).

3. **ut . . . ostenderet.** Nipp. is here disposed to agree with Ritter in inserting 'se' or to read 'animum;' but the omission of the pronoun can be justified on the same ground as in 2. 71, 8; 83, 4, etc., namely, that the person intended cannot be mistaken.

4. **ausurum contra:** so 'audere adversus' H. 2. 71, 4; 'longius' H. 5. 11, 1. The idea of a verb in the inf. is implied in the expression.

6. **insultet.** The simple accus. is used with this verb in 11. 28, 1; also in Ter. Eun. 2. 2, 54; Sall. Inc. 83 D, 50 K, 1, 50 G.

7. **nihil . . . cogitationis,** sc. 'procedebat;' 'no treasonable thought was issuing from his lips.' This sense of 'procedere' appears elsewhere only in the Vulgate. Haase reads 'procidebant.'

9. **adpositi custodes:** cp. 'custodiae adpositus' 1. 6, 2; 2. 68, 3, 'inditi custodes' 3. 28, 4; and the similar use of 'additus' c. 67, 6, etc.

10. **daretur,** with inf. as in 3. 67, 2.

11. **salutatione reddita.** Two persons meeting are said 'mutuam salutem reddere' (Liv. 10. 18, 11): here the words may mean 'after returning Nero's salutation,' or 'after formal salutation made;' which latter Nipp. prefers, thinking it unlikely that Nero spoke first. Men paid him a bare act of courtesy, without stopping to converse.

13. **insistentibus,** etc., 'while any partisans of Seianus who were there stood their ground and made jests;' i.e. scornfully called his attention to the behaviour of his friends. 'Insistere' is used in the sense of 'standing still' or 'halting' (cp. 'ut non referat pedem insistet certe' Cic. Phil. 12. 3, 8); and is hence here in contrast to 'vitare' and 'averti.' 'Seiano' is taken closely with 'fautores.'

14. **enimvero:** see on 2. 64, 6.

**falsum renidens vultu,** 'wearing a false smile.' 'Renideo' is thus used by Catull. and Liv.; 'rideo' takes a similar adverbial adj. in Hor. Od. 1. 22, 23; 3. 27, 67.

**loqueretur . . . . taceret,** subjunct. of frequent action: so in Liv. 21. 36, 7 'seu manibus . . . seu genu se adiuvissent.'

quidem secura, cum uxor vigilias somnos suspiria matri Liviae atque illa Seiano patefaceret; qui fratrem quoque Neronis Drusum traxit in partes, spe obiecta principis loci, si priorem aetate et iam labefactum demovisset. atrox Drusi ingenium super cupidinem potentiae et solita fratribus odia accendebatur invidia, quod mater Agrippina promptior Neroni erat. neque tamen Seianus ita Drusum fovebat, ut non in eum quoque semina futuri exitii meditaretur, gnarus praeferocem et insidiis magis opportunum.

**61.** Fine anni excessere insignes viri Asinius Agrippa, claris maioribus quam vetustis vitaque non degener, et Q. Haterius, familia senatoria, eloquentiae, quoad vixit, celebratae: monimenta ingeni eius haud perinde retinentur. scilicet impetu magis quam cura vigebat; utque aliorum meditatio et labor in posterum valescit, sic Haterii canorum illud et profluens cum ipso simul extinctum est.

1. **uxor**, Julia (3. 29, 4). Nipp. notes that we are not given to suppose that her confidences to her mother Livia were otherwise than innocently made.

**vigilias somnos**, i.e. 'verba vigilantis aut somniantis.'

3. **in partes**, sc. 'suas:' cp. 'habebat in partibus Pallantem' 13. 2, 3.

**obiecta** = 'oblata:' so 'spes obiecta est' Liv. 6. 14, 12.

5. **solita fratribus odia.** Forms of this maxim reappear in 13. 17, 2; 15. 2, 2; H. 4. 70, 3.

6. **promptior**, 'inclined to favour.' The dat. with this word is generally that of the thing (cp. 1. 2, 1), the accus. with prep. (cp. 6. 48, 7; 13. 8, 3) being generally used when persons are spoken of; but the expression here resembles that in 2. 76, 1; 12. 1, 4.

8. **praeferocem**: cp. H. 4. 23, 4; 32, 3; also Liv. 5. 36, 1.

**opportunum**, 'liable:' cp. H. 3. 20, 2. The word is also so used in Liv. 6. 24, 3; and Pl. mai.

10. **Asinius Agrippa**: see on c. 34, 1.

**claris . . . . quam vetustis.** His grandfathers, Agrippa and Pollio, were both famous 'novi homines.' The novel use of two positives in such an expression appears due to the desire to avoid the juxtaposition of 'magis,' or a comparative, with 'maioribus' (Wölfflin, Philol. 25. 118).

11. **Q. Haterius**: see on 1. 13, 4. According to Jerome on Eus. Chron. (Op. viii. p. 567, Migne), he had lived nearly to his ninetieth year.

12. **familia senatoria.** His family connexions are not known, but a jurist of the name is alluded to by Cicero (ad Fam. 9. 18, 5), and we have mention of a Haterius proscribed by the triumvirs (App. B. C. 4. 29).

**eloquentiae . . . celebratae.** M. Seneca (Exc. Contr. B. 4, Praef. § 7) describes him as the only orator known to him who had introduced Greek fluency into Latin rhetoric; adding that his rapidity amounted to a defect, so that Augustus used to say that he needed a dragchain. L. Seneca (Ep. 40, 10) contrasts his vicious fluency with the deliberation of P. Vinicius.

**quoad**; in Tacitus only here and in 6. 51, 5; in both of which places the MS. has 'quaad,' here with a dot beneath and 'o' above the 'a.' Orelli retains the MS. text. The form 'quaad' is not without recognition in Latin, and may have been adopted by Tacitus as more unusual (cp. Introd. v. § 69).

**monimenta**, the memorials, or specimens, preserved: cp. 'monimenta ingeniorum' 15. 41, 2.

13. **haud perinde retinentur**, 'are not commensurately sustained in estimation.' For the use of 'perinde,' cp. 2. 63, 3; 88, 4, etc.

15. **valescit**: cp. 2. 39, 5.

**canorum et profluens**, 'modulation and fluency.' The words seem taken

**62.** M. Licinio L. Calpurnio consulibus ingentium bellorum cladem aequavit malum inprovisum: eius initium simul et finis exstitit. nam coepto apud Fidenam amphitheatro Atilius quidam libertini generis, quo spectaculum gladiatorum celebraret, neque fundamenta per solidum subdidit, neque firmis nexibus ligneam compagem superstruxit, ut qui non abundantia pecuniae nec municipali ambitione, sed in sordidam mercedem id negotium quaesivisset. adfluxere avidi talium, imperitante Tiberio procul voluptatibus habiti, virile ac muliebre secus, omnis aetas, ob pro-

from Cicero's description (de Or. 3. 7, 28) of the oratory of C. Carbo.

1. **M. Licinio L. Calpurnio.** From two inscriptions (Orell. 156, 3056) the full names, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, and L. Calpurnius Piso, can be supplied. The latter is supposed to be the Cn. Piso who had to take a new praenomen (see 3. 17, 8). The former also bears a cognomen of the 'Pisones,' and is shown by Nipp. to have been praetor in 777, A.D. 24, and probably to have been the younger of the sons of the 'praefectus urbis,' addressed by Horace in the Ars Poetica (see on c. 45, 1), who retained his cognomen after adoption by M. Licinius Crassus, cos. 740, B.C. 14. One of his sons was the Piso Licinianus adopted by Galba: see H. 1. 14, 1; 48, 1, etc. An Attic inscription (C. I. Att. iii. 1, 601, 602) in honour of Cn. Calpurnius L. f. Piso Frugi and Cn. Calpurnius Piso, appears to preserve the earlier name of each (see Nipp.): see also Mommsen (Eph. Epig. pp. 143–150).

2. **eius initium ... exstitit,** 'it began and ended in a moment.' Ritter thinks this a gloss inconsistent with the narrative, but it is obvious that the actual crash alone is spoken of.

3. **coepto,** probably best taken as dat. depending on 'subdidit.'

**Fidenam.** The name is generally plural, as in H. 3. 79, 3, but the singular form is found in Vergil (Aen. 6, 773), Pl. mai., and Sil., also Φιδήνη in Dion. Hal. (2. 53, etc.). It had become a mere village (Hor. Ep. 1. 11, 8), but had still municipal rank (Juv. 10, 100). It was five miles from Rome on the Via Salaria, on the site of the modern Castel Giubileo.

4. **libertini generis** = 'libertinus,' as in 2. 85, 5. It has been thought from Suet. Cl. 28 that such persons could not exhibit shows at Rome without special permission.

**celebraret.** Ern. and Orelli take this to mean 'frequentiorem redderet,' supposing that the structure was made slight so as to be larger in proportion to its cost; but the word has clearly the simple meaning of 'edere' in 11. 22, 3, 'censuit spectaculum gladiatorum . . . celebrandum.'

5. **per solidum,** 'through,' i.e. 'resting on firm ground:' apparently here a pregnant construction.

6. **abundantia,** probably a causal abl. like 'ambitione.'

7. **municipali ambitione,** 'from a desire to court his townsmen:' cp. 'senatorio ambitu' c. 2, 4, 'ambitio militaris' 3. 14, 1. The advertisements of such shows found at Pompeii are generally of this character, being almost all in the names of persons known as the principal inhabitants of the place: see C. I. L. iv. pp. 70, sqq.

**in sordidam mercedem,** 'with a view to paltry gain.' Halm, Orelli, and Nipp. so read, after Pich., on the analogy of 11. 6, 3; G. 24, 2; Agr. 19, 4. The MS. text 'in sordida mercede' might be taken, with Ritter, to express the general condition of the man. Such persons often exhibited gladiators (Juv. 3, 35; Mart. 3. 16, 59), and no doubt, in many cases, as a mere speculation. Marquardt (Staatsv. iii. p. 472) gives evidence (e. g. Henzen, Inscr. 7419 a) to show that even more *bonâ fide* donors often made profit by letting some of the seats.

8. **adfluxere**: cp. 2. 35, 3; 76, 1. It is implied in the context that they came chiefly from Rome.

**imperitante Tiberio,** etc. Suetonius (Tib. 47) states that he never himself gave 'spectacula,' and was very rarely present at those given by others: see notes on 1. 54, 3; 76, 6.

9. **virile ac muliebre secus.** In H. 5. 13, 3 this is clearly an acc. of descrip-

pinquitatem loci effusius; unde gravior pestis fuit, conferta mole, dein convulsa, dum ruit intus aut in exteriora effunditur inmensamque vim mortalium, spectaculo intentos aut qui circum adstabant, praeceps trahit atque operit. et illi quidem, quos principium stragis in mortem adflixerat, ut tali sorte, cruciatum effugere: miserandi magis quos abrupta parte corporis nondum vita deseruerat; qui per diem visu, per noctem ululatibus et gemitu coniuges aut liberos noscebant. iam ceteri fama exciti, hic fratrem, propinquum ille, alius parentes lamentari. etiam quorum diversa de causa amici aut necessarii aberant, pavere tamen; nequedum comperto quos illa vis perculisset, latior ex incerto metus.

**63.** Ut coepere dimoveri obruta, concursus ad exanimos complectentium, osculantium; et saepe certamen, si confusior facies, sed par forma aut aetas errorem adgnoscentibus fecerat. quinquaginta hominum milia eo casu debilitata vel obtrita sunt; cau-

tion, as also in all earlier instances: cp. 'concurrentium undique virile et muliebre secus' (Sall. H. 2. 23, 1 D, 29, 1 K, 54 G), 'in muro virile ac muliebre secus . . . multitudine omni conlocata' (Sisenn. ap. Non. p. 222 M), 'liberorum capitum virile secus ad decem millia capta' (Liv. 26. 47, 1), etc. It can also be so taken here, and the only instances of 'secus' as a nominative appear much later (e. g. Aus. Idyll. 11, 8); but the difficulty gives some support to the correction in the MS. 'virilis ac muliebris sexus.'

1. **gravior pestis**: cp. 2. 47, 1.

**conferta mole**, 'the building being closely packed:' cp. 'turba . . . conferta . . . templa' Liv. 45. 2, 7. 'Moles' is thus used by itself of a building in Hor. Od. 3. 29, 10.

2. **convulsa**, 'bursting asunder,' explained by 'dum . . . effunditur,' i. e. partly falling inwards, partly outwards; 'aut' being used as in 1. 55, 2, etc.

4. **praeceps**, adverbial, as in 6. 17, 4, and in Sen. Nat. Qu. 1. 15, 2 'ex his fulgoribus quaedam praeceps eunt.' Nipp. gives also instances from later writers. Elsewhere 'in praeceps' is used, as in c. 22, 1, etc.

5. **in mortem.** On the constr., cp. c. 45, 1, etc.

**ut tali sorte**, 'considering that their lot was such,' i.e. 'so far as might be in such a lot.' 'Ut' is thus used with a qualifying clause in G. 30, 2; Dial. 1, 2, also in Cic. (Brut. 26, 102, etc., Caes. B. G. 4. 3, 3), and very often in Liv. (e. g. 1. 3, 3). Ritt. inserts 'in,' but 'tali sorte' can be taken as abl. abs.

8. **noscebant**, 'were recognising:' on this sense of the word, cp. 1. 39, 8. They were unable to move, but conscious of the presence of friends in similar condition near them. Compare the description of Pliny (Epp. 6. 20, 14) in the narrative of the great eruption, 'alii parentes, alii liberos, alii coniuges vocibus requirebant, vocibus noscitabant.'

11. **vis**: so used of fire in 3. 72, 5.

**latior**, 'more widespread:' so used of fear in 12. 43, 1; H. 4. 33, 4; of glory in Pl. Epp. 4. 12, 7, etc.

13. **obruta.** This must evidently here mean 'the fallen materials' or 'debris,' but no other instance of such meaning appears to be given.

14. **confusior facies, sed par forma.** Halm and Nipp. here retain the MS. text: the old edd. and Orelli suppose 'sed' to be an error for 'et,' as in 2. 56, 1. With either reading the whole is to be taken together as subject of 'fecerat:' 'if, in spite of a face which baffled recognition, likeness of shape or age had deceived those who sought to identify them.'

16. **debilitata vel obtrita**, 'maimed or crushed to pieces.' Suet. (Tib. 40), who speaks of the killed alone, puts the number at 20,000.

tumque in posterum senatus consulto, ne quis gladiatorium munus ederet, cui minor quadringentorum milium res, neve amphitheatrum imponeretur nisi solo firmitatis spectatae. Atilius in exilium actus est. ceterum sub recentem cladem patuere procerum domus, fomenta et medici passim praebiti, fuitque urbs per illos dies quamquam maesta facie veterum institutis similis, qui magna post proelia saucios largitione et cura sustentabant.

**64**. Nondum ea clades exoleverat, cum ignis violentia urbem ultra solitum adfecit, deusto monte Caelio; feralemque annum ferebant et ominibus adversis susceptum principi consilium absentiae, qui mos vulgo, fortuita ad culpam trahentes, ni Caesar obviam isset tribuendo pecunias ex modo detrimenti. actaeque ei grates apud senatum ab inlustribus famaque apud populum, quia sine ambitione aut proximorum precibus ignotos etiam et ultro accitos munificentia iuverat. adduntur sententiae ut mons Caelius in posterum Augustus appellaretur, quando cunctis circum flagrantibus sola Tiberii effigies, sita in domo Iunii senatoris, inviolata mansisset. evenisse id olim Claudiae Quintae,

1. **ne quis**, etc. These rules would apply mainly to speculators, as those who gave such entertainments at their own expense could rarely have been men of less than equestrian means.

2. **minor quadringentorum**, etc. A similar genitive is 'maiores annorum quinque et triginta' (Suet. Aug. 38), and either would be abbreviations of such an expression as 'minor quam viginti quinque annorum natu' (Dig. 4. 4, 1). Dräger notes that later writers, as Appuleius, use the genitive of comparison just as in Greek, e.g. 'deus deum magnorum potior' Met. 11. 30, 816 (cp. Hildebrand on Met. 3. 11, 193).

4. **sub**, 'just after.'

5. **medici.** These were usually Greek slaves or freedmen, and thus belonged to particular houses.

6. **veterum institutis.** The original text has 'instituti,' with 's' added above, in the hand (as Ritt. thinks) of Beroaldus, which, however, all have followed. For the old custom, see Liv. 2. 47, 12; for the practice on distant service, see above on 1. 71, 5.

8. **Nondum . . . exoleverat**: so 'nondum is dolor exoleverat' 6. 25, 1.

9. **ultra solitum.** The constant occurrence of fires was the main cause for establishing the corps of vigiles in 759, A.D. 6 (Dio, 55. 26, 4). Another great fire is mentioned in 6. 45, 1. Several others are enumerated in Friedländer, i. p. 25, sqq.

**deusto**: so 'deusta parte Circi' 6. 45, 1. On these aoristic uses of participles, see Introd. v. § 54 b.

**feralem** = 'funestum:' so 'bellum . . . ferale' H. 5. 25, 5.

11. **trahentes**: cp. 3. 22, 6; 37, 2, etc.

**ni Caesar**, etc. This munificence is lauded by Velleius (2. 130, 2). Suetonius (Tib. 48), with much injustice, ignores the similar act in a later year (see 6. 45, 1), and makes him 'command' that the hill be called 'Augustus' in future.

13. **fama.** This appears contrasted to 'ab inlustribus,' as 'apud populum' to 'apud senatum.'

14. **sine ambitione**, etc., 'without respect of persons (cp. 'nulla ambitione' 1. 67, 4), 'and without the intercession of relatives.' The following words specify extreme cases of the above, 'even persons unknown and invited to apply.' Nipp. notes a similar stress on the last clause in 6. 7, 4 'in foro, in convivio, quaqua de re locuti.'

16. **Augustus appellaretur.** There appears to be no evidence that this was carried out.

18. **Claudiae Quintae.** Her name

eiusque statuam vim ignium bis elapsam maiores apud aedem matris deum consecravisse. sanctos acceptosque numinibus Claudios et augendam caerimoniam loco, in quo tantum in principem honorem di ostenderint.

**65.** Haud fuerit absurdum tradere montem eum antiquitus Querquetulanum cognomento fuisse, quod talis silvae frequens fecundusque erat, mox Caelium appellitatum a Caele Vibenna, qui dux gentis Etruscae cum auxilium portauisset, sedem eam acceperat a Tarquinio Prisco, seu quis alius regum dedit: nam scriptores in eo dissentiunt. cetera non ambigua sunt, magnas eas copias per plana etiam ac foro propinqua habitavisse, unde Tuscum vicum e vocabulo advenarum dictum.

would imply that she was a fifth daughter, but she seems to belong to a later generation than the five daughters of App. Claudius Caecus. Her statue was placed in the temple of the Mater Deum to commemorate the story told of her drawing the ship off a sandbank, when the goddess was brought to Rome in 550, B.C. 204. The ship appears to have been called 'Salvia,' and the juxta-position of the names 'Matri Deum et Navi Salviae' (see C. I. L. vi. 1, 492-4), which has been taken by some to imply a deification of Claudia under the title of 'Navisalvia,' may perhaps suggest an origin for the story.

1. **bis elapsam.** The temple in which it stood, dedicated in 563, B.C. 191 (Liv. 36. 36, 3), on the Palatine, had been burned in 643 and 756, B.C. 111, A.D. 3, and the flames are said on each occasion to have stopped short of the statue (Val. Max. 1. 8, 11). The sentence would more naturally have run 'statuam apud aedem . . . consecratam, vim ignium bis elapsam.' Borghesi (2, 183) notes that the statue is represented upon coins.

3. **caerimoniam**: cp. 3. 61, 3. The sanctity of the 'Caelius mons' would be increased by calling it 'Augustus.'

5. **Haud fuerit absurdum.** A similar antiquarian note is introduced, with almost the same words of apology, in 12. 24, 1.

6. **cognomento** = 'nomine:' see note on 1. 23, 6; 2. 6, 5, etc.; so also 'vocabulo' below (cp. 1. 23, 4). No other mention appears of this old name of the Caelian.

**frequens**, nowhere else with genitive, but here accommodated to the construction of 'fecundus' (Dräger).

7. **appellitatum.** This verb is found here only in Tacitus, who seems to take it from the speech of Claudius (col. i. 22), which his version of the story follows.

**Caele Vibenna.** Varro (L.L. 5, 46) and Dion. Hal. (2, 36) represent this person (with some differences of orthography) as an ally of Romulus against Tatius. In the speech of Claudius (col. i. 17, sqq.: see Appendix to B. xi.), Servius Tullius or Mastarna is spoken of as migrating from Etruria and settling on this hill, and naming it after Caelius Vivenna, his old captain in arms. Livy, who makes no mention of this legend, says that the Caelian was assigned by Tullus Hostilius to the people transported from Alba (1. 30, 1).

8. **portauisset.** The MS. has 'auxilium appellatum tauisset.' Halm follows Doed. in reading as above, 'appellatum' being supposed to be a mere repetition of the previous 'appellitatum,' and the apparent tense ending taken to be that of 'portavisset,' from 'auxilia portabant' (Sall. Cat. 6, 5). For several other proposed corrections, see Baiter, and Halm, Comm. Crit.

10. **scriptores dissentiunt.** The king who first included the Caelian mount is also made to have been Romulus (Varro, l. l.), Tullus Hostilius (Livy, l. l., and Dion. Hal. 3, 1), and Ancus Marcius (Cic. Rep. 2. 18; Strab. 5. 3, 7, 234); these writers also differ as to the circumstances under which this hill was added.

11. **eas**, i.e. 'Tuscas.'

12. **Tuscum vicum.** This locality is well known in Roman topography as that of a street extending from the Forum to

**66**. Sed ut studia procerum et largitio principis adversum casus solacium tulerant, ita accusatorum maior in dies et infestior vis sine levamento grassabatur: corripueratque Varum Quintilium, divitem et Caesari propinquum, Domitius Afer, Claudiae Pulchrae matris eius condemnator, nullo mirante quod diu egens et parto nuper praemio male usus plura ad flagitia accingeretur. P. Dolabellam socium delationis extitisse miraculo erat, quia claris maioribus et Varo conexus suam ipse nobilitatem, suum sanguinem perditum ibat. restitit tamen senatus et opperiendum imperatorem censuit, quod unum urguentium malorum suffugium in tempus erat.

**67**. At Caesar dedicatis per Campaniam templis, quamquam edicto monuisset ne quis quietem eius inrumperet, concursusque oppidanorum disposito milite prohiberentur, perosus tamen municipia et colonias omniaque in continenti sita, Capreas se in insulam abdidit, trium milium freto ab extremis Surrentini pro-

or through the Velabrum. The name is very variously explained. Livy (2. 14, 9) makes it occupied by fugitives from the army of Porsena, after his defeat at Aricia; Varro (l. l.) states that the Tuscans were brought down from the Caelian to a less strong position.

1. **studia procerum**, referring to c. 63, 3.

3. **Varum Quintilium**. M. Seneca (Contr. 3, 10) mentions him as having been twitted by Cestius (cp. 6. 7, 3) in a declamation with being son of the Varus slain in Germany. He is also there called 'Germanici gener et praetextatus;' but it is not known to what daughter of Germanicus he was betrothed.

4. **Caesari propinquum**. The relationship through his mother Claudia Pulchra (see c. 52, 1) would be but disstant; yet no other appears to be known.

**Domitius Afer**: see c. 52, 1.

5. **condemnator**, i.e. who had procured her condemnation (cp. 'damnasset' 3. 36, 3). The word occurs only here and in Tert. adv. Marc. 2, 9.

6. **praemio**, the accuser's usual reward: cp. c. 20, 3.

7. **Publium Dolabellam**: see on 3. 47, 4. His relationship to Varus has not been traced.

8. **claris maioribus**, abl. of quality.

9. **perditum ibat**; a phrase taken from Plaut. (Aul. 4. 10, 10, etc.), Sall. (Cat. 36, 4, etc.), and others. Tacitus uses other similar constructions, as 'raptum,' 'ultum ire' (c. 1, 2; 73, 6, etc.).

11. **in tempus**, 'temporarily:' cp. 6. 11, 1. For slightly different uses of the phrase, cp. 1. 1, 1, etc.

12. **dedicatis . . . templis**: cp. c. 57, 1. On the force of 'per,' see Introd. v. § 62.

13. **eius**. According to classical usage 'suam' would have been expected (cp. 'edicto vetuit ne quis se praeter Apellem pingeret' Hor. Ep. 2. 1, 239): Nipp. compares 'ut eum . . . sisterent orabat' H. 2. 9, 2.

**inrumperet**, 'break in upon:' see note on 2. 11, 4. In H. 5. 22, 5 Tacitus has 'ne quietem eius turbarent,' and it has been thought that this or 'interrumperet' (Ritt., after Her.) should be read here. It is not impossible, as Pfitzner (p. 64) suggests, that the words are quoted from the edict: nor, if they are those of Tacitus, are they unsupported by parallels (cp. H. 1. 82, 1; 4. 50, 2).

14. **municipia et colonias**: see 1. 79, 1.

15. **Capreas . . . in insulam**: cp. 'Hiberos ad patrium regnum' 12. 51, 4, 'Geldubam in castra' H. 4. 32, 2. Tacitus correctly gives the distance of Capri from the nearest point of land; Pliny states it at eight miles from Surrentum itself, and estimates the circumference of the island at eleven miles. Augustus had made it his property in 725, B.C. 29 (Strab. 5. 4, 8, 248; Dio, 52. 43, 2; Suet. Aug. 92) by giving to the community of

munturii diiunctam. solitudinem eius placuisse maxime crediderim, quoniam inportuosum circa mare et vix modicis navigiis pauca subsidia; neque adpulerit quisquam nisi gnaro custode. caeli temperies hieme mitis obiectu montis, quo saeva ventorum arcentur; aestas in favonium obversa et aperto circum pelago peramoena; prospectabatque pulcherrimum sinum, antequam Vesuvius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret. Graecos ea tenuisse Capreasque Telebois habitatas fama tradit. sed tum

Neapolis in exchange the more important island Aenaria (Ischia), and had taken a fancy to it and erected a villa, where he spent some days shortly before his death (Suet. 98). For further account of its topography, see Mr. Bunbury (in Dict. of Geog.), and a description in Bentley's Misc. vol. xxxiv. (1853), p. 588, foll.

2. **inportuosum . . . mare,** apparently from Sall. Jug. 17, 5; used also of 'litora' (Liv. 10. 2, 4), 'litus' (Pl. Epp. 6. 31, 17), 'insula' (Pl. N. H. 4. 12, 23, 73).

3. **subsidia,** 'places of refuge:' cp. 2. 63, 1; 3. 36, 2; 60, 2, etc. Two small coves exist on the north and south, on either side of the modern town of Capri, which lies in the depression between the eastern and western precipices. The southern, or 'piccola marina,' shows traces of having been the ancient port.

**adpulerit,** potential subjunctive.

**nisi gnaro custode,** 'without knowledge of the sentinel.' The point of outlook would probably be on the eastern precipice, facing the mainland, where the remains of the Pharos, mentioned by Suet. (Tib. 74) and Statius (Silv. 4. 5, 100), still exist.

4. **obiectu montis:** cp. 'obiectu laterum' (Verg. Aen. 1, 160). The mountains in the island can hardly be said to shelter it, and their principal elevation is at the west; so that the mainland range terminating in the promontory of Minerva appears to be meant, which keeps off the wind in the most inclement quarters.

5. **aestas in favonium obversa,** etc. The meaning is clear, but the expression harsh from its brevity: 'its summer climate, as it faces the west and has open sea around, is lovely.' Favonius denotes the westerly wind beginning to blow early in February (Plin. H. N. 2. 47, 119, 122, etc.). The high position of Ana Capri, towering above the depression in which the town lies, occupies the western portion, with the highest point (Monte Solar) immediately above it.

6. **peramoena,** ἅπ. εἰρ.: see Introd. v. § 69, 3.

**pulcherrimum sinum:** cp. 'beatos Campaniae sinus' H. 3. 66, 3. The district round Vesuvius was renowned before the eruption for fertility as well as beauty: cp. Verg. G. 2, 224 'talem dives arat Capua et vicina Vesevo ora iugo.' Strabo, however (5. 4, 8, 247), noticed traces of its former volcanic action.

**antequam Vesuvius . . . verteret,** 'before the fires of Vesuvius began to ruin the landscape.' Mr. Dallin rightly points out that the tense appears to allude to continued volcanic activity after the great eruption of 832, A.D. 79. Such is distinctly attested by Statius (Sylv. 4. 4, 80) 'aemula Trinacriis volvens incendia flammis,' and (85) 'necdum letale minari cessat apex;' though no great eruption is again recorded till 900, A.D. 203 (Dio, 76. 2, 1).

7. **Graecos ea tenuisse,** 'that Greeks had possessed those spots:' cp. 'Evandrum qui . . . tenuerit loca' Liv. 1. 5, 1, 'tenuisse . . . Lirim' Hor. Od. 3. 17, 8. Nipp., less well, takes it to mean 'these qualities (i. e. the situation and climate) captivated the Greeks.' Tacitus is hardly here speaking of the Greek settlements in South Italy as a whole, which were too well known to need mention, but of the old dwellers in Capri and its immediate neighbourhood.

8. **Telebois,** identified by Strabo (10. 2, 20, 459) with the Homeric Taphians of the islands off the coast of Acarnania: cp. Plin. N. H. 4. 12, 19, 53. The name is found as early as Hes. (Sc. 19), also in Hdt. 5. 59, 2. Their tenure of Capri is alluded to by Vergil (Aen. 7, 735), who perhaps mentions the island out of compliment to Augustus.

**sed tum . . . insederat.** This is generally taken to mean that Tiberius 'had settled upon (or wholly occupied), the island with the titles and buildings of twelve villas:' the verb takes an accus,

Tiberius duodecim villarum nominibus et molibus insederat, quanto intentus olim publicas ad curas, tanto occultiores in luxus et malum otium resolutus. manebat quippe suspicionum et credendi temeritas, quam Seianus augere etiam in urbe suetus acrius turbabat non iam occultis adversum Agrippinam et
3 Neronem insidiis. quis additus miles nuntios, introitus, aperta secreta velut in annales referebat, ultroque struebantur qui monerent perfugere ad Germaniae exercitus vel celeberrimo fori effigiem divi Augusti amplecti populumque ac senatum auxilio vocare. eaque spreta ab illis, velut pararent, obiciebantur.

1 **68.** Iunio Silano et Silio Nerva consulibus foedum anni principium incessit tracto in carcerem inlustri equite Romano, Titio

in 2. 16, 4; H. 3. 69, 4; 4. 73, 4, etc. We know of one villa called 'villa Iovis' (Suet. Tib. 65), apparently the stronghold or 'arx Tiberii' of Plin. N. H. 3. 6, 12, 82, near the Pharos on the eastern height: from its name Lips. infers that all the twelve were named after the greater gods; but the great improbability, that a person described as 'antiquae parsimoniae' (3. 52, 2) and 'modicus privatis aedificationibus' (6. 45, 2), should have erected or even occupied twelve distinct villas in one small island, lends some colour to Bötticher's ingenious interpretation, that he 'had taken up his position on the names and ruins of twelve villas,' i. e. those of former owners, now absorbed into his own grounds. That he had, however, more than one residence there would appear from remains now traceable; the principal, besides the 'arx' above mentioned, being apparently a marine villa in a secluded nook beneath a precipice.

2. **occultiores**: so Halm, after Weissenb., for the MS. 'occultior' (which might be defended from c. 12, 1, etc.): others follow J. F. Gron. in taking the comparative as an error arising out of 'tanto,' and reading 'occultos' (with the common ellipse of 'magis'). 'Solutus in luxum' occurs in H. 2. 99, 3 (cp. H. 3. 38, 3), and it is perhaps possible (see Wölffl. Phil. 27. 147) that 'resolutus' here points to the former demoralisation at Rhodes.

3. **quippe**, explaining 'malum.'

4. **quam**, to be taken only with 'augere,' 'eum' being rather supplied as object of 'turbabat.'

5. **non iam occultis**, in contrast with his conduct as described in c. 59, 5.

6. **additus**: see on c. 60, 1; 6. 14, 3, also 'Teucris addita Iuno' (Verg. Aen. 6, 90).

**introitus**, 'visits paid to them.'

7. **struebantur**, 'people were instructed.' Such a verb is elsewhere used of persons rather in the form of zeugma, as 'crimina et accusatores struere' (11. 12, 1), or 'moliri' (12. 22, 1).

8. **celeberrimo fori**, probably 'tempore' is to be supplied, and the expression taken as equivalent to ἐν ἀγορᾷ πληθούσῃ, i.e. the latter part of the forenoon.

9. **effigiem . . . amplecti**. On this mode of claiming privilege of sanctuary, see note on 3. 36, 1.

10. **velut pararent, obiciebantur**, 'such measures, though rejected by them, were laid to their charge as if they were contemplating them.' It would appear, from Suet. Tib. 53, that these charges were brought against Agrippina at her condemnation.

11. **Iunio Silano et Silio Nerva.** The insertion of 'et,' not classically usual in this formula unless consuls are mentioned by one name only, may be intended here, and in 14. 29, 1, to separate names that begin with the same letter, but cannot always be so explained (cp. 15. 23, 1). The full names are App. Iunius Silanus, and P. Silius Nerva (I. R. N. 1943; Henzen 6135). The former (on whom see note on 3. 68, 3) had a narrow escape afterwards (6. 9, 5), and perished under Claudius (see on 11. 29, 1). His name occurs as flamen Arvalis (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2028 d). The other is probably the father of the cos. of 818, A.D. 65 (see 15. 48, 1).

12. **inlustri equite**: see on 2. 59, 4.

Sabino, ob amicitiam Germanici: neque enim omiserat coniugem liberosque eius percolere, sectator domi, comes in publico, post tot clientes unus eoque apud bonos laudatus et gravis iniquis. hunc Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, M. Opsius praetura functi adgrediuntur, cupidine consulatus, ad quem non nisi per Seianum aditus; neque Seiani voluntas nisi scelere quaerebatur. compositum inter ipsos ut Latiaris, qui modico usu Sabinum contingebat, strueret dolum, ceteri testes adessent, deinde accusationem inciperent. igitur Latiaris iacere fortuitos primum sermones, mox laudare constantiam, quod non, ut ceteri, florentis domus amicus adflictam deseruisset; simul honora de Germanico, Agrippinam miserans, disserebat. et postquam Sabinus, ut sunt molles in calamitate mortalium animi, effudit lacrimas, iunxit questus, audentius iam onerat Seianum, saevitiam, superbiam, spes eius. ne in Tiberium quidem convicio abstinet; iique sermones, tamquam vetita miscuissent, speciem artae amicitiae fecere. ac iam ultro Sabinus quaerere Latiarem, ventitare domum, dolores suos quasi ad fidissimum deferre.

**69.** Consultant quos memoravi, quonam modo ea plurium auditu acciperentur. nam loco in quem coibatur servanda solitudinis facies; et si pone fores adsisterent, metus visus, sonitus

**Titio Sabino.** His destruction is represented as resolved upon four years earlier, but postponed (see c. 18, 1; 19, 1); so that the matters related in this ch. and in c. 69 may have spread over a considerable part of the intervening time.

2. **percolere**: cp. H. 2. 82, 2; Agr. 10, 1; apparently adopted by Tacitus in this sense from Plaut. (Trin. 2. 2, 4).

4. **Porcius Cato**; probably the same who, in 791, A.D. 38, was 'curator aquarum' for one month only (according to Nipp.'s reading of Frontin. Aq. 102), having been at some previous time cos. suff., also legatus of Achaia (C. I. Att. iii. 1, 651): see further particulars in Nipp. on c. 71.

**Petilius Rufus**: so read generally, after Lips., for the MS. 'Petitius,' which is not known as a Roman name. Borghesi (see Nipp.) thinks this person probably the father or grandfather of Q. Petilius Rufus, cos. ii. in 836, A.D. 83 (C. I. G. 3173), and perhaps also father of Petilius Cerialis (14. 32, 6, etc.).

**M. Opsius.** Borghesi thinks him the M. Opsius Navius Annianus who is recorded in an inscription at Naples (C. I. G. 5793) to have been praetor, and to have filled various lower magistracies and offices.

7. **usu**, 'acquaintance,' as 2. 28, 1, etc.

11. **florentis . . . adflictam.** This contrast is repeated in c. 71, 7, and apparently taken from Cic. pro Quint. 30, 93 ('ab adflicta amicitia transfugere atque ad florentem aliam devolare').

**honora**: cp. 1. 10, 7.

14. **onerat.** This word seems to be only here thus used absolutely without such a word as 'contumeliis.' The return to the historical present marks the change of subject again to Latiaris.

16. **vetita miscuissent**, 'had exchanged confidences on forbidden subjects;' analogous to 'miscere consilia' (cp. H. 2. 7, 3, etc.).

19. **quos memoravi**, c. 68, 2.

20. **acciperentur** = 'audirentur,' as in 1. 67, 1, etc.

21. **metus . . . erat**: so Halm and Nipp., after Rhen., for the MS. 'erant;' 'visus' and 'sonitus' are genitives.

3 aut forte ortae suspicionis erat. tectum inter et laquearia tres senatores, haud minus turpi latebra quam detestanda fraude,
4 sese abstrudunt, foraminibus et rimis aurem admovent. interea Latiaris repertum in publico Sabinum, velut recens cognita narraturus, domum et in cubiculum trahit; praeteritaque et instantia, quorum adfatim copia, ac novos terrores cumulat. eadem ille et diutius, quanto maesta, ubi semel prorupere, difficilius reticentur.
5 properata inde accusatio, missisque ad Caesarem literis ordinem
6 fraudis suumque ipsi dedecus narravere. non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas, reticens adversum proximos; congressus, conloquia, notae ignotaeque aures vitari; etiam muta atque inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur.

1 **70.** Sed Caesar sollemnia incipientis anni kalendis Ianuariis epistula precatus, vertit in Sabinum, corruptos quosdam libertorum et petitum se arguens, ultionemque haud obscure poscebat.
2 nec mora quin decerneretur; et trahebatur damnatus, quantum obducta veste et adstrictis faucibus niti poterat, clamitans sic

1. **forte ortae**, i.e. of suspicion suggesting itself even without sight or hearing.

**tectum inter et laquearia**, 'between roof and ceiling.' Thus we hear of a person hidden 'inter cameram et tectum' (Val. Max. 6. 7, 2), ἐπὶ διπλῆς ὀροφῆς μεταξύ (App. B. C. 4, 44). The open work of the ceiling gives the 'foramina' mentioned below.

2. **latebra . . . fraude**, abl. abs.

5. **instantia**, 'the present:' cp. 'praeterita instantia futura' H. 3. 36, 1, and a similar distinction in Auct. ad Her. 2. 5, 8; Cic. de Or. 2. 25, 106; Tusc. 4. 6, 11.

6. **adfatim**, only here in Tacitus. It is used as an adj. in Plaut. Trin. 5. 3, 10 ('miseria una uni . . . est adfatim').

7. **diutius**, 'more fully:' so in 6. 27, 5; H. 1. 16, 9, and 'diu' in 6. 49, 2; 12. 6, 2; Dial. 11, 1; 25, 1.

10. **reticens**: so Halm after Weissenb. The MS. has 'egens,' which is generally either explained by supposing a loss of one or more words, or altered to 'tegens' (Lips.), 'et tegens' (F. W. Otto), or 'se tegens' (Vertran.), in the sense of 'guarding itself.'

13. **sollemnia . . . precatus.** On this day the new magistrates entered office, and vows were offered 'pro incolumitate reipublicae,' according to old republican custom; see Liv. 21. 63, 7; Ov. Fast. 1, 79, sqq.; also Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 255: cp. note on c. 17, 1.

14. **corruptos**, etc. We should naturally infer from the last two chapters that Sabinus was charged merely with language abusive of Tiberius. But these words imply some further charge, amounting to one of alleged treasonable action. Also, we should here gather that he was at once condemned without trial, as is also stated by Dio (58. 1, 3); but it would appear from Pliny (N. H. 8. 40, 61, 145) that an execution, and therefore probably an examination, of his slaves took place. The words of Pliny, 'cum animadverteretur ex causa Neronis Germanici fili in Titium Sabinum et servitia eius,' show that these proceedings, though correctly dated by him, are mixed up in his mind with the charges against Nero in the following year (cp. 5. 3, 2). It is possible that Nero may have been now implicated by name (see below, § 7), or that the treason of Sabinus may have been brought up again next year and laid to his charge.

16. **quantum . . . poterat**, qualifying 'clamitans.'

17. **obducta veste**, etc. He is dragged off to the dungeon, his face muffled in his toga, with the noose already round his neck, and bound hand and foot: cp. be-

inchoari annum, has Seiano victimas cadere. quo intendisset oculos, quo verba acciderent, fuga vastitas, deseri itinera fora. et quidam regrediebantur ostentabantque se rursum, id ipsum paventes quod timuissent. quem enim diem vacuum poena, ubi inter sacra et vota, quo tempore verbis etiam profanis abstineri mos esset, vincla et laqueus inducantur? non inprudentem Tiberium tantam invidiam adisse, set quaesitum meditatumque, ne quid impedire credatur quo minus novi magistratus, quo modo delubra et altaria, sic carcerem recludant. secutae insuper literae grates agentis, quod hominem infensum rei publicae punivissent, adiecto trepidam sibi vitam, suspectas inimicorum insidias, nullo nominatim conpellato; neque tamen dubitabatur in Neronem et Agrippinam intendi.

**71.** Ni mihi destinatum foret suum quaeque in annum referre, avebat animus antire statimque memorare exitus, quos Latinius atque Opsius ceterique flagitii eius repertores habuere, non modo postquam Gaius Caesar rerum potitus est, sed incolumi Tiberio,

low, 'vincla et laqueus.' The story in Dio (l. l.) of the dog of Sabinus clinging to his master's corpse, appears to be an inaccurate version of that of Pliny (l. l.).

1. **Seiano victimas**, alluding to the offerings on the new year: 'Seianus is our god, and this is the sacrifice to him.'

**quo intendisset.** On the subjunct. see Introd. v. § 52.

2. **acciderent**, 'reached the ear:' so 'unde clamor acciderat' H. 4. 29, 2.

3. **id ipsum**, etc., 'trembling at their very betrayal of fear.'

4. **quem enim**, supplying the thought that had led to the panic.

5. **verbis etiam.** The formula 'favete linguis' is well known: see the many passages illustrating this custom collected in Marquardt, Staatsv. iii. p. 170. The action of Marius in having caused a man to be thrown from the rock on the first day of the year is noted by Plutarch (Mar. 45, 432).

6. **non inprudentem.** The MS. text 'non prudentem,' though defended by Walther, who takes the sentence as a question, has been thus altered by almost all edd. after Rhenanus.

8. **ne quid**, etc. Nipp. takes these words as the subject to 'quaesitum meditatumque:' 'prearranged and studied was the demonstration that no scruple was to prevent the new magistrates from opening the prisons as solemnly as the temples and altars.' It is, however, perhaps better to supply from the sense some such words as 'facinus fuisse' (cp. 'meditatum scelus' 14. 1, 1): the prison is imagined as opened or inaugurated by the death of the first criminal, as by an act of sacrifice. It is to be noted that Suetonius (Tib. 61) generalises 'more suo' from this instance 'animadversum in quosdam ineunte anno novo.'

10. **infensum rei publicae.** The expression appears to be one of the phrases of Tiberius (cp. c. 19, 3) and to resemble the 'hostis publicus' of old phraseology (cp. Introd. vi. p. 83).

11. **trepidam**, 'full of anxiety;' so again in 14. 59, 2, and in such phrases as in 're trepida,' etc.

**suspectas**: cp. 3. 52, 1.

13. **intendi.** On this use of the accus. and inf., cp. Introd. v. § 44. It has been noted (see above) that Nero's name may have been mentioned in the trial.

14. **Ni . . . foret**, etc. Chronological order is rarely departed from in this work: see Introd. i. p. 5.

15. **avebat animus.** Dräger compares a similar use of the imperf. ind. in Cic. de Off. 2. 19, 67 'admonebat me res ut . . . deplorarem, ni vererer;' where, as here, what is spoken of was not merely on the point of occurring, but did and still does occur to the mind: cp. Madv. § 348 b.

17. **postquam Gaius Caesar**, etc. La-

qui scelerum ministros ut perverti ab aliis nolebat, ita plerumque satiatus et oblatis in eandem operam recentibus veteres et praegraves adflixit: verum has atque alias sontium poenas in tempore trademus. tum censuit Asinius Gallus, cuius liberorum Agrippina matertera erat, petendum a principe ut metus suos senatui fateretur amoverique sineret. nullam aeque Tiberius, ut rebatur, ex virtutibus suis quam dissimulationem diligebat: eo aegrius accepit recludi quae premeret. sed mitigavit Seianus, non Galli amore, verum ut cunctationes principis opperiretur, gnarus lentum in meditando, ubi prorupisset, tristibus dictis atrocia facta coniungere.

Per idem tempus Iulia mortem obiit, quam neptem Augustus convictam adulterii damnaverat, proieceratque in insulam Trimerum, haud procul Apulis litoribus. illic viginti annis exilium toleravit Augustae ope sustentata, quae florentes privignos cum

tiaris alone suffered under Tiberius (6. 4, 1). The date of Cato's condemnation may be inferred from the speedy end of his curatorship (see on c. 68, 2); respecting the others, all information is lost.

2. **praegraves**, 'burdensome:' so 11. 19, 6; 14. 3, 2; H. 1. 21, 2; 2. 66, 4; generally with a dative added. This sense of the word, as applied to persons, appears to be peculiar to Tacitus.

3. **adflixit.** Besides the case of Latiaris, others are mentioned in 6. 10, 2; 29, 4; 30, 1; 38, 2.

**in tempore**: so in 1. 58, 9; 6. 22, 6, etc.

5. **matertera**, i.e. as half-sister of their mother Vipsania (Introd. ix. note 27). The relationship is added to aggravate the baseness of his conduct.

6. **ut rebatur**, taken closely with 'virtutibus;' 'his good qualities, as he considered them.'

9. **opperiretur.** I have here departed from Halm, who retains the MS. text 'aperirentur,' and have followed the correction adopted by Orelli, Nipp., and most other editors, after Muretus and J. F. Gron. The verb would be used as in 2. 69, 4; 3. 45, 2, etc. Seianus desired to bide the time of the prince's hesitation, knowing that the result would be the more complete for the delay. Those who retain 'aperirentur' extract a somewhat similar meaning from a rather forced interpretation, 'that the prince's hesitation should be left to disclose itself,' i.e. to take its natural course in due time; or, 'that his hesitation should show itself to be hesitation only;' on the supposition that a peremptory rebuke of Gallus would have blinded the eyes of the senate as to the real mind of Tiberius respecting Agrippina and Nero. But this appears to make the following sentence less apposite.

10. **gnarus**, etc. On this trait in Tiberius, see 1. 7, 11, etc.

11. **coniungere**, i.e. made the act follow closely on the word.

12. **Iulia**: see Introd. ix. note 7.

13. **Trimerum**, one of the Diomedean group, off Apulia, north of Garganus. Strabo speaks of only one as inhabited (6. 3, 9, 284), which must be the Diomedia of Pliny (3. 26, 30, 151, etc.), the modern S. Domenico, in which the supposed tomb of Diomed was shown. 'Trimerum' may be a vernacular name, and should perhaps be written 'Tremetum' or 'Tremitum,' the modern name of the group being 'Isole di Tremiti.'

14. **viginti annis.** On the abl., see Introd. v. § 26. The date thus furnished makes her exile coincident with that of Ovid, which has been thought to be connected with it.

15. **Augustae ope.** On this view of her character, see Introd. viii. p. 127.

**privignos**; used by syllepsis of both sexes: cp. Introd. v. § 83.

per occultum subvertisset, misericordiam erga adflictos palam ostentabat.

**72.** Eodem anno Frisii, transrhenanus populus, pacem exuere, nostra magis avaritia quam obsequii inpatientes. tributum iis Drusus iusserat modicum pro angustia rerum, ut in usus militares coria boum penderent, non intenta cuiusquam cura quae firmitudo, quae mensura, donec Olennius e primipilaribus regendis Frisiis inpositus terga urorum delegit, quorum ad formam acciperentur. id aliis quoque nationibus arduum apud Germanos difficilius tolerabatur, quis ingentium beluarum feraces saltus, modica domi armenta sunt. ac primo boves ipsos, mox agros, postremo corpora coniugum aut liberorum servitio tradebant. hinc ira et questus, et postquam non subveniebatur, remedium ex bello. rapti qui tributo aderant milites et patibulo adfixi:

1. **per occultum**: cp. 5. 4, 4; 6. 7, 4; Introd. v. § 62.

3. **Frisii**: see on 1. 60, 3.

**pacem exuere.** On the metaphorical uses of this word in Tacitus, see on 1. 69, 2.

4. **tributum iis . . . iusserat.** Such a constr. of 'iubeo' with dat. pers., and accus., or subjunct., or infin., of the thing or act, is found in 13. 15, 3; 40, 3, also in Statius, Theb. 7, 32 ('pacemque iubebo omnibus'), etc.; Curt. 5. 6, 8, etc.: see other instances in Nipp. The construction is analogous to that of 'impero,' and akin to the earlier usage of 'iubeo' with the sense of 'appointing' or 'assigning,' as 'iubere aliquem regem,' etc. (Liv. 1. 22, 1, etc.), 'ei provinciam Numidiam . . . iussit' (Sall. Jug. 84, 1).

5. **Drusus**, the brother of Tiberius, who, in 742, B.C. 12, τοὺς Φρισίους ᾠκειώσατο, and was saved by them from a disaster (Dio, 54. 32, 2).

**angustia.** The sing. is found in Cic. N. D. 2. 7, 20 ('angustia orationis'); also in Pl. N. H. 14. 6, 8, 61 ('loci angustia'), and in the Vulgate. In Dial. 8, 3, Halm reads 'angustiae,' after Lips.

**ut . . . penderent.** For other cases of tribute paid in kind, besides the well-known instance of corn, see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 186. The hides would be for tents, shields, etc.

7. **e primipilaribus**: see on 2. 11, 2. Olennius may have had the equestrian position of a 'procurator fisci;' but such subordinate governors of minor districts are generally styled 'praefecti' (cp. H. 4. 14, 4; 55, 2). Several such are mentioned in Inscr.: see Henzen, Ind. p. 108, and especially two such recorded as 'primi pili,' 6938 (C. I. L. v. 1, 1838), 6939. The construction here taken by 'impositus' would be more usual with 'praefectus.'

8. **terga**, 'hides;' as in 15. 44, 6; H. 2. 88, 5; after Vergil (Aen. 1, 368) and Ovid: used also of anything made of leather, by Sall. (H. inc. 48 D, 14 K, 32 G), and poets.

**urorum.** Caesar, in a passage evidently founded on hearsay and mixed with fable (B. G. 6. 28), speaks of the 'urus' of the Hercynian forest as almost of the size of an elephant. Pliny also (N. H. 8. 15, 38) mentions the wild cattle of Germany 'iubatos bisontes, excellentique et vi et velocitate uros.' Vergil uses 'uri' of the Italian buffaloes (G. 2. 374; 3, 532), whose hides were more probably taken as the standard. In the context, 'ingentium beluarum feraces saltus' is thrown in by way of contrast, as if preceded by 'quamquam;' the real stress being laid on 'modica domi armenta.' The Frisii were far from the great forests, and domestic herds must in any case mainly supply a tribute; Germany being 'pecorum fecunda sed plerumque improcera' (G. 5, 1). Nipp.'s conjecture, 'taurorum,' hardly mends the difficulty, as it gives no definite standard of size.

12. **corpora . . . tradebant.** On this German custom, see G. 24, 4.

13. **subveniebatur**: so most modern edd. after Rhen. The MS. 'subveniebat' can have no subject but Olennius, who has not been recently mentioned.

14. **qui tributo aderant**: cp. 'cohortem quae . . . excubiis adest' 12. 69, 1.

Olennius infensos fuga praevenit, receptus castello, cui nomen Flevum; et haud spernenda illic civium sociorumque manus litora Oceani praesidebat.

**73.** Quod ubi L. Apronio inferioris Germaniae pro praetore cognitum, vexilla legionum e superiore provincia peditumque et equitum auxiliarium delectos accivit ac simul utrumque exercitum Rheno devectum Frisiis intulit, soluto iam castelli obsidio et ad sua tutanda digressis rebellibus. igitur proxima aestuaria aggeribus et pontibus traducendo graviori agmini firmat. atque interim repertis vadis alam Canninefatem et quod peditum Germanorum inter nostros merebat circumgredi terga hostium iubet, qui iam acie compositi pellunt turmas sociales equitesque legionum subsidio missos. tum tres leves cohortes ac rursum duae, dein tempore interiecto alarius eques inmissus: satis validi, si simul incubuissent, per intervallum adventantes neque constantiam addiderant turbatis et pavore fugientium auferebantur. Cethego Labeoni legato quintae legionis quod reliquum auxi-

In these cases the dative expressing purpose appears to be shortened from the gerundive (i.e. 'tributo exigendo'), and to follow its construction. Cp. Introd. v. § 22 b.

**patibulo**: cp. 1. 61, 6.

2. **Flevum.** This is also the name of a lake and island (Mela, 3. 2, 24), and of a mouth of the Rhine (Plin. N. H. 4. 15, 29, 101), apparently confounded with the canal of Drusus (2. 8, 1). The name appears in the modern Vlieland, but the geography otherwise is much altered by the present Zuydersee: cp. 1. 60, 3, etc.

3. **praesidebat,** with accus.: cp. 3. 39, 1.

4. **L. Apronio**; already mentioned as legatus of Germanicus (1. 56, 1, etc.), and as proconsul of Africa (3. 21, 1). He would appear to have succeeded C. Visellius Varro (3. 41, 3).

**pro praetore,** i. e. 'legato Augusti propraetore,' as in 2. 66, 1.

5. **vexilla,** probably 'detachments;' not specially 'veterani sub vexillo' (see on 1. 17, 4).

6. **utrumque,** i.e. his own force of Lower Germany, as well as the troops from the Upper province. To the former belong the 'legiones' mentioned, especially the fifth legion (cp. 1. 31, 3).

7. **castelli,** i. e. 'Flevi' (c. 72, 6).

8. **ad sua tutanda.** On the error into which Ptolemy appears to have been led by this expression, see Introd. ii. p. 9.

**digressis.** Halm and most other modern editors, except Nipp. and Dräger, here depart from the MS. 'degressis.' The passages in c. 74, 4, and 2. 69, 4, are hardly parallel; but in several instances the two verbs approach each other in meaning, and it is difficult to determine which should be read: see Pfitzner, p. 139; Gerber and Greef, Lex. s. v.

**aestuaria**: cp. 2. 8, 3.

9. **aggeribus,** 'causeways;' thus coupled with 'pontes' in 1. 61, 2.

10. **Canninefatem.** This people lived in the 'insula' of the Rhine adjoining the Batavi, and are often mentioned during the rising of Civilis (H. 4. 15, 1, etc.). The orthography of the name varies much in MSS. and Inscrr.: see Baiter, Comm. Crit.

12. **turmas sociales,** the 'ala' mentioned above.

**equites legionum**: cp. H. 1. 57, 2: Introd. vii. p. 104. Those of the four legions of the lower army appear to be meant, who would be in all but sixteen 'turmae,' or 480 men.

13. **leves cohortes**; part of the auxiliary foot.

14. **alarius eques**; the main body of auxiliary horse, as distinct from the single 'ala' mentioned above.

17. **legato . . . legionis**: cp. 1. 44, 3, etc.

liorum tradit. atque ille dubia suorum re in anceps tractus missis nuntiis vim legionum inplorabat. prorumpunt quintani ante alios et acri pugna hoste pulso recipiunt cohortis alasque fessas vulneribus. neque dux Romanus ultum iît aut corpora humavit, quamquam multi tribunorum praefectorumque et insignes centuriones cecidissent. mox compertum a transfugis nongentos Romanorum apud lucum quem Baduhennae vocant pugna in posterum extracta confectos, et aliam quadringentorum manum occupata Cruptorigis quondam stipendiarii villa, postquam proditio metuebatur, mutuis ictibus procubuisse.

**74.** Clarum inde inter Germanos Frisium nomen, dissimulante Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permitteret. neque senatus in eo cura, an imperii extrema dehonestarentur: pavor internus occupaverat animos, cui remedium adulatione quaerebatur. ita quamquam diversis super rebus consulerentur, aram clementiae, aram amicitiae effigiesque circum Caesaris ac Seiani censuere, crebrisque precibus efflagitabant visendi sui copiam facerent. non illi tamen in urbem aut propinqua urbi degressi sunt: satis

4. **dux Romanus.** The words apparently emphasize his unworthy negligence.

**ultum iit**: cp. 6. 36, 1; 15. 1, 1; 49, 6, etc.: with accus. of the wrong avenged in Sall. Jug. 68, 1, etc.

5. **praefectorum**, commanders of auxiliary cohorts and 'alae.'

**insignes**, 'of high rank.' On the gradations of rank among centurions, see Introd. vii. p. 105.

7. **Baduhennae.** Nothing is known of the name, which appears to be that of a goddess (cp. 'Tamfana' 1. 51, 2). Grimm (see Orelli's note) takes the two first syllables to mean war or battle.

8. **in posterum**, sc. 'diem:' cp. c. 45, 4.

9. **stipendiarii**; not here in the usual sense (c. 20, 1), but = 'qui stipendia meruerat:' cp. '(Romani) postquam stipendiarii facti sunt' Liv. 8. 8, 3, 'cohortes stipendiariae' Bell. Afr. 43, 1.

11. **Clarum inde**, etc.: see 11. 19, 2, where Corbulo is said in 800, A. D. 47, to have first brought them to terms after the 'clades Apronii.' Even then their submission was imperfect (see 13. 54, 2).

12. **ne ... permitteret**, i. e. lest any one entrusted with power to make war on a larger scale should be dangerous. It is at least equally probable that Tiberius did not think the territory worth the pains of such reconquest; still more so that this is merely an instance of the disinclination to effort which marks his later years (see Introd. viii. p. 132). It would appear from 6. 30, 3, that Apronius, in spite of his incompetence, was still 'legatus,' but that the general condition of the 'Germaniae' was peaceful.

15. **quamquam ... consulerentur**: see on 2. 33, 2.

**aram clementiae .... amicitiae.** On such commemorative altars, cp. 1. 14, 3; 3. 18, 3. Eckhel (vi. p. 187) mentions a medal of Tiberius, struck in or before 771, A. D. 18, bearing on the reverse 'Clementiae' S. C.

16. **circum**, 'on either side' (i. e. of the altar of 'amicitia'). The word has this force in 14. 34, 3; H. 2. 89, 2.

18. **degressi.** Here the MS. text has been generally retained, as also in 11. 21, 3 ('degressusque in urbem'), where 'ex Africa' is implied. Here it probably signifies taking a course from Capreae; rather than, as in 6. 1, 2, disembarkation from shipboard: see note on 2. 69, 4.

visum omittere insulam et in proximo Campaniae aspici. eo venire patres, eques, magna pars plebis, anxii erga Seianum, cuius durior congressus, atque eo per ambitum et societate consiliorum parabatur. satis constabat auctam ei adrogantiam foedum illud in propatulo servitium spectanti; quippe Romae sueti discursus, et magnitudine urbis incertum quod quisque ad negotium pergat: ibi campo aut litore iacentes nullo discrimine noctem ac diem iuxta gratiam aut fastus ianitorum perpetiebantur, donec id quoque vetitum: et revenere in urbem trepidi, quos non sermone, non visu dignatus erat, quidam male alacres, quibus infaustae amicitiae gravis exitus inminebat.

**75.** Ceterum Tiberius neptem Agrippinam Germanico ortam cum coram Cn. Domitio tradidisset, in urbe celebrari nuptias

1. **omittere**: so 'omissa Armenia' 6. 36, 2; 'Achaia' 15. 36, 1, etc.

**in proximo Campaniae**: cp. 'in prominenti litoris' 1. 53, 7; Introd. v. § 32 a.

2. **patres, eques**: cp. 1. 7, 1.

**magna pars plebis**, probably the better sort, who could afford the journey, and had some hope of a rise in rank. The attachment of the 'plebs sordida' to Caesar (see H. 1. 4, 3) seems of later date.

3. **durior** = 'difficilior:' so 'durum et arduum opus' H. 2. 4, 5, 'duris subvectionibus' Caes. B. G. 7. 10, 1. Nipp. takes it to mean that Seianus was more unapproachable than Tiberius; but it seems more probable that the contrast was with his former habit (cp. c. 40, 7); he had grown harder of access, and only those who made interest to get at him and shared his plans could see him. The 'ambitus' would be exercised on the 'ianitores,' etc. (§ 6). Nipp. understands by 'societate consiliorum,' that men took each other into council and helped each other to get audience; but we should rather find in Tacitus 'sociare consilia cum aliquo,' than 'inter se' (cp. H. 2. 74, 2; 4. 15, 1).

6. **sueti discursus**; to see people running to and fro was usual: so 'in discursu' H. 1. 84, 1: cp. Hirt. B. G. 8. 29, 2; Liv. 25. 25, 9, etc.

7. **campo aut litore.** On the abl., cp. Introd. v. § 23.

8. **noctem ac diem iuxta**, 'alike by night and by day:' 'iuxta,' in the sense of 'aeque,' generally follows the words coupled by it (1. 48, 2; 2. 72, 3; 12. 10, 1, etc.)

**perpetiebantur**; the condescension of such persons was as odious as their insolence. On the court paid to them, cp. 6. 8, 10.

9. **id quoque**: so all modern edd. after Mur. for the MS. 'idque.' Ritter notes (on c. 21) that in all cases where 'que' has the force of 'quoque' (as in 1. 65, 2; 2. 37, 1; 57, 1, etc.), it follows the first word in a sentence.

10. **male**, 'with bad reason;' explained by the following words.

11. **gravis exitus**: cp. Verg. Aen. 10, 630 'manet insontem gravis exitus.'

12. **Agrippinam**: see Introd. ix. note 14. She would appear to have been now barely thirteen years old. From this marriage L. Domitius, afterwards the emperor Nero, was born nine years later, and her husband died about three years after that date (Suet. Ner. 6). Many representations of her on coins exist (see Cohen, i. pp. 271–276).

13. **coram**; cp. c. 54, 3: probably during this visit to Campania.

**Domitio**, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, cos. 785, A.D. 32 (6. 1, 1). Suetonius (Ner. 5) speaks of him as 'omni parte vitae detestabilis.' For further mention of him in Tacitus, see 6. 45, 4; 47, 2; 12. 3, 2; 13. 10, 1. He is also often mentioned as one of the 'Arvales' from 780 to 792, A.D. 27–39 (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2024–2029). Nipp. also refers to him the inscr. C. I. Att. iii. 1, 604. On his father, and on the relationship to Augustus, see c. 44, 2, 3.

iussit. in Domitio super vetustatem generis propinquum Caesaribus sanguinem delegerat; nam is aviam Octaviam et per eam Augustum avunculum praeferebat.

3. **avunculum**, 'great-uncle;' as in 2. 43, 6, etc.

**praeferebat**, 'had to show:' so 'longa decora praeferentes' 14. 53, 5. The sense is almost the same as in 2. 53, 4, etc.

# BOOK V.

## SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

**A. U. C. 782, A. D. 29. C. Fufius Geminus, L. Rubellius Geminus, coss.**

Ch. 1–5. Death of Julia Augusta, and immediate attack on Agrippina and Nero.
1. Death and character of Augusta. 2. Behaviour of Tiberius; his animosity towards Fufius the consul. 3. Letters of indictment against Agrippina and Nero sent to the senate. 4. Junius Rusticus advises delay; manifestations of popular feeling. 5. Second letter of Tiberius, who still reserves the sentence in his own hands.

# CORNELII TACITI

## ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

## LIBER V. FRAGMENTUM.

1 **1.** Rubellio et Fufio consulibus, quorum utrique Geminus
cognomentum erat, Iulia Augusta mortem obiit, aetate extrema,
nobilitatis per Claudiam familiam et adoptione Liviorum Iulio-
2 rumque clarissimae. primum ei matrimonium et liberi fuere cum
Tiberio Nerone, qui bello Perusino profugus, pace inter Sex.
3 Pompeium ac triumviros pacta in urbem rediit. exim Caesar
cupidine formae aufert marito, incertum an invitam, adeo pro-
perus ut ne spatio quidem ad enitendum dato penatibus suis
4 gravidam induxerit. nullam posthac subolem edidit, sed sanguini
Augusti per coniunctionem Agrippinae et Germanici adnexa

4. **Rubellio et Fufio**, C. Fufius Geminus and L. Rubellius Geminus (Insc. Henz. 6854, and others cited by Nipp.). On Fufius see c. 2, 2: his father was a legatus of Caesar in Pannonia in 720, B.C. 34 (Dio, 49. 38, 1); his mother's name is given as Vitia (6. 10, 1).

5. **aetate extrema.** As her son was in his seventieth year, her age can hardly be less than eighty-six, as given by Dio (58. 2, 1); and that she was but eighty-two (Pl. N. H. 14. 6, 8, 60) must be impossible.

6. **nobilitatis . . . clarissimae**: see Introd. ix. note 26. Borghesi (v. 314) shows that her father, Livius Drusus Claudianus, must have been son either of App. Claudius, trib. mil. in 667, B.C. 87 (App. B. C. 1. 68), killed in repelling Telesinus from the Colline gate in 672, B.C. 82 (Plut. Sull. 29, 470), or of Claudius Pulcher, legatus (Liv. Epit. 95) or praetor (Plut. Crass. 9) in 681, B.C. 73; both of whom were probably sons of C. Claudius, cos. in 624, B.C. 130: also that the adoptive father of Drusus Claudianus must have been Livius Drusus, the famous tribune of 663, B.C. 91. Claudianus was proscribed, and killed himself after Philippi (Dio, 48. 44, 1).

8. **Tiberio Nerone**: see Introd. (l. l.); also 6. 51, 2; Suet. Tib. 4. His service as quaestor is also recorded in Bell. Al. 25, 3. His praetorship would appear from Suetonius to have been in 713, B.C. 41, but may probably have been a year earlier. In 714, B.C. 40, on the surrender of Perusia, he escaped thence to Praeneste and Neapolis, tried to organize a slave-rising, and took refuge in Sicily with Pompeius, from whom he passed over to Antonius (Suet. l. l.).

**pace**, at Misenum in 715, B.C. 39.

10. **cupidine**, causal abl.

**aufert marito**: see 1. 10, 4.

11. **enitendum**, absol. as Verg. Aen. 3, 327; Quint. 5. 13, 9; Suet. Cal. 25.

communes pronepotes habuit. sanctitate domus priscum ad 5 morem, comis ultra quam antiquis feminis probatum, mater inpotens, uxor facilis et cum artibus mariti, simulatione filii bene composita. funus eius modicum, testamentum diu inritum fuit. 6 laudata est pro rostris a Gaio Caesare pronepote, qui mox rerum potitus est.

**2.** At Tiberius, quod supremis in matrem officiis defuisset, 1 nihil mutata amoenitate vitae, magnitudinem negotiorum per literas excusavit, honoresque memoriae eius ab senatu large decretos quasi per modestiam imminuit, paucis admodum receptis et addito ne caelestis religio decerneretur: sic ipsam maluisse. quin et parte eiusdem epistulae increpuit amicitias muliebres, 2 Fufium consulem oblique perstringens. is gratia Augustae floru- 3

1. **pronepotes**: cp. 'privignos' 4. 71, 7. **priscum ad morem.** The notion of a verb denoting approximation is supplied from the sense.

2. **comis**, 'affable.' **mater inpotens**, 'as a mother, imperious:' cp. 1. 4, 5; 4. 57, 4; also the use of 'inpotentia' in 12. 57, 5; 14. 31, 5; G. 35, 3; and of 'inpotens' in G. 36, 1. From denoting absence of self-control, the word in such places takes the more special sense of violent assertion of self-will. Others, after J. F. Gron., take it less well to denote her extravagant furtherance of her son's interests.

3. **uxor facilis**, 'as a wife, compliant.' A special allusion seems intended to her connivance at her husband's laxity in private life (Suet. Aug. 71; Dio, 58. 2, 5): cp. 4. 2, 4; and 'facilitas' 2. 65, 3; 6. 15, 3, etc.

**artibus**, 'subtilty.' His many-sided genius for intrigue and diplomacy is contrasted with the mere reserve and hypocrisy attributed to Tiberius.

**bene composita**, 'well matched:' rightly explained by Orelli as a metaphor from the arena: cp. 'vir fortis cum mala fortuna compositus' (Sen. Prov. 2, 9); 'ut non compositi melius cum Bitho Bacchius' (Hor. Sat. 1. 7, 19); also the use of 'comparatur' in 4. 28, 2. 'Ulixes stolatus' is the name given to her by her great-grandson Gaius (Suet. Cal. 23). On the estimate of her character by Tacitus, see Introd. viii. p. 127.

4. **diu**; until the accession of Gaius, who paid all legacies under her will, 'quod Tiberius suppresserat' (Suet. Cal. 16).

8. **amoenitate.** Tacitus elsewhere uses this word only of places (as 14. 31, 7; 52, 2, etc.), but has 'amoena vita' (15. 55, 5) to denote a lax, self-indulgent life.

9. **excusavit**, 'pleaded in excuse;' as in 3. 11, 2, etc. It is stated by Suetonius (Tib. 51) that he had only seen her once for a few hours during the last three years, and never during her last illness; and that her funeral was improperly delayed in expectation of his coming.

**honores . . . imminuit.** He had acted similarly towards her after the death of Augustus (1. 14, 1).

10. **paucis . . . receptis.** Dio states (58. 2, 1) that he accepted no more than a public funeral, and the erection of a few statues and other trifling memorials; but that the senate, out of genuine gratitude for her protection and liberality, went further, and prescribed a year's mourning and other honours. It appears from 6. 5, 1, that her birthday continued to be honoured.

11. **ne . . . decerneretur.** On her subsequent deification, see Introd. ix. note 26. The inscription 'Liviae Augusti Deae' (Orell. 614) belongs to the lifetime of Augustus and to Sicily.

12. **amicitias**: cp. 4. 40, 7. Suetonius states (Tib. 51) that within a short time he struck down all her friends, even those to whom she had given charge of her funeral.

13. **Fufium**: see c. 1, 1. His death appears to be that recorded in Dio, 58. 4, 5; where the name is read as *Γάϊος Ῥοῦφος Γεμίνιος*. Nipp. considers that his wife, who is there called *Πουπλία Πρίσκα*, is the Mutilia Prisca of 4. 12, 6.

erat, aptus adliciendis feminarum animis, dicax idem et Tiberium acerbis facetiis inridere solitus, quarum apud praepotentes in longum memoria est.

**3.** Ceterum ex eo praerupta iam et urguens dominatio; nam incolumi Augusta erat adhuc perfugium, quia Tiberio inveteratum erga matrem obsequium, neque Seianus audebat auctoritati parentis antire: tunc velut frenis exsoluti proruperunt, missaeque in Agrippinam ac Neronem literae, quas pridem adlatas et cohibitas ab Augusta credidit vulgus; haud enim multo post mortem eius recitatae sunt. verba inerant quaesita asperitate; sed non arma, non rerum novarum studium, amores iuvenum et inpudicitiam nepoti obiectabat. in nurum ne id quidem confingere ausus, adrogantiam oris et contumacem animum incusavit, magno senatus pavore ac silentio, donec pauci, quis nulla ex honesto spes (et publica mala singulis in occasionem gratiae trahuntur), ut referretur postulavere, promptissimo Cotta Messalino cum atroci sententia. sed aliis a primoribus maximeque a magistratibus trepidabatur: quippe Tiberius etsi infense invectus cetera ambigua reliquerat.

**4.** Fuit in senatu Iunius Rusticus, conponendis patrum actis delectus a Caesare, eoque meditationes eius introspicere creditus.

2. **in longum**: cp. 1. 69, 7. The general sentiment is nearly repeated in 15. 68, 4.

4. **praerupta**, 'stern:' the metaphor is taken from an inaccessible rock; cp. 16. 7, 4; and 'praerupta audacia' (Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. 24, 68); 'praeruptum ... periculum' (Vell. 2. 2, 2).

**urguens**, 'crushing:' so used of pressing evils in 4. 66, 3; Cic. Tusc. 3. 25, 61.

8. **adlatas**, sc. 'ad consules.'

9. **haud ... multo post.** Here and in 12. 4, 1, the MSS. have 'multum,' which Halm thus alters in accordance with the usage of Tacitus (shown in some thirty instances), and of other authors. Nipp. retains the MS. text with an expression of doubt.

10. **quaesita**: cp. 3. 57, 1.

13. **oris**, 'of speech:' cp. 'ora sono discordia signant' (Verg. Aen. 2, 423).

15. **occasionem gratiae.** A gerundive notion, such as that of 'captandae,' is implied, as in 'occasio odii' 15. 73, 4, etc.

16. **ut referretur postulavere**, 'demanded that the question be put:' cp. 13. 49, 2; and note on 2. 38, 3.

**promptissimo**, sc. 'ad postulandum.'

**cum atroci sententia**, 'prepared with a severe proposal,' when it should come to his turn. On this character of Cotta Messalinus, cp. 2. 32, 2; 6. 5, 1.

17. **magistratibus.** The responsibility of the 'relatio' rested with them.

18. **cetera**, i. e. what he wanted to have done.

20. **Iunius Rusticus**; probably father of the well known Arulenus Rusticus (16. 26, 6, etc.), who is called 'Iunius Rusticus' in Suet. Dom. 10.

**conponendis patrum actis.** On the 'acta senatus,' see Introd. iii. p. 14. We have no earlier record of the office here mentioned, which is taken to be the same as that of 'curator actorum senatus' (Inscr. Henzen 5447 = I. R. N. 4933), or 'ab actis senatus' (Henzen 5478 = Wilmanns 636, etc.). It is not certain that at this date the officer was himself a member of the senate; later, the post was a stepping-stone to the aedileship; see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 863.

21. **eoque ... creditus.** These minutes

is fatali quodam motu (neque enim ante specimen constantiae dederat) seu prava sollertia, dum imminentium oblitus incerta pavet, inserere se dubitantibus ac monere consules ne relationem inciperent; disserebatque brevibus momentis summa verti; posse quandoque *domus* Germanici exitium paenitentiae *esse* seni. simul populus effigies Agrippinae ac Neronis gerens circumsistit 3 curiam faustisque in Caesarem ominibus falsas literas et principe invito exitium domui eius intendi clamitat. ita nihil triste illo 4 die patratum. ferebantur etiam sub nominibus consularium fictae in Seianum sententiae, exercentibus plerisque per occultum atque eo procacius libidinem ingeniorum. unde illi ira violentior et 5 materies criminandi: spretum dolorem principis ab senatu, descivisse populum; audiri iam et legi novas contiones, nova patrum

were sent to Caesar in his absence (Suet. Tib. 73), and their compiler must have been so far in his confidence as to receive instructions to suppress record of anything obnoxious. On the construction of 'creditus,' see Introd. v. § 45.

1. **fatali quodam motu,** 'impelled somehow by his destiny;' i. e. by some inexplicable motive: see on 3. 30, 7.

**constantiae,** 'courage;' as 1. 32, 1; 15. 55, 7, etc.

2. **prava,** 'misguided;' i. e. mistaking his true interest. It is explained by the following words: he overlooked the present danger of thwarting Caesar, on the uncertain chance that he might change his mind and punish them for their zeal.

3. **pavet.** The accus. with this verb is poetical, but found in Sall. Cat. 31, 3, and Pl. mai.: cp. 15. 11, 2; H. 3. 56, 3, and the use of 'pavescere' (1. 4, 2, etc.), and 'expavescere' (H. 2. 76, 3).

**inserere se:** so in H. 2. 19, 3; cp. 6. 2, 1; Ovid, etc.

**relationem inciperent.** The same phrase is used in 13. 26, 2.

4. **brevibus momentis summa verti,** 'small things turn the scale in great events;' i e. some influence too slight now to be foreseen may change Caesar's whole purpose. The sentiment is that of Cicero (Phil. 5. 10, 26) 'minimis momentis maximae inclinationes temporum fiunt:' cp. 'momenta deficientis' Agr. 43, 3, 'momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum' Luc. 4, 819; and note on 4. 32, 4. For this sense of 'brevis,' Orelli well compares 'breve pondus' Hor. Sat. 2. 2, 37.

**posse . . . seni.** The corrupt MS. text 'germanicis titium paenitentiae senis' has exercised the ingenuity of all commentators. Walther has collected some fourteen suggestions which had found more or less favour down to his own time. For others, see Halm (Comm. Crit.); Pfitzner (p. 100); Ritter (Rhein. Mus. xvii. p. 130). The above reading (Halm and Nipp.) would express what must have been the sense of the original text; and the absorption of 'esse,' between 'ae' and 's,' as well as the addition of 's' to 'seni,' from 'simul,' can be supposed without difficulty: but 'domus,' though required by the sense, cannot have dropped out so easily; and it is not improbable that some words amounting to a whole line in an original MS. may have been lost.

6. **effigies . . . gerens:** compare the similar mode of showing attachment to Octavia (14. 61, 1).

7. **faustis ... ominibus:** cp. 1. 35, 3. The MS. has here 'festis,' and also 'omnibus,' corrected in the margin to 'ominibus;' but Walther's defence of 'festis' by reference to 12. 69, 1, etc., is insufficient: any festal expressions would have been wholly out of place; yet men desired to profess due loyalty to Caesar, and to regard him as the dupe of Seianus.

9. **ferebantur,** 'were reported outside the senate house.'

11. **libidinem ingeniorum,** 'their licence of imagination;' i. e. as to the author to whom they assigned this or that 'sententia.'

13. **novas;** used with a similar meaning to that of 'novae res.' The addition of

consulta; quid reliquum nisi ut caperent ferrum et, quorum imagines pro vexillis secuti forent, duces imperatoresque deligerent?

**5.** Igitur Caesar repetitis adversum nepotem et nurum probris increpitaque per edictum plebe, questus apud patres quod fraude unius senatoris imperatoria maiestas elusa publice foret, integra tamen sibi cuncta postulavit. nec ultra deliberatum quo minus non quidem extrema decernerent (id enim vetitum), sed paratos ad ultionem vi principis impediri testarentur.

'legi' would appear to imply that these imaginary 'sententiae,' and the speeches assigned to their proposers, had found place in the 'acta populi.'

6. **imperatoria maiestas.** Such an expression is used with reference to soldiers in 1. 46, 2; but here more arrogantly in relation to the senate. Tiberius was generally particular in his use of the title 'imperator:' cp. Dio, 57, 8, 1.

**elusa**, 'turned into ridicule:' cp. 6. 46, 9; 16. 3, 2, etc.

**integra**; i. e. that all should be left to his decision: cp. 'integra causa' 3. 10. 6, etc.

7. **quo minus** = 'quin:' cp. 1. 21, 4.

8. **paratos**, sc. se: cp. 4. 59, 5, etc.; Introd. v. § 8.

9. **testarentur.** The MS. here shows only a vacant space of three or four letters; so that the great gap at this point must have existed in the MS. from which it was copied. A summary of the chief events of this lost period, as recorded in Dio, Suetonius, and other authors, is given in Appendix III. below.

# APPENDIX III.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS DURING THE INTERVAL FOR WHICH THE HISTORY OF TACITUS IS HERE LOST.

SENTENCE soon followed against Agrippina and Nero. The latter was declared by the senate a public enemy[1], and both were hurried into banishment, chained and in closed litters, with strict orders to the escort to allow none whom they met so much as to stand and look back at them[2]. Nero was sent to Pontia (Ponza), Agrippina to Pandateria, the old prison-house of Julia[3]; where she is said to have been treated with such violence as to have lost an eye by a blow from the centurion, and to have had food forced into her mouth when she attempted to starve herself[4]. Drusus, who had been used as a tool by Seianus against his brother[5], was for the present left unattacked, and probably during this year received Aemilia Lepida in marriage[6].

A. U. C. 783, A.D. 30. M. Vinicius, L. Cassius Longinus, coss.[7]. Asinius Gallus, while on a visit to Tiberius at Capreae, was denounced by a secret missive, and condemned in absence by the senate, yet not put to death or permitted to despatch himself, but sent to Rome and detained there in custody in the house of a magistrate, with just food enough forced upon him to support life[8]. His friend Vallius Syriacus the rhetorician was put to death for no other cause than his friendship[9]. Seianus had now prepared his attack on Drusus by the seduction of his wife, and made some representation to Tiberius, who sent the young man back from Capreae to Rome[10], where a more formal charge, preferred through the agency of Cassius Severus[11], caused him also to be pronounced a public enemy[12] and imprisoned in a chamber in the Palatium[13].

[1] Suet. Tib. 54; Cal. 7.
[2] Id. Tib. 64.
[3] cp. 1. 53, 1.
[4] Suet. Tib. 53.
[5] 4. 60, 4.
[6] See on 6. 40, 4.
[7] Insc. Orell. 4033.
[8] Dio, 58. 3. In another instance, Tiberius is said to have answered, to those who pressed for speedy execution of a condemned person, οὐδέπω αὐτῷ διήλλαγμαι (Dio, l. l.). The death of Gallus is mentioned three years later (6. 23, 1).
[9] Dio, l. l.
[10] Suetonius may be taken to imply that he was removed in strict custody like his mother and brother (Tib. 64).
[11] Dio, 58. 3, 8.
[12] Suet. Tib. 54; Cal. 7.
[13] See 6. 23, 5.

Seianus had apparently reached the height of influence. Every order in Rome eagerly set up his statues and sent deputations to him, and paid to his name almost the same honour as to that of the prince; while Tiberius constantly called him 'Seianus meus' and spoke of him as his 'particeps consiliorum[1],' and had apparently affianced him to his house by a betrothal[2]; but was probably already secretly meditating his destruction.

A. U. C. 784, A. D. 31. Ti. Caesar Augustus v, L. Aelius Seianus coss.
: Suff. May 9, Faustus Cornelius Sulla, Sex. Teidius Catullus.
: Suff. July 1, L. Fulcinius Trio.
: Suff. Oct. 1, P. Memmius Regulus[3].

The consulship removed Seianus to Rome, and it does not appear that he ever again saw his master, who declined his visits on various pretexts[4]. Outwardly he appears to have allowed him to receive more marks of honour than ever, to have admitted him to a priesthood and to a share of the 'proconsulare imperium[5]', and even to have permitted the passing of a futile decree, appointing him with himself to be joint consuls for five years[6]. Curtius Atticus, one of the 'cohors amicorum' at Capreae[7], was struck down at the favourite's instigation[8]; while other men of rank, among them Fufius Geminus the friend of Augusta, met a similar fate[9]. Though he was not himself permitted to retain the consulship, his position seemed further secured by the substitution soon afterwards of Fulcinius Trio, one of his creatures; and, later on, the death of Nero[10] seemed to show that the hesitation of Tiberius in dealing with this family was at length overcome.

But the position of Gaius, who had been raised with Seianus to the pontificate, and was generally looked on as the heir, still seemed unassailable[11]; and several small indications of coldness or displeasure caused additional alarm[12]. Becoming desperate, Seianus formed a conspiracy[13] in which many of all ranks joined, to assassinate Tiberius on his return to Rome, and to contrive a similar fate for Gaius[14]. This appears to have been revealed by Satrius Secundus to Antonia, and by her to

[1] Dio, 58. 4, 3.
[2] See note on 4. 40, 11.
[3] These 'suffecti' and their dates are given in an inscription (I. R. N. 1968). The name 'L. Aelius Seianus' is erased in all records, but Eckhel (i. 36) notes its preservation on a Spanish coin.
[4] Dio, 58. 7, 5.
[5] Id. 58. 7, 4: see note on 4. 7, 2.
[6] Dio, 58. 4, 4.
[7] 4. 58, 1.
[8] 6. 10, 2.
[9] See 5. 2, 3; Dio, 58. 4, 5.
[10] Dio (58. 8, 4) seems to bear out the statement of Suet. (Tib. 61) that this death took place when Seianus was already suspected. On the circumstances, see Suet. Tib. 54.
[11] Dio, 58. 8, 1.
[12] Id. 6, 4; 8, 3, etc.
[13] See Jos. Ant. 18. 6, 6. On the doubts resting on this conspiracy, see Introd. viii. p. 129.
[14] 5. 3, 4.

Tiberius[1]; who was nevertheless obliged to proceed with the utmos caution, as he was unable to reckon on the fidelity of the praetorians A man of determined loyalty was secured for the consulship in the perso of Memmius Regulus[2], and almost immediately afterwards the blow wa struck.

The 18th of October[3] is marked as the day on which the famou meeting of the senate took place in the Palatine Temple, at which th 'long wordy letter from Capreae' was read. Naevius Sertorius Macr had brought with him, together with this missive, his own appointmen to the command of the praetorians, in which the soldiers were induce by a liberal bribe to acquiesce. The 'vigiles,' over whom Seianus ha no influence, guarded the senate under their praefect Graecinus Laco, an led Seianus to the dungeon where he was on the same day executed[4] By subsequent sentences perished his eldest son[5], his uncle Juniu Blaesus[6], and others[7]; while many more were thrown into prison t await trial.

Tiberius, who had awaited news of these proceedings in extrem anxiety[8], was soon afterwards filled with horror and indignation, on statement being made by Apicata, the divorced wife of Seianus, respecting the murder of Drusus, with the connivance of his adulterous wife eight years previously[9]. Livilla was put to death, or more probabl compelled to commit suicide[10]; and further investigations, conducted wit the utmost atrocities of torture, took place before Tiberius himself[11].

[1] We can thus reconcile 6. 47, 2, with Josephus (l. l.).

[2] On the date of his appointment, see above: the whole action in the senate was conducted by him (see Dio, 58. 9).

[3] See 6. 25, 5.

[4] For the whole scene, see Dio, 58. 9–13; Juv. 10. 56–89.

[5] See on 5. 8, 1.

[6] See 5. 7, 2.

[7] Among them was probably Bruttedius Niger (see on 3. 66, 5), perhaps als T. Ollius the father of Poppaea (13 45, 1).

[8] Suet. Tib. 65.

[9] The circumstances are given in 4. 8 1, etc. Dio (58. 11, 6) represents th statement of Apicata as made after th execution of her children, which Tacitu places later (5. 9, 1).

[10] Dio, 58. 11, 7.

[11] Suet. Tib. 62.

# BOOK VI.

## SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

**A. U. C. 784, A. D. 31 (Nov. and Dec.). L. Fulcinus Trio, P. Memmius Regulus, coss. suff.**

. V. Ch. 6–9. Punishment of persons connected with Seianus. 6. Address of a friend of Seianus to his friends. 7. His suicide before condemnation. 8. Death of P. Vitellius; peril of Pomponius Secundus. 9. Execution of the two younger children of Seianus.

h. 10. Appearance of a false Drusus in Asia and Achaia. 11. Charges brought against each other by the two consuls.

**A. U. C. 785, A. D. 32. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Furius Camillus Arruntius Scribonianus, coss.**

. VI. 1. Tiberius visits the suburbs of Rome, and abandons himself to profligacy at Capreae. 2. His reply to the absurd proposal of Togonius Gallus. 3. His resentment at a proposal by Junius Gallio respecting the praetorians. 4. Latinius Latiaris punished on the information of Paconianus; the quarrel between Trio and Regulus suppressed. 5. Cotta Messalinus acquitted at the request of Tiberius. 6. Mental agony betrayed in his letter on the subject. 7. Several persons condemned. 8, 9. Spirited speech and acquittal of M. Terentius; several of the highest rank attacked. 10. Others put to death at Capreae; L. Piso the praefectus urbis dies a natural death. 11. Origin and history of this 'praefectura.' 12. Question respecting an alleged Sibylline book. 13. Dangerous discontent at the high price of corn. 14. Certain Roman knights condemned for conspiracy; Fabatus put in custody for leaving Italy.

**A. U. C. 786, A. D. 33. Ser Sulpicius Galba, L. Cornelius Sulla Felix, coss.**

h. 15. Marriage of two daughters of Germanicus to L. Cassius and M. Vinicius. 16, 17. Financial crisis arising out of an attempt to enforce strictly the laws of usury; history of the subject. 18. Several persons condemned, especially the descendants of Theophanes of Mitylene. 19. Sex. Marius put to death; general execution of all those detained in prison on the charge of conspiracy. 20. Gaius Caesar married to the daughter of M. Silanus; his servile demeanour; prediction of Tiberius respecting Galba. 21. Instruction received by him in astrology from Thrasyllus at Rhodes. 22. Exposition of the prevalent theories respecting chance and fate. 23, 24. Deaths of Asinius Gallus, and of Drusus son of Germanicus; insincere statement of Tiberius respecting the former, and brutality shown towards the

latter. 25. Death of Agrippina, and imputations cast upon her by Tiberius. 26 Suicide of Cocceius Nerva, and of Plancina, widow of Cn. Piso. 27. Julia, daughte of Drusus, married to Rubellius Blandus; death of Aelius Lamia, Flaccus Pomponius M'. Lepidus.

**A. U. C. 787, A. D. 34. Paullus Fabius Persicus, L. Vitellius, coss.**

Ch. 28. Alleged appearance of the phoenix in Egypt; narrative of legends respecting it. 29. Suicide of Pomponius Labeo and Mamercus Scaurus, and of their wive Paxaea and Sextia. 30. Some accusers punished; bold line taken by Lentulu Gaetulicus.

**A. U. C. 788, A. D. 35. C. Cestius Gallus, M. Servilius Nonianus, coss.**

Ch. 31–37. Disturbances in the East.

31. Parthian embassy to Rome to complain of Artabanus, who had set his son on the throne of Armenia. 32. Tiberius sends out Phraates, brother of Vonones, and, after his death, Tiridates, as a claimant to the throne of Parthia, and instigates Mithridates to occupy that of Armenia; Vitellius made legatus of Syria. 33. Mithridates seizes Armenia; Orodes son of Artabanus sent against him. 34, 35. Battle, and defeat of Orodes. 36. Artabanus fails to recover Armenia and is himself driven out of Parthia, and forced to take refuge with the Scythians. 37. Advance of Tiridates, supported by Vitellius, into Mesopotamia.

Ch. 38. Death of Fulcinius Trio and other persons. 39. Tiberius near Rome; death and character of Poppaeus Sabinus.

**A. U. C. 789. A. D. 36. Q. Plautius, Sex. Papinius Allenius, coss.**

40. Death of Tigranes, once king of Armenia, Aemilia Lepida, wife of Drusus, and others. 41. Suppression of a rising of the Clitae in Cappadocia.

Ch. 42–44. Further account of affairs in the East.

42. Tiridates received at Seleuceia, and crowned king by the Surena. 43. Some of the nobles form a new plot to restore Artabanus. 44. Artabanus collects troops and advances rapidly; retreat of Tiridates, who is deserted by all, and takes refuge in Syria.

45. Great loss by fire in Rome; munificence of Tiberius.

**A. U. C. 790, A. D. 37. Cn. Acerronius Proculus, C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus, coss.**

Ch. 46. Tiberius aware of the court paid by Macro to Gaius; his hesitation to name an heir, and prediction to Gaius. 47. Albucilla charged with crimes in which Domitius, Vibius Marsus, and Arruntius are involved. 48. Suicide of Arruntius; Albucilla imprisoned. 49. Suicide of Sex. Papinius.

Ch. 50, 51. Last moments and death of Tiberius.

50. His failing health and last journey to Misenum; advice of Charicles, and measures taken by Gaius and Macro; circumstances of his death (March 16) in the seventy-eighth year of his age. 51. Vicissitudes of his life; his character at various periods.

# CORNELII TACITI

## ANNALIUM AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

## LIBER VI.

**V. 6** (VI. 1). . . . . . Quattuor et quadraginta orationes super ea re habitae, ex quis ob metum paucae, plures adsuetudine . . . 'mihi pudorem aut Seiano invidiam adlaturum censui. versa est fortuna, et ille quidem, qui collegam et generum adsciverat, sibi ignoscit: ceteri, quem per dedecora fovere, cum scelere insectantur. miserius sit ob amicitiam accusari an amicum accusare, haud discreverim. non crudelitatem, non clementiam cuiusquam experiar, sed liber et mihi ipsi probatus antibo periculum. vos

3. The MS. indicates the beginning of no fresh Book, and until Lipsius, editors had printed the whole as Book V. He saw that the whole period must have taken two Books and placed the division at the beginning of 785, A.D. 32. The absence of any division in the MS. has led most editors to follow Haase in considering that the beginning of the sixth, as well as the end of the fifth Book are lost, and that the latter ended with the death of Seianus. The old numbering of the chapters is, however, generally retained for convenience of reference.

4. **super ea re.** The subject is supposed to be that of the punishment of Livia for the murder of Drusus (see 4. 3, 3, foll.). Very few senators could have had to fear any charge of complicity; so that most of these denunciatory speeches are spoken of as prompted by the mere habit of servility.

6. **mihi pudorem,** etc. We have here another fragment, from an address made to his friends by an attacked, but uncondemned friend of Seianus. No light has been thrown on the speaker's identity. The sentiments are much the same as those of M. Terentius (6. 8).

7. **collegam.** This may refer only to his association in the consulship; but as Seianus is styled 'adiutor imperii' some years earlier, it is thought that he may have been latterly 'collega imperii,' or such a sharer in the 'imperium proconsulare' as Tiberius had been under Augustus: see on 1. 3, 3; 4. 7, 2; 6. 8, 6; Introd. vi. p. 83; Momms. Staatsr. ii. p. 1095. Some more definite title seems implied than that of 'socius laborum' (4. 2, 4) or *κοινωνὸς τῶν φροντίδων* (Dio, 58. 4, 3); and Dio (58. 7, 4) affirms that he had *ἀνθυπατικὴ ἐξουσία* in some form.

**generum:** cp. 6. 8, 6. Suetonius also (Tib. 65) speaks of Seianus as 'spe adfinitatis deceptus.' For possible explanations, see note on 4. 40, 11. Such a term as 'gener' can well be used of connexion through mere betrothal, and many analogies would justify its use for 'progener' (e.g. 4. 12, 6, etc.).

**sibi ignoscit,** 'pardons his own error.'

8. **cum scelere,** i.e. by now fastening charges of complicity on innocent persons.

9. **amicum accusare;** perhaps alluding to Satrius Secundus, the follower (4. 34, 2; 6. 8, 10) and subsequent accuser (6. 47, 2) of Seianus.

11. **antibo,** 'will anticipate:' so 'damnationem anteiit' 6. 29, 7; 13. 30, 2.

obtestor ne memoriam nostri per maerorem quam laeti retineatis, adiciendo me quoque iis qui fine egregio publica mala effugerunt.'

**V. 7** (VI. 2). Tunc singulos, ut cuique adsistere, adloqui animus erat, retinens aut dimittens partem diei absumpsit, multoque adhuc coetu et cunctis intrepidum vultum eius spectantibus, cum superesse tempus novissimis crederent, gladio quem sinu abdiderat incubuit. neque Caesar ullis criminibus aut probris defunctum insectatus est, cum in Blaesum multa foedaque incusavisset.

**V. 8** (VI. 3). Relatum inde de P. Vitellio et Pomponio Secundo. illum indices arguebant claustra aerarii, cui praefectus erat, et militarem pecuniam rebus novis obtulisse; huic a Considio praetura functo obiectabatur Aelii Galli amicitia, qui punito Seiano in hortos Pomponii quasi fidissimum ad subsidium perfugisset. neque aliud periclitantibus auxilii quam in fratrum

4. **ut cuique adsistere,** etc. It is perhaps best, with Walther, to make this answer to 'retinens aut dimittens,' by understanding 'aut non erat' after 'animus erat.' Pfitzner (p. 43) thinks that the MS., which in the next line reads 'adsumpsit' for 'absumpsit,' has here the similar error of 'adsistere' for 'absistere;' as 'adstitit' is generally taken to be an error for 'abstitit' in 2. 31, 3.

7. **superesse tempus novissimis,** 'that there was time yet to spare for the last extremity;' i.e. 'that his end would not come just yet.' 'Novissima' is used of death, as the extreme penalty, in 6. 50, 8, etc.

9. **Blaesum,** the well-known uncle of Seianus (3. 35, 2, etc.) and 'imperator' (3. 74, 6), who appears to have fallen amongst the first victims. The fate of his two sons is mentioned in 6. 40, 3.

10. **incusavisset.** This verb has nowhere else this construction; but Dräger notes from Livy the analogies 'increpare in' (1. 51, 1), 'exsecrari in' (30. 20, 7), 'detestari in' (39. 10, 2).

11. **P. Vitellio,** etc. On Vitellius, see on 1. 70, 1. P. Pomponius Secundus is further described below (§ 4).

12. **indices.** Many accomplices in the conspiracy of Seianus had saved themselves by turning informers: see 6. 3, 5; 7, 5; 9, 6; 47, 2.

**aerarii.** The context, and the mention of 'praefecti,' show that the 'aerarium militare' is meant, on which see 1. 78, 2. The 'aerarium populi' was in charge of some of the praetors of the year (1. 75, 4).

13. **obtulisse,** taken figuratively with 'claustra:' 'had offered the keys of the treasury and its funds.'

**Considio.** Nipp. gives here several instances to show that even persons of rank are frequently mentioned by one name, when a title of dignity is added, as 'augur Lentulus' (3. 59, 1), etc.

14. **Aelii Galli.** This is believed to be the name of the eldest son of Seianus. Borghesi (iv. 444) suggests that the adoptive father from whom Seianus derived his gentile name was probably the knight Aelius Gallus (see on 4. 1, 2); as Velleius (2. 127, 3) assigns to him no nobility through this source, and the other families of the gens Aelia were consular.

15. **fidissimum ad subsidium.** The metaphor is from a harbour: cp. 3. 1, 2; 4. 67, 2.

16. **fratrum.** On Quintus, brother of this Pomponius, see 6. 18, 2. Vitellius had three brothers, of whom the best known is Lucius (6. 28, 1, etc.); another, Quintus, had been expelled from the senate (2. 48, 3); a third, Aulus, who is probably the one here meant, was cos. suff. in the year following this (I. R. N. 1968 = Orelli 4033), and died in office (Suet. Vit. 2).

constantia fuit, qui vades exstitere. mox crebris prolationibus spem ac metum iuxta gravatus Vitellius petito per speciem studiorum scalpro levem ictum venis intulit vitamque aegritudine animi finivit. at Pomponius multa morum elegantia et ingenio inlustri, dum adversam fortunam aequus tolerat, Tiberio superstes fuit.

**V. 9** (VI. 4). Placitum posthac ut in reliquos Seiani liberos adverteretur, vanescente quamquam plebis ira ac plerisque per priora supplicia lenitis. igitur portantur in carcerem, filius imminentium intellegens, puella adeo nescia, ut crebro interrogaret, quod ob delictum et quo traheretur; neque facturam ultra, et posse se puerili verbere moneri. tradunt temporis eius auctores, quia triumvirali supplicio adfici virginem inauditum habebatur, a

1. **vades exstitere.** These brothers undertook their custody, till their appeal should be heard by Caesar. Delivery into the charge of 'fideiussores' or 'vades' is one of the recognised kinds of 'custodia' (see on 6. 4, 3).

2. **gravatus**, with accus., as 3. 59, 6.

**per speciem studiorum.** He is thought to have been the author of certain 'Vitellii commentarii,' cited by Tert. de An. c. 46. According to Suetonius (Vit. 2) he allowed his self-inflicted wounds to be bound up, and afterwards died of disease, while still in custody. The words of Tacitus are not inconsistent with this account.

4. **morum elegantia**, 'refinement of character:' cp. H. 3. 39, 3, and 'elegantia vitae' (14. 19).

**ingenio inlustri.** He is frequently mentioned as a poet and especially as a tragedian (11. 13, 1; 12. 28, 2; Dial. 13, 3; Pl. Epp. 7. 17, 11), and his excellence in this line is fully attested by Quintilian (10. 1, 98), 'eorum, quos viderim, longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore praestare confitebantur.' The elder Pliny, who speaks of him as 'vatem civemque clarissimum' (N. H. 13. 12, 26, 83), was also his personal friend and biographer (Pl. Epp. 3. 5, 3).

5. **Tiberio superstes fuit.** Dio (59. 6, 2), who confuses him with his brother, states that Gaius released him from a custody which had lasted seven years. His consulship, also placed wrongly by Dio (l. l.), appears to belong to 797, A. D. 44 (Kal. Ant. Henzen 6445). In 803, A. D. 50, he gained 'triumphalia' as legatus of Upper Germany (12. 28, 2).

7. **reliquos.** There were three (4. 3, 5), of whom the eldest (c. 8, 1) appears to have perished at the same time as his father.

8. **adverteretur:** cp. 2. 32, 5.

**quamquam**, in anastrophe, as in 6. 30, 7; 14. 21, 7; also in Cic., Verg., and Pl. mai.

**plebis ira.** The populace at the fall of Seianus massacred any of his creatures whom they saw in the streets (Dio, 58. 12, 1). Compare the description of their temper in Juv. 10, 73.

10. **intellegens**, with genit., 12. 26, 3; Cic. Fin. 2. 20, 63.

**puella**, etc. She can hardly have been less than eleven or twelve years old (see note on 3. 29, 5), and it is possible that her tender age may have been exaggerated by writers to add to the pathos of her fate.

11. **neque facturam ultra**, 'she would not do so any more.'

12. **verbere.** Tacitus has this poetical singular only here and in 6. 24, 4; G. 19, 2; the only other instance in prose appears to be Pl. N. H. 2. 8, 6, 33.

**moneri**, 'chastised.' The word appears nowhere else to bear quite this meaning. Orelli cites 'fustium admonitio' (Ulp. Fr. 7; de Poen. 48, 19).

13. **triumvirali supplicio**, 'capital punishment,' inflicted under the superintendence of the 'triumviri capitales,' who now formed part of the collective 'vigintivirate' (3. 29, 1): cp. 'flagellis triumviralibus' (Hor. Epod. 4, 11).

carnifice laqueum iuxta conpressam; exim oblisis faucibus id aetatis corpora in Gemonias abiecta.

**V. 10** (VI. 5). Per idem tempus Asia atque Achaia exterritae 1 sunt acri magis quam diuturno rumore, Drusum Germanici filium apud Cycladas insulas, mox in continenti visum. et erat iuvenis 2 haud dispari aetate, quibusdam Caesaris libertis velut adgnitus; per dolumque comitantibus adliciebantur ignari fama nominis et promptis Graecorum animis ad nova et mira. quippe elapsum custodiae pergere ad paternos exercitus, Aegyptum aut Suriam invasurum, fingebant simul credebantque. iam iuventutis con- 3 cursu, iam publicis studiis frequentabatur, laetus praesentibus et inanium spe, cum auditum id Poppaeo Sabino: is Macedoniae tum intentus Achaiam quoque curabat. igitur quo vera seu falsa 4

1. **conpressam** = 'violatam.' Suetonius (Tib. 61), as in other cases, exaggerates this single instance into a general practice. Dio (47. 6, 6) gives an instance in which a youth was made to assume the toga virilis before being executed.

**oblisis**: so 'obliso gutture' App. M. 4. 12, 263. Cicero has 'collum digitulis oblideret' (p. Scaur. 6, 10).

2. **in Gemonias**: cp. 3. 14, 6, etc. According to the order of events followed by Dio (58. 11, 6), this execution is made to precede the revelation made by Apicata respecting the murder of Drusus and guilt of Livia.

4. **acri**, 'active:' so used of 'causae' (1. 33, 3), 'initia' (6. 17, 5, etc.), 'gloria' and 'paenitentia' (H. 3. 51, 4), etc.

**Drusum.** The true Drusus was a prisoner in the Palatium: see 6. 23, 5.

6. **velut adgnitus**, etc. The text here follows that of the MS., only adopting the interlineation ('que') instead of the reading of the first hand ('qui'). Haase reads 'velut adgnitus per dolum; quis comitantibus,' etc.; but 'per dolum' would thus be surplusage, as 'velut' of itself implies that the recognition was only pretended. For the position of 'que' Nipp. compares 'ab oratoribusque' (16. 2, 3), and cites also many instances in which, as here, a pronominal ablative is supplied, from a foregoing noun, with the abl. abs. following (see Introd. v. § 31 c, and note on c. 47, 4). The freedmen pretended to recognise him, and as they dishonestly followed him those who knew nothing were attracted.

8. **promptis . . . animis**, another abl. abs., assigning a ground for their readiness to receive him. This characteristic of the Greek mind is noted in the Athenians of that time (Acts 17, 21). On the estimate generally formed of Greeks by Romans, see Friedl. i. p. 74: cp. 2. 53, 4; 55, 1; 6. 18, 5.

**elapsum custodiae.** The MS. 'lapsum' is thus corrected by all editors. Elsewhere, Tacitus has the accus. with 'elabi' (as 1. 61, 6, etc.); but in some instances from other authors the cases generally taken as simple ablatives might be datives, as 'telis' (Verg. Aen. 2, 318), etc. 'Custodia' is read by some, after Lips., 'custodias' might be suggested by the example of H. 3. 59, 4.

9. **paternos**, the armies of the East, commanded by Germanicus in his last years.

10. **fingebant . . . credebantque.** This, as well as other expressions here, appear to be repeated from the similar account of the false Nero (H. 2. 8, 1).

11. **publicis**, i. e. of provincial communities: cp. the use of 'publice' (4. 36, 2), etc.

**frequentabatur**, 'was thronged:' so 'celebrabant,' in speaking of the false Agrippa (2. 40, 1).

12. **inanium spe.** Nipp. thinks the correction 'inani' necessary, as it was his hope, not its objects, that was visionary; but 'inania' appears to be here naturally contrasted with 'praesentia:' cp. 'inania famae' (2. 76, 2). Joh. Müller (Beitr. sect. 3. p. 54) would prefer 'inani in spe,' noting the frequent use of 'in spe esse' in Cic. and Liv.

**Poppaeo Sabino**: see on 1. 80, 1; 4. 46, 1.

antiret, Toronaeum Thermaeumque sinum praefestinans, mox Euboeam Aegaei maris insulam et Piraeum Atticae orae, dein Corinthiense litus angustiasque Isthmi evadit; marique Ionio Nicopolim Romanam coloniam ingressus, ibi demum cognoscit sollertius interrogatum, quisnam foret, dixisse M. Silano genitum, et multis sectatorum dilapsis ascendisse navem tamquam Italiam peteret. scripsitque haec Tiberio, neque nos originem finemve eius rei ultra comperimus.

**V. 11** (VI. 6). Exitu anni diu aucta discordia consulum erupit. nam Trio, facilis capessendis inimicitiis et foro exercitus, ut segnem Regulum ad opprimendos Seiani ministros oblique perstrinxerat: ille, nisi lacesseretur, modestiae retinens, non modo rettudit collegam, sed ut noxium coniurationis ad disquisitionem trahebat. multisque patrum orantibus ponerent odia in perniciem itura, mansere infensi ac minitantes, donec magistratu abirent.

**quo . . . antiret**: cp. c. 6, 4: here it means 'to get before the story;' i.e. to nip it in the bud, before it spread further.

1. **Toronaeum Thermaeumque**, the gulfs of Kassandra and Saloniki. He may probably have set out from Philippi, the chief colony in the province.

**praefestinans**, 'hastening past:' in this sense, the verb is ἅπ. εἰρ. For similar uses of verbs compounded with 'prae,' see on 2. 6, 5. It is apparently best to take this participle also with 'Euboeam' and 'Piraeum,' rather than to supply a verb for them from 'evadit.'

2. **Aegaei maris insulam.** This description, as also 'Atticae orae' below, cannot be supposed to be inserted to inform his readers of the situation of these places. It is only a concise mode of saying that he passed through the Aegean, touching at Euboea, and along Attica, touching at Piraeus. A similar explanation may be given of 'Corinthi, Achaiae urbe,' in H. 2. 1, 5.

3. **evadit**: so used of passing out of a forest (1. 51, 8) or river (12. 35, 3).

**marique Ionio.** On such ablatives of direction, see Introd. v. § 25.

4. **Nicopolim**: see 2. 53, 1.

5. **sollertius interrogatum**, 'on being more shrewdly questioned.'

**M. Silano**, probably the one mentioned in 3. 24, 5 (Nipp.).

7. **neque nos**, etc. Dio (58. 25, 1) preserves a version of the story, stating that the impostor was arrested and sent to Tiberius. He places the event at the close of 787, A.D. 34.

9. **consulum.** On the succession of consuls during this year, see above, Appendix iii. p. 539. Of those now in office, Fulcinius Trio is known from 2. 28, 3, etc. The other, P. Memmius Regulus, succeeded in 788, A.D. 35, to the governments held by Poppaeus Sabinus (see on 6. 39, 3), and died in 814, A.D. 61, with the highest reputation of his time. For his character, and for further particulars, see 14. 47, and Nipp. here; on his personal agency in the condemnation of Seianus, see Appendix, l. l.

10. **facilis capessendis inimicitiis**, ready to take up hostilities.' 'Capessere' appears to be used in a sense akin both to 'capessere accusationes' (4. 52, 8), and to 'capessere iustitiam,' 'clementiam' (12. 11, 2), etc. On the dative, cp. 2. 27, 2.

12. **nisi lacesseretur**, subjunct. of action frequently occurring.

**retinens**, with gen., as in 2. 38, 9, etc.

13. **rettudit**: so used of a person by Atticus (Cic. Att. 16. 15, 3) 'belle iste puer retundit Antonium.' The metaphor is from blunting the edge of a weapon.

**noxium coniurationis.** 'Noxius facinoris' (Dig. 29. 5, 3, § 12) is the only other known instance of this construction. The conspiracy meant is that of Seianus, as in 6. 47, 2, etc. That Trio was in a general way a partisan of Seianus, is stated by Dio (58. 9, 3).

15. **mansere infensi.** Their mutual charges are further mentioned in 6. 4, 2.

**VI. 1** (7). Cn. Domitius et Camillus Scribonianus consulatum inierant, cum Caesar tramisso quod Capreas et Surrentum interluit freto Campaniam praelegebat, ambiguus an urbem intraret, seu, quia contra destinaverat, speciem venturi simulans. et saepe in propinqua degressus, aditis iuxta Tiberim hortis, saxa rursum et solitudinem maris repetiit, pudore scelerum et libidinum, quibus adeo indomitis exarserat, ut more regio pubem ingenuam stupris pollueret. nec formam tantum et decora corpora, set in his modestam pueritiam, in aliis imagines maiorum incitamentum cupidinis habebat. tuncque primum ignota antea vocabula reperta sunt sellariorum et spintriarum ex foeditate loci ac multiplici patientia: praepositique servi, qui conquirerent pertraherent, dona in promptos, minas adversum abnuentes, et si retinerent propinquus aut parens, vim raptus suaque ipsi libita velut in captos exercebant.

**2** (8). At Romae principio anni, quasi recens cognitis Liviae flagitiis ac non pridem etiam punitis, atroces sententiae dicebantur,

1. On the conjectural division of these Books, see note on 5. 6, 1.

**Cn. Domitius**, etc. On Domitius, see 4. 75, 1. The other, M. Furius M. f. P. n. Camillus, has in the Fasti the additional name Arruntius (Insc. Henzen 6165), being a son of the Camillus of 2. 52, 5, adopted apparently by L. Arruntius (1. 13, 1). The name Scribonianus, subsequently acquired, is here given as that by which he is best known through his subsequent rebellion (see on 12. 52, 2). Domitius, as Caesar's son-in-law, retained office through the year (Dio, 58. 20, 1); Camillus was succeeded on June 1st by A. Vitellius (see on 5. 8, 2).

3. **praelegebat**: cp. 2. 79, 1; and note on 2. 6, 5.

5. **degressus**: see notes on 2. 69, 4; 4. 74, 4.

**hortis**; according to Suet. (Tib. 72), those near the 'naumachia.' By comparing this with the locality described by Augustus (Mon. Anc. iv. 43) as that of his naval amphitheatre, 'tr]ans Tiberim, in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum,' it is inferred that the gardens here meant are those bequeathed to the people by Julius Caesar (see 2. 41, 1). Suetonius (l. l.) says that soldiers were posted along the bank to keep off the concourse.

**saxa**. Nipp. takes these to be the cliffs of Terracina (cp. 4. 59, 2); but the addition of 'solitudinem maris' seems to show that Capreae is meant.

**rursum repetiit**. Dräger well remarks (Synt. und Stil, § 241) that here, as in 3. 21, 5; 11. 17, 5; 12. 60, 4; 15. 40, 2, 'rursus' is not really pleonastic, but expresses the contrast between one action and another. In 'redeo rursus eodem' (Cic. Att. 13. 20, 4) no such contrast is apparent.

7. **more regio**. This and other such allusions to 'royal' outrages or vices, e.g. c. 42, 3; 16. 23, 3; H. 4. 83, 4; 5. 8, 3; and the exclamation 'o rem regiam' (see Introd. vii. p. 101, n. 13), are drawn from the barbarian or Macedonian despotisms of the East.

10. **ignota antea vocabula**: see Suet. Tib. 43; Cal. 16; Vit. 3. It is to be borne in mind in estimating the force of this charge against Tiberius, that these vile words not only originate at this time but appear to be confined to it.

14. **libita**. This substantival use appears to be found only in this passage and in 12. 6, 3; 14. 2, 4: cp. 'cupitis' 4. 3, 1.

15. **exercebant**, taken by zeugma with 'dona.'

17. **pridem . . . punitis**: see Dio, 58. 11, 7. The interval could not have been very long, as less than three months had passed from the fall of Seianus (see Appendix iii. p. 540).

in effigies quoque ac memoriam eius, et bona Seiani ablata aerario ut in fiscum cogerentur, tamquam referret. Scipiones haec et Silani et Cassii isdem ferme aut paulum inmutatis verbis, adseveratione multa censebant, cum repente Togonius Gallus, dum ignobilitatem suam magnis nominibus inserit, per deridiculum auditur. nam principem orabat deligere senatores, ex quis viginti sorte ducti et ferro accincti, quotiens curiam inisset, salutem eius defenderent. crediderat nimirum epistulae subsidio sibi alterum ex consulibus poscentis, ut tutus a Capreis urbem peteret. Tiberius tamen, ludibria seriis permiscere solitus, egit gratis benevolentiae patrum: sed quos omitti posse, quos deligi? semperne eosdem an subinde alios? et honoribus perfunctos an iuvenes, privatos an e magistratibus? quam deinde speciem fore sumentium in limine curiae gladios? neque sibi vitam tanti, si armis tegenda foret. haec adversus Togonium verbis moderans, neque *ut* ultra abolitionem sententia suaderet.

1. **in effigies . . . ac memoriam.** Similar decrees were passed after the death of Messalina (11. 38, 4): cp. 2. 32, 2, etc.

2. **tamquam referret,** 'as if it made any difference;' i.e. as if Caesar was not as much master of the 'aerarium' as of the 'fiscus.' His control of the former would be indirect, by originating 'senatus consulta' to deal with its funds: cp. 2. 47, 3; 4. 13, 1, etc.; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. 972, n. 2. All 'publicata bona' went properly to the 'aerarium;' but that Caesar could alter this disposition, appears from c. 19, 1.

**Scipiones,** etc.: a 'Scipio' is mentioned in 3. 74, 2; 'Silani' in 2. 59, 1; 3. 24, 5, etc.; 'Cassii' in c. 15, 1; 12. 11, 4. The plurals here are probably used of single persons, as in 1. 10, 3, etc.

4. **adseveratione**: cp. 2. 31, 4.

**Togonius Gallus,** otherwise unknown. Dio, who mentions this 'sententia' (58. 17, 4), omits his name.

5. **per deridiculum**: cp. 3. 57, 3. The absurdity is pointed out by Dio (l. l.), as lying in the fact that they were really asking him to let them protect him against themselves.

6. **orabat,** with inf.; as in 11. 32, 5; 12. 9, 1; 13. 13, 4; Plaut. and Verg.: see Introd. v. § 42.

8. **epistulae;** the same 'verbosa et grandis epistola' in which he had denounced Seianus. The consul Regulus had in accordance with it presented himself at Capreae, but had been refused an audience (Dio, 58. 10, 2; 13, 3; Suet. Tib. 65). Hence the absurdity of any one still pretending to believe that Tiberius had meant what he said.

11. **sed quos,** etc.; giving the sense of the letter.

12. **perfunctos.** The use of a stronger word than 'functos' would appear to mean those who had completed their career, i. e. 'consulares;' but in opposition to 'iuvenes' it may possibly be taken, with Frost, to mean those who had completed any magistracy, or perhaps any one of the higher magistracies; as persons already senators are said 'honoribus ornari' (4. 2, 4).

13. **iuvenes.** The only senators who had gone through no magistracy would, unless in cases of exceptional 'adlectio,' be those actually holding the office of quaestor; who would be twenty-five years old or more. Such young men of senatorial rank as were allowed to be present at the debates before becoming actual senators (Suet. Aug. 38), can hardly here be meant.

15. **verbis moderans,** 'reining in his words.' 'Verbis' may probably be a dative, like 'cursui' in 2. 70, 4: 'moderans' is also used absolutely (c. 10, 3), and with 'ne' (1. 15, 2, etc.).

16. **neque ut . . . suaderet,** 'nor so as to advise anything beyond the cancelling

**3** (9). At Iunium Gallionem, qui censuerat ut praetoriani actis stipendiis ius apiscerentur in quattuordecim ordinibus sedendi, violenter increpuit, velut coram rogitans, quid illi cum militibus, quos neque dicta [imperatoris] neque praemia nisi ab imperatore accipere par esset. repperisse prorsus quod divus Augustus non providerit: an potius discordiam et seditionem a satellite Seiani quaesitam, qua rudes animos nomine honoris ad corrumpendum militiae morem propelleret? hoc pretium Gallio meditatae adulationis tulit, statim curia, deinde Italia exactus; et quia incusabatur facile toleraturus exilium delecta Lesbo, insula nobili et amoena, retrahitur in urbem custoditurque domibus magistratuum. isdem literis Caesar Sextium Paconianum praetorium perculit

of the proposal,' i.e. its omission from the 'acta' (cp. 5. 4, 1), without any penalty to the proposer. In the insertion of 'ut,' Halm follows Doed. Nipp. alters 'neque' to 'neve,' taking 'moderans' with a double construction; others read 'suadere' as historical infinitive.

1. **Iunium Gallionem.** M. Seneca, one of whose sons was adopted by this Gallio (see on 15. 73, 4), names him as forming, with Latro, Fuscus, and Albucius, a quartet of the foremost declaimers of his time (Contr. 10, pr. 13). Posterity rated him lower, as would appear from such expressions as 'tinnitus Gallionis' (Dial. 26, 1), 'remissius et pro suo ingenio . . . Gallio' (Quint. 9. 2, 91). Ovid addresses to him a condolence on the death of his wife (ex P. 4. 11).

**actis stipendiis.** They served sixteen years (1. 17, 9).

2. **in quattuordecim ordinibus.** This would give them an equestrian dignity, such as was usually the reward of a 'primipilaris:' see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 365.

3. **velut coram**; i.e. turning upon him in the letter as if face to face.

4. **[imperatoris].** Halm and Orelli follow Lips. in treating this as a gloss. Nipp., who had previously suggested 'nisi e praetorio,' now follows Rhenanus in reading 'nisi imperatoris,' which appears to be the simplest emendation. The ingenuity of Ritter's conjecture 'imperiti oratoris' (see Rhein. Mus. 16. p. 130) also deserves mention. The MS. text could no doubt be understood as 'the word of command' (cp. 2. 45, 3), and the whole sentence taken to mean that none could come between them and their general as regarded word or deed; but the close recurrence of 'imperator' in two distinct senses is awkward. In any case 'praemia' is emphatic, and 'dicta' thrown in to complete the statement. The resentment here expressed by Tiberius at senatorial interference with any matter relating to the army is strongly contrasted, if not wholly inconsistent, with his unusual reference of such questions to it at an earlier date (1. 26, 5, etc.): see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 915.

5. **prorsus**, used bitterly, as in 4. 52, 5.

7. **ad corrumpendum militiae morem**, 'to breach of discipline;' by, as Dio (58. 18, 4) expresses it, leading them to look to the state rather than their 'imperator.'

9. **incusabatur**, etc. This verb, which has an accus. and inf. in 3. 38, 4, and in Liv., appears to have the nom. and inf. only here and in Amm. 14. 11, 24 'cum altius niti incusaretur.' The construction is analogous to that of many other verbs of accusing (Introd. v. § 45).

11. **domibus magistratuum.** For similar ablatives, see Introd. v. § 24. Four kinds of custody are mentioned by Ulpian (Dig. 48. 3, 1) as within the discretion of the consul 'utrum in carcerem recipienda sit persona (see on 3. 22, 5), an militi tradenda (Acts 28, 16), an fideiussoribus (cp. 5. 8, 2), vel etiam sibi.' This 'libera custodia' might devolve on other magistrates besides the consuls (Sall. Cat. 47, 3). Asinius Gallus was thus held for three years, usually by the consuls, but by praetors when Tiberius himself was consul (Dio, 58. 3, 5). Nothing further appears to be known of the fate of Gallio.

12. **perculit**: cp. 'indicio perculerat' 4. 31, 7.

magno patrum gaudio, audacem, maleficum, omnium secreta rimantem delectumque ab Seiano cuius ope dolus Gaio Caesari pararetur. quod postquam patefactum, prorupere concepta pridem odia, et summum supplicium decernebatur, ni professus indicium foret.

**4** (10). Ut vero Latinium Latiarem ingressus est, accusator ac reus iuxta invisi gratissimum spectaculum praebebant. Latiaris, ut rettuli, praecipuus olim circumveniendi Titii Sabini et tunc luendae poenae primus fuit. inter quae Haterius Agrippa consules anni prioris invasit, cur mutua accusatione intenta nunc silerent: metum prorsus et noxae conscientiam pro foedere haberi; at non patribus reticenda quae audivissent. Regulus manere tempus ultionis, seque coram principe exsecuturum; Trio aemulationem inter collegas et si qua discordes iecissent melius obliterari respondit. urguente Agrippa Sanquinius Maximus e consularibus oravit senatum, ne curas imperatoris conquisitis insuper acerbitatibus augerent: sufficere ipsum statuendis remediis. sic Regulo salus et Trioni dilatio exitii quaesita.

4. **professus indicium,** 'offered to turn informer' (see on 5. 8, 1). He was kept in prison, and afterwards put to death there (c. 39, 1).

6. **ingressus.** This verb has been taken to have here alone the force of 'aggredior,' and has been treated as analogous to the use of 'invasit' below. It appears better to take it, with Walther and Nipp., to mean 'began upon,' or 'entered upon Latinius Latiaris;' like 'antequam crimina ingrederer' (Pl. Epp. 3. 9, 14), or the use of 'loqui' with a personal accusative, as 'etiam Catilinam . . . loquebantur' (Cic. Mil. 23, 63).

7. **praebebant:** so Halm and Orell., after Orsini, for the MS. 'praebebantur:' the older editors generally read 'praebebatur.'

8. **ut rettuli:** see 4. 68, 2; 71, 1. It appears to be implied here that he suffered the extreme penalty.

**praecipuus.** The gerundive genitive, here alone (acc. to Dräger) found with this word or with 'primus,' is taken similarly to the relative genitives noted in Introd. v. § 34 e γ.

9. **Haterius Agrippa:** see 1. 77, 3, etc. On the countercharges here alluded to, see 5. 11, 1.

10. **intenta:** cp. 1. 39, 4, etc.

11. **noxae conscientiam,** 'complicity in guilt:' so Halm and Nipp. after Grosslot, on the supposition that the MS. text 'noxiam (sometimes read as 'noxam') conscientiae' has arisen from a confusion of endings. 'Noxa' is so used in H. 2. 49, 6, and Liv.; 'noxia' is not found in Tacitus. Those who retain the MS. text give it much the same meaning by supposing an inversion of expression. For other suggested readings, see Halm, Comm. Crit.

15. **Sanquinius Maximus.** Borghesi (i. 244) thinks him probably grandson of a Q. Sanquinius Q. f., mentioned as quaestor, trib. pl., praetor, and procos. (C. I. L. i. 640); and son of one M. Sanquinius, Q. f. triumvir monetalis in 737, B.C. 17 (Eckh. v. 299). He had been cos. suff. (I. R. N. 2275) probably, as Nipp. thinks, in 776, A. D. 23; was praefectus urbis and again cos. suff. in 792, A. D. 39 (Dio, 59. 13, 2), and died legatus of Lower Germany in 800, A. D. 47 (11. 18, 1).

17. **acerbitatibus,** 'troubles:' cp. 2. 71, 3; 13. 50, 4; Cic. p. Planc. 42, 101, etc.

**sufficere,** etc. On the construction, cp. 3. 72, 4.

18. **dilatio exitii.** He perished three years later (c. 38, 2).

Haterius invisior fuit, quia somno aut libidinosis vigiliis marcidus et ob segnitiam quamvis crudelem principem non metuens inlustribus viris perniciem inter ganeam ac stupra meditabatur.

**5** (11). Exim Cotta Messalinus, saevissimae cuiusque sententiae 1 auctor eoque inveterata invidia, ubi primum facultas data, arguitur pleraque *in* C. Caesarem quasi incertae virilitatis, et cum die natali Augustae inter sacerdotes epularetur, novendialem eam cenam dixisse; querensque de potentia M'. Lepidi ac L. Arruntii, cum quibus ob rem pecuniariam disceptabat, addidisse: 'illos quidem senatus, me autem tuebitur Tiberiolus meus.' quae 2 cuncta a primoribus civitatis revincebatur, iisque instantibus ad imperatorem provocavit. nec multo post literae adferuntur, quibus in modum defensionis, repetito inter se atque Cottam amicitiae principio crebrisque eius officiis commemoratis, ne verba prave detorta neu convivalium fabularum simplicitas in crimen duceretur postulavit.

**6** (12). Insigne visum est earum Caesaris literarum initium; 1 nam his verbis exorsus est: 'quid scribam vobis, patres conscripti,

1. **marcidus.** Tacitus uses this word only here, but has 'marcens' in the same sense in H. 3. 36, 2; G. 36, 1: both words are originally poetical.

3. **ganeam**: cp. 3. 52, 2.

4. **Cotta Messalinus**: see 2. 32, 2; and other of his proposals noted in 4. 20, 6; 5. 3, 4.

6. **pleraque in C. Caesarem**, etc. Halm and Nipp. follow Muretus in inserting 'in,' and Lips. in reading 'incertae' for the MS. 'incerta.' Orelli follows Freinsh. in placing a colon at 'pleraque' (to be taken as accus. after 'arguitur'), and in reading 'Gaiam Caesarem,' supposing the sarcasm to be the same as that by which one Egilius was called 'Egilia' (Cic. de Or. 2. 68, 277). For other attempts at emendation see Baiter, and Halm, Comm. Crit.

7. **die natali Augustae.** An Arval Table lately found (see Nipp.) shows this to be Jan. 30.

**novendialem.** This name was given to a feast for the dead, held on the ninth day after a funeral (Porphyr. on Hor. Epod. 17, 48); and the point of the jest would be that a feast on the birthday of a dead person who had never been deified (cp. 5. 2, 1) was only a funeral feast under another name.

8. **M'. Lepidi ac L. Arruntii**: see 1. 13, 2; 3. 32, 2.

10. **quae cuncta**: so Halm, Orell., Nipp., etc., after Jac. Gron., for the MS. 'neque cuncta,' which cannot be satisfactorily explained, or reconciled with 'iisque instantibus.' The accusative 'quae cuncta' at the beginning of a sentence, is a form of expression chosen by Tacitus (1. 11, 7; 4. 7, 1; H. 2. 35, 4; and nom. Agr. 5, 4). On the use of such an accus. after a passive verb, see Introd. v. § 12 d, and Orelli's mode of taking 'arguitur pleraque' above.

11. **revincebatur**; so 'in . . . maleficio revicti' Gell. 6. 2, 'in mendacio revincatur' Dig. 26. 10, 3, § 15. The verb oftener means 'to refute.'

15. **simplicitas**, 'frankness;' i.e. 'mere table-talk with no deeper meaning:' see note on 1. 69, 4.

**in crimen duceretur**: cp. 11. 34, 6; and 'ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret' Sall. Jug. 85, 26. The more usual verb would be 'trahere.'

18. **his verbis.** The letter was no doubt extant in the 'acta senatus,' but it does not follow that Tacitus cites it directly from that source. Suetonius (Tib. 67) gives, with a slight variation noted below, precisely the same words, neither more nor less. Unless, therefore, he is quoting from Tacitus, it would appear that both must have followed some ear-

aut quo modo scribam aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, di me deaeque peius perdant quam perire me cotidie sentio, si scio.' adeo facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. neque frustra praestantissimus sapientiae firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus, quando ut corpora verberibus, ita saevitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceretur. quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegebant quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse poenas fateretur.

**7** (13). Tum facta patribus potestate statuendi de *C.* Caeciliano senatore, qui plurima adversum Cottam prompserat, placitum eandem poenam inrogari quam in Aruseium et Sanquinium, accusatores L. Arruntii; quo non aliud honorificentius Cottae evenit, qui nobilis quidem, set egens ob luxum, per flagitia infamis, sanctissimis Arruntii artibus dignitate ultionis aequabatur.

lier historian, who had quoted thus much and no more. For the few and short passages in which Tacitus gives 'ipsissima verba,' see c. 5, 1; 14. 59, 4; 15. 67, 4. His usual method of modifying the substance into a form harmonised with his own style is illustrated in Introd. iv. p. 23.

2. **di deaeque**: see note on 4. 38, 3.

**quam . . . sentio.** Suetonius has, perhaps in error, the words 'quam cotidie perire sentio.'

3. **adeo**, etc. Tacitus makes the words express the torment of an avenging conscience; Suetonius explains them by his sensitiveness to libels cited in evidence (cp. 4. 42, 2), or as a presage of the execration of posterity of which he had always had misgivings. Some of his apologists (as Karsten, p. 50) explain them as self-reproach for having allowed himself to be so misled by Seianus; others as expressing mere weariness of the burden of life and cares of empire.

**ipsi quoque**, i. e. 'ut et aliis tyrannis.'

4. **frustra**: cp. 1. 30, 3.

**praestantissimus sapientiae.** The expression seems taken from 'praestans animi' (Verg. Aen. 12, 19), and is analogous to many others (Introd. v. § 32 e γ). Socrates is so styled, probably in allusion to his having been pronounced wisest of men by the Delphic oracle. The quotation is made with considerable freedom from Plat. Gorg. 524, E; with some apparent reminiscence also of Repub. 9. 579, D; the expression 'solitus est' apparently implying that more than one place is referred to.

**firmare** = 'adfirmare:' cp. 1. 81, 1, etc.

6. **malis consultis**, 'evil designs:' cp. 'mollibus consultis' 1. 40, 2, 'magnis' H. 2. 4, 3.

7. **fortuna**: cp. 4. 18, 2.

10. **C. Caeciliano.** The MS. has 'Caesiliano' without a praenomen, the absence of which is not without example, where a title is added: see Nipp. on 5. 8, 1. The person mentioned in 3. 37, 1 would be styled 'praetura functus' rather than simply 'senator.'

12. **Aruseium et Sanquinium.** These persons, and their accusation of Arruntius, must have been mentioned in the lost part: hence their brief designation here by one name. This Aruseius is probably not the one mentioned in c. 40, 1, as we should suppose him to be in exile; and the other name is uncertain, being written in the MS. as 'Sangunnium,' which Nipp. thinks may have been intended for 'Sangurium,' a name found in C. I. L. i. 1419. In any case he cannot be the person mentioned in c. 4, 4.

14. **nobilis.** On his family connexions, see 1. 8, 5.

**egens ob luxum.** For his gifts to retainers, see Introd. vii. p. 86.

15. **sanctissimis . . . artibus**, 'the stainless accomplishments.' On this use of 'artes,' cp. 4. 6, 2.

Q. Servaeus posthac et Minucius Thermus inducti, Servaeus praetura functus et quondam Germanici comes, Minucius equestri loco, modeste habita Seiani amicitia; unde illis maior miseratio. contra Tiberius praecipuos ad scelera increpans admonuit C. Cestium patrem dicere senatui quae sibi scripsisset, suscepitque Cestius accusationem. quod maxime exitiabile tulere illa tem- 4 pora, cum primores senatus infimas etiam delationes exercerent, alii propalam, multi per occultum; neque discerneres alienos a coniunctis, amicos ab ignotis, quid repens aut vetustate obscurum: perinde in foro, in convivio, quaqua de re locuti incusabantur, ut quis praevenire et reum destinare properat, pars ad subsidium sui, plures infecti quasi valetudine et contactu. sed 5 Minucius et Servaeus damnati indicibus accessere. tractique sunt in casum eundem Iulius Africanus e Santonis Gallica civitate, Seius Quadratus: originem non repperi. neque sum 6

**dignitate ultionis**, 'by being as worthily avenged.' We should infer that the penalty was exile.

1. **Q. Servaeus**: see 2. 56, 5; 3. 13, 3; 19, 1. Minucius Thermus may have been the father of the person mentioned in 16. 20, 2.

**inducti**, were brought into court: cp. 'reus capitis inducor' Appul. Met. 3. 7, 185.

3. **modeste habita**: cp. 4. 44, 1. The words apply to both the persons.

4. **praecipuos . . . increpans**, 'denouncing them as foremost in crime:' cp. 'praecipuum ad pericula' 14. 58, 1.

**C. Cestium patrem**: see on 3. 36, 2; here so called to distinguish him from his son (see on 15. 25, 5); unless 'praetorem' should be read, with Lips. Neither should be identified (as by Ritt.) with the professional rhetor Cestius often cited by M. Seneca. The well-known pyramid of C. Cestius at Rome records some member of this family who was trib. pl., praetor, and 'septemvir epulonum,' about the middle of the principate of Augustus (Burn, p. 209); another may have given his name to the original 'pons Cestius' (Id. p. 266).

**admonuit.** This verb takes an inf. in Agr. 25, 3; also in Augustan poets and Liv.: so 'monere' 11. 1, 2, etc.

6. **exitiabile**: so used in c. 24, 1; 15. 44, 4, etc.; and 'exitiosus' more frequently. Both words are rare, but classical.

9. **repens**, used in the sense of 'recens' often by Tacitus (11. 24, 7; 15. 68, 5; H. 1. 23, 1; 4. 25, 1), and by no other author.

10. **in foro**, etc.: 'locuti' is supplied with 'in foro' and 'in convivio;' and 'quaqua de re' applies to speech at both these or any other places: see note on 4. 64, 2 (Nipp.).

11. **praevenire**, 'to be first in the field:' cp. c. 35, 1; 15. 54, 6.

**destinare**, 'to mark out:' so in 14. 60, 3; also 'destinare excidio' (1. 36, 1), 'praedae' (2. 13, 3), 'ad ictum' (H. 4. 29, 1).

12. **valetudine et contactu**; hendiadys.

13. **indicibus accessere**: cp. c. 3, 5. This escape from penalty, even after conviction, had been allowed by the law of Pompeius de ambitu (App. B. C. 2. 24).

14. **Iulius Africanus**; probably father of the famous orator who in the next generation divided the palm with Domitius Afer: see Dial. 15, 3; Quint. 10. 1, 118, etc.

**Santonis**; the people of Saintonge, to the north of the lower Garonne. Their chief city, Mediolanium (Strab. 4. 2, 1, 190), is the modern Saintes, on the Charente.

15. **originem non repperi.** The abruptness of this clause would indicate that Quadratus also was an obscure, probably a provincial citizen. Asyndeta in the enumeration of names are not uncommon even in the case of persons of

ignarus a plerisque scriptoribus omissa multorum pericula et poenas, dum copia fatiscunt aut, quae ipsis nimia et maesta fuerant, ne pari taedio lecturos adficerent verentur: nobis pleraque digna cognitu obvenere, quamquam ab aliis incelebrata.

**8** (14). Nam ea tempestate, qua Seiani amicitiam ceteri falso exuerant, ausus est eques Romanus M. Terentius, ob id reus, amplecti, ad hunc modum apud senatum ordiendo: 'fortunae quidem meae fortasse minus expediat adgnoscere crimen quam abnuere: sed utcumque casura res est, fatebor et fuisse me Seiano amicum, et ut essem expetisse, et postquam adeptus eram laetatum. videram collegam patris regendis praetoriis cohortibus, mox urbis et militiae munia simul obeuntem. illius propinqui et adfines honoribus augebantur; ut quisque Seiano intimus, ita ad Caesaris amicitiam validus: contra quibus infensus esset, metu ac sordibus conflictabantur. nec quemquam exemplo adsumo: cunctos, qui novissimi consilii expertes fuimus, meo unius discrimine defendam. non enim Seianum Vulsiniensem, set Claudiae et Iuliae domus partem, quas adfinitate occupaverat, tuum, Caesar, generum, tui consulatus socium, tua

rank: cp. 2. 33, 1; 3. 18, 1; and many other instances collected here by Nipp.

**neque sum ignarus.** The mention of obscure persons suggests that he might have followed other historians in omitting them; but such cases, as illustrating the character of the times, or that of Terentius below, as an example of courage, would be in his view fruitful matter of history: see Introd. iv. pp. 19, 20.

2. **fatiscunt**: cp. 3. 38, 1.

4. **obvenere**, 'have come to my notice.' The expression would imply research among less known sources of history, such as private memoirs. See Introd. iii. p. 14.

**incelebrata**, ἅπ. εἰρ, unless read, with Jac. Gron., in Sall. H. 1. 55 D, 62 K, 80 G.

5. **Nam**, etc.; introducing one of these cases omitted by others. Dio gives the story (58. 19, 3), taking it apparently from Tacitus.

7. **amplecti**: cp. 4. 42, 3. Lips. has well pointed out the resemblance, which can hardly be accidental, between this speech and that attributed by Curtius (7. 1, 26, sqq.) to Amyntas, accused of friendship with Philotas. According to most opinions, Curtius is the earlier writer.

11. **collegam patris**, etc.: see 1. 24, 3; 4. 1, 2.

12. **urbis et militiae.** These words can hardly be taken to refer to any combination of definite offices; and Nipp. no doubt rightly explains them as referring to his virtual control of all departments, civil or military, through his influence with the princeps.

13. **propinqui**; as Blaesus (3. 35, 2, etc.).

**ut quisque intimus**; as the accusers of Sabinus (4. 68, 2).

14. **quibus infensus**; as Cremutius Cordus (4. 34, 2).

15. **metu ac sordibus**, 'danger and the suppliants' garb.' On 'metus' cp. 1. 40, 1; on 'sordes,' 4. 52, 4; Dial. 12, 1, etc.

16. **novissimi consilii**; the 'coniuratio' (5. 11, 2, etc.). Its objects are further specified below (§ 11).

17. **Vulsiniensem**: see 4. 1, 3.

18. **Claudiae et Iuliae.** He would appear to have been connected with the Claudian house through the betrothal of his daughter (see on 3. 29, 5), and with the Julian through his own (see on 4. 40, 11; 5. 6, 2).

19. **consulatus**: see Appendix iii. p. 539.

officia in re publica capessentem colebamus. non est nostrum 7
aestimare quem supra ceteros et quibus de causis extollas: tibi summum rerum iudicium di dedere, nobis obsequii gloria relicta est. spectamus porro quae coram habentur, cui ex te opes 8
honores, quis plurima iuvandi nocendive potentia, quae Seiano fuisse nemo negaverit. abditos principis sensus, et si quid oc- 9
cultius parat, exquirere inlicitum, anceps: nec ideo adsequare. ne, patres conscripti, ultimum Seiani diem, sed sedecim annos 10
cogitaveritis. etiam Satrium atque Pomponium venerabamur; libertis quoque ac ianitoribus eius notescere pro magnifico accipiebatur. quid ergo? indistincta haec defensio et promisca 11
dabitur? immo iustis terminis dividatur. insidiae in rem publicam, consilia caedis adversum imperatorem puniantur: de amicitia et officiis idem finis et te, Caesar, et nos absolverit.'

**9** (15). Constantia orationis, et quia repertus erat qui efferret 1
quae omnes animo agitabant, eo usque potuere, ut accusatores eius, additis quae ante deliquerant, exilio aut morte multarentur.

Secutae dehinc Tiberii literae in Sex. Vistilium praetorium, 2
quem Druso fratri percarum in cohortem suam transtulerat.

1. **officia capessentem**; as 'adiutor' (4. 7, 2), and perhaps ultimately 'collega imperii' (5. 6, 2).

4. **quae coram habentur**, 'what exist openly:' 'coram' is opposed to 'occultus' (as here to 'abditos' and 'occultius') in 13. 25, 4; and to 'secreti sermones' in H. 2. 76, 1. For 'habentur,' cp. 'non in obscuro habentur' 15. 16, 3, 'procul an coram atrocior haberetur' 15. 36, 7, and other instances collected by Nipp. on 1. 73, 2.

5. **quis.** Nipp. takes this as nom., followed by 'plurima . . . potentia' as abl. of quality; but the construction of the corresponding clauses is in favour of taking it as dat. pl.

7. **anceps**: cp. 4. 17, 1, etc.

**ideo** = 'si exquiras:' 'nor does it follow that you will arrive at them:' cp. 'nec ideo . . . lenivit' 1. 12, 6. The contrast between the sentiment of this whole passage, and the republican ideas presupposed in the constitution of the principate, is worthy of note.

8. **sedecim**, from the accession of Tiberius to the fall of Seianus; without counting the year in which each of these events happened.

9. **Satrium**: see 4. 34, 2.

**Pomponium**; probably some one mentioned in the lost part, and another such person as Satrius. None of the distinguished Pomponii (2. 32, 3; 4. 47, 1; 5. 8, 1) could be thus spoken of. Ritter thinks the copyist may have substituted a well known for a less known name, such as that of Pinarius (4. 34, 2).

10. **ianitoribus**: cp. 4. 74, 6.

11. **indistincta et promisca**, 'without discrimination or reserve:' 'indistinctus' is found apparently here alone in Tacitus; also in Catull. 64, 283; Quint. and Gell.

14. **finis**, i.e. 'amicitiae et officiorum:' 'our friendship and attentions must be excused, by their having lasted as long as he was your friend and no longer.'

15. **Constantia**: cp. 5. 4, 2.

**qui efferret**, 'to utter:' used in a similar sense in 2. 63, 4; 3. 41, 3; more commonly with an abl., as 'verbis' (Cic. Or. 44, 150), 'lingua' (Hor. A. P. 111).

16. **eo usque potuere**: so 'largiter posse' (Caes. B. G. 1. 18, 3), in accordance with the construction of δύνασθαι.

17. **quae ante deliquerant**, 'their former misdeeds.'

18. **Sex. Vistilium.** Vistilia, who is stated to belong to a praetorian family (2. 85, 2), may have been his daughter.

19. **cohortem**: see on 1. 29, 2.

causa offensionis Vistilio fuit, seu composuerat quaedam in Gaium Caesarem ut impudicum, sive ficto habita fides. atque ob id convictu principis prohibitus cum senili manu ferrum temptavisset, obligat venas; precatusque per codicillos, immiti rescripto venas resolvit. acervatim ex eo Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus Scauro Mamerco simul ac Sabino Calvisio maiestatis postulantur, et Vinicianus Pollioni patri adiciebatur, clari genus et quidam summis honoribus. contremuerantque patres (nam quotus quisque adfinitatis aut amicitiae tot inlustrium virorum expers erat?), ni Celsus urbanae cohortis tribunus, tum inter indices, Appium et Calvisium discrimini exemisset. Caesar Pollionis ac Vinciani Scaurique causam, ut ipse cum senatu nosceret, distulit, datis quibusdam in Scaurum tristibus notis.

**10** (16). Ne feminae quidem exsortes periculi. quia occupandae rei publicae argui non poterant, ob lacrimas incusabantur; necataque est anus Vitia, Fufii Gemini mater, quod filii necem

1. **seu . . . sive** = εἴτε . . . εἴτε. The cause of displeasure was the allegation (whether true or false) that he had composed, etc.

3. **convictu . . . prohibitus.** Vespasian, when under the displeasure of Nero, was 'prohibitus non contubernio modo, sed etiam publica salutatione' (Suet. Vesp. 4). Such marks of displeasure (see Friedl. i. p. 128) are probably somewhat less severe than complete 'renuntiatio amicitiae' (see on c. 29, 3; 2. 70, 3; 3. 12, 4; 24, 5). Some similar cause is implied for the supposed suicide of Fabius Maximus (1. 5, 4).

4. **venas.** The repetition of this word has been thought an error of the transcriber (see Pfitzner, p. 75). Nipp. (on 1. 81, 2) gives several instances of such repetitions for vivid description or rhetorical emphasis, as well as others where it may be due to oversight.

5. **Annius Pollio**: cos. suff. in 773, A. D. 20, with Rubellius Blandus (Henzen, p. 496, § 7). Borghesi (iv. 477) considers him son of C. Annius C. f. Cor(nelia) Pollio, 'triumvir monetalis' under Augustus (Eckh. v. 135). The Annius Pollio of 15. 56, 4, etc., may have been his grandson. The son here mentioned, L. Annius Vinicianus, occurs among the Arvales in 791, A. D. 38 (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2028 c 34), and is mentioned by Dio (60. 15, 1) as having been contemplated as a successor to Gaius (Caligula), and as having joined the rebellion of Camillus Scribonianus (see on 12. 52, 2). Appius Silanus has been mentioned in 4. 68, 1; Mamercus Scaurus in 1. 13, 4, etc., Calvisius Sabinus in 4. 46, 1. On the use of 'simul,' see Introd. v. § 63.

8. **et quidam.** All except Vinicianus were certainly consulars. Nipp. thinks that he probably was also such, and that 'atque idem' should be read.

10. **Celsus.** Ritter would insert 'Iulius' from c. 14, 2, but the addition of his office would make one name suffice, as in many instances (see Nipp. on 5. 8).

11. **discrimini exemisset**: cp. 2. 55, 3.

12. **nosceret**: cp. 12. 60, 3: so 'notio' for 'cognitio' c. 12, 5; 3. 59, 2.

13. **tristibus notis,** 'harsh written expressions.' On the fate of Scaurus, see c. 29, 4.

14. **quia.** So most edd. after Muretus, for the MS. 'qua;' for which Ritt. reads 'quando.'

15. **argui,** often used with an ordinary genitive, but, acc. to Dräger, here alone with that of the gerundive. By 'occupandae reipublicae' is meant such a conspiracy as that of Seianus. Women could be charged with treasonable words, or acts, such as consulting astrologers: see 2. 50, 1; 3. 22, 2, etc.

16. **Vitia.** No such Roman name is known; hence Nipp. inclines to read 'Vibia.' On Fufius Geminus, see 5. 1, 1; 2, 2.

flevisset. haec apud senatum: nec secus apud principem Ves- 2 cularius Flaccus ac Iulius Marinus ad mortem aguntur, e vetustissimis familiarium, Rhodum secuti et apud Capreas individui, Vescularius insidiarum in Libonem internuntius; Marino participe Seianus Curtium Atticum oppresserat. quo laetius acceptum sua exempla in consultores recidisse.

Per idem tempus L. Piso pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, 3 fato obiit, nullius servilis sententiae sponte auctor, et quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans. patrem ei censorium 4 fuisse memoravi; aetas ad octogensimum annum processit; decus triumphale in Thraecia meruerat. sed praecipua ex eo 5 gloria, quod praefectus urbi recens continuam potestatem et insolentia parendi graviorem mire temperavit.

1. **haec apud senatum**, sc. 'acta.' On the omission of such verbs, see Introd. v. § 38 b. The expression here includes all the cases mentioned from c. 2.

**apud principem.** On the personal jurisdiction of the 'princeps,' see Introd. vi. p. 74; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 920, foll. Some further traces of such trials before Tiberius can be gathered from Suet. Tib. 62, but it is his usual practice to devolve the responsibility of condemnation on the senate: see 3. 10, 6; and below, c. 47, 4.

3. **individui**, 'inseparable from him.' The word appears to be almost ἅπ. εἰρ. in this sense: in Cicero it means 'indivisible.'

4. **insidiarum . . . internuntius**: see 2. 28, 1; whence 'Flaccus' is restored above for the MS. error 'Atticus.'

5. **Curtium Atticum**: see 4. 58, 1. His overthrow must have been mentioned in the lost part. Marinus is otherwise unknown.

6. **sua exempla**: so 'sua quisque exempla debet . . . pati' Phaedr. 1, 26.

**consultores**, 'the devisers:' so 'prava incepta consultoribus noxae esse' Sall. H. 1. 48, 1 D, 51 K, p. 144 G. The use in 4. 24, 3 is also from Sall.

7. **L. Piso pontifex.** This title, confirmed by the 'Acta Arvalium' of 767, A.D. 14 (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2023 a) distinguishes this L. Piso from others of the same name (cp. 2. 34, 1; 4. 45, 1; 62, 1). He was consul in 739, B.C. 15, and probably father of the 'iuvenes' addressed by Horace: see on 4. 45, 1; 62, 1; Porphyr. on Hor. A. P. On the story respecting his appointment to the 'praefectura urbis,' see Introd. iv. p. 24.

**rarum**, etc. On such parentheses, see Introd. v. § 82.

8. **fato**: cp. 2. 71, 2, etc.

**nullius servilis sententiae**, etc. It is doubtful whether he is the person spoken of in 2. 32, 4; 3. 68, 1.

10. **memoravi.** This mention is lost. The father is otherwise known as L. Calpurnius C. f. L. n. Piso Caesoninus, cos. 696, B.C. 58, and censor 704, B.C. 50, the supporter of Clodius and enemy of Cicero, who attacks him in two speeches (de Prov. Cons., and in Pis.). He was also father of Calpurnia, wife of Julius Caesar.

11. **decus triumphale**, i.e. the 'triumphalia ornamenta.' This was in 743, B.C. 11 (Dio, 54. 34, 6), after a three years war (Vell. 2. 98, 1).

12. **recens continuam**, 'an office recently made permanent;' 'recens,' adv. as in 2. 21, 1. It is noted (Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 22) that this use of 'recens' with adjectives occurs first in the Annals, and is found only with adjectives having a participial meaning. Piso is the first from whom an unbroken series of 'praefecti' is reckoned; but it is doubtful whether his own tenure of office was continuous: see notes on c. 11, 7.

**insolentia parendi**, 'for want of habits of submission.' The expression seems strange in reference to the time of Tiberius, but should be understood in contrast to the more fully established authority of the praefect when Tacitus wrote.

**11** (17). Namque antea, profectis domo regibus ac mox magistratibus, ne urbs sine imperio foret, in tempus deligebatur qui ius redderet ac subitis mederetur; feruntque ab Romulo Dentrem Romulium, post ab Tullo Hostilio Numam Marcium et ab Tarquinio Superbo Spurium Lucretium inpositos. dein consules mandabant; duratque simulacrum, quotiens ob ferias Latinas praeficitur qui consulare munus usurpet. ceterum Augustus bellis civilibus Cilnium Maecenatem equestris ordinis cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam praeposuit: mox rerum potitus ob magnitudinem populi ac tarda legum auxilia sumpsit e consularibus qui coerceret servitia et quod civium audacia turbidum, nisi vim metuat. primusque Messalla Corvinus eam potestatem et paucos intra dies finem accepit, quasi nescius exercendi; tum

1. **Namque**, etc. This history of the office is suggested by 'recens continuam.'

2. **in tempus**: cp. 4. 66, 3.

3. **subitis mederetur**, 'to meet emergencies:' 'subita' is often used substantively, as in 15. 59, 3; H. 1. 7, 4; 5. 13, 4, etc.

**Dentrem Romulium.** This person and the name 'Romulius' are otherwise unknown. Denter is found as a cognomen of C. Livius, magister equitum 406, B.C. 338, and M. Livius, consul 452, B.C. 302 (Liv. 10. 1, 9, etc., C. I. L. i. p. 516).

4. **Numam Marcium**; according to Livy (1. 20, 5), created first pontiff by king Numa; according to other traditions, husband of Numa's daughter Pompilia, and, by her, father of Ancus Marcius (Plut. Num. 21).

5. **Sp. Lucretium**: see Liv. 1. 59, 12. Among early instances under the Republic are Sempronius Atratinus (Dion. Hal. 6. 2), and others (Liv. 3. 3, 6; 3. 24, 2, etc.).

6. **duratque simulacrum.** On this 'shadow,' see 4. 36, 1; Mommsen, Staatsr. i. p. 642. The necessity for the praefecture as a substantial office appears to have ceased with the institution of the 'praetura urbana' in 387, B. C. 367.

8. **bellis civilibus,** abl. of time throughout which (see Introd. v. §. 26). Maecenas was first thus left in charge during the Sicilian war in 718, B.C. 36, καὶ τότε καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ πολύ (Dio, 49. 16, 2); also during the final struggle in 723, B.C. 31 (Id. 51. 3, 5).

**cunctis . . . praeposuit.** Maecenas was not titular praefectus urbis, but his vicegerency is here mentioned as including the functions of that office, and much more. His duties are spoken of by Horace (Od. 3. 29, 27; Sat. 2. 6, 38) and others: see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 708. Agrippa shared his duties for a time (Dio, 51. 3, 10), and afterwards had a similar τῆς πόλεως διαχείρισις in 733, B.C. 21, apparently without a formal praefecture (Id. 54. 6, 5).

11. **qui coerceret**, etc. This very limited original jurisdiction seems little more than such as had been exercised by the 'tresviri capitales' at the Maenian column (Cic. Div. in Caec. 16, 50, etc.); but it must have been soon extended, and the urban cohorts, the 'proprius miles' (H. 3. 64, 1) of the praefect, must have existed before the death of Augustus (see note on 1. 8, 3). In the time of Nero an apparent clash of his jurisdiction with that of the praetor is mentioned (14. 41, 2); and in later times the office became far more important: see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 1012 sqq.

12. **Messalla Corvinus.** According to Jerome in Eus. Chron. (vol. viii. p. 551, Migne), he received this power probably in 729, B.C. 25, and resigned it on the sixth day, 'incivilem potestatem esse contestans.'

13. **quasi**: cp. Introd. v. § 67, and other instances here collected by Nipp. It appears in this place to denote the ostensible or generally prevalent explanation of his resignation; as distinct from that which (see last note) he may have given in private.

Taurus Statilius, quamquam provecta aetate, egregie toleravit; dein Piso viginti per annos pariter probatus, publico funere ex decreto senatus celebratus est.

**12** (18). Relatum inde ad patres a Quintiliano tribuno plebei de libro Sibullae, quem Caninius Gallus quindecimvirum recipi inter ceteros eiusdem vatis et ea de re senatus consultum postulaverat. quo per discessionem facto misit literas Caesar, modice tribunum increpans ignarum antiqui moris ob iuventam. Gallo exprobrabat, quod scientiae caerimoniarumque vetus incerto auctore,

1. **Taurus Statilius.** Dio (54. 19, 6) speaks of him as appointed in 738, B.C. 16, *τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας διοικεῖν*; but this vicegerency, resembling that of Maecenas and Agrippa, may, as Borghesi thinks (v. 317), have been an extension of the praefecture, which he may have held from the resignation of Corvinus.

**provecta aetate**: having been cos. suff. in 717, B.C. 37, and not being likely, as a 'novus homo,' to have attained that rank early in life, he may probably have been born as early as 674, B.C. 80. The date of his death is not known, but we can hardly place it as late as the appointment of Piso; so that other names must have intervened, or the office must have been in abeyance. On the descendants of Taurus, see 2. 1, 1; 12. 59, 1; 15. 68, 5.

**toleravit**, 'sustained its duties:' so with 'munia' 13. 35, 2.

2. **viginti per annos.** I have not followed Halm. and Nipp. here in altering the MS. text to 'quindecim,' to bring Tacitus into agreement with the untrustworthy story in Suet. Tib. 42 (see Introd. iv. p. 24), and with the assumption that the office was vacant at the death of Augustus (see on 1. 7, 3). Another view (see Pfitzner, p. 170, sqq.) would read 'sex' (on the supposition that 'vi' had been altered to 'viginti'), to bring the passage into agreement with Seneca (Ep. 83, 14), whose words have been taken to date the appointment from the departure of Tiberius to Campania (see 4. 57, 1). We should suppose that the praefect's office in some form was permanent, at least as early as the existence of permanent urban cohorts; but probably many of his functions were in abeyance while Augustus or Tiberius remained in Rome: see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 1014.

**publico funere**: see 3. 48, 1.

4. **Quintiliano.** Nipp. notes the possibility of his identity with one Nonius Quintilianus, cos. suff. in 792, A.D. 39.

**de libro Sibullae**: see on 1. 76, 2.

5. **Caninius Gallus**, mentioned in several Arval Tables dating 780–790, A.D. 27, 37 (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2024, 2025, 2027), as one of the college and as their 'magister.' As such, and also as 'quindecimvir,' he is called below 'scientiae caerimoniarumque vetus' (see Introd. ii. p. 9). Nipp. identifies him with the 'triumvir monetalis' of 736, B.C. 18 (Eckh. v. 162), and with L. Caninius, cos. suff. in 752, B.C. 2 (Mon. Anc. iii. 31); his father with L. Caninius L. f. Gallus, cos. in 717, B.C. 37 (Dio, Arg. B. 48); and his grandfather with the friend of Cicero who was trib. pl. in 698, B.C. 56.

**quindecimvirum**, partitive gen., used where the abl. with 'e' would be more common (as c. 4, 4; 10, 2, etc.): cp. 'quod decimvirum sine provocatione esset' (Cic. de Rep. 2. 36, 61). On the office of this priesthood and their charge of these books, see on 3. 64, 3.

**recipi.** An infin. is thus coordinated with a noun in 4. 3, 1.

6. **senatus consultum postulaverat.** He himself would not have had 'ius relationis,' and could only draw attention to the subject 'per egressionem' (see on 2. 38, 3). Such a decree was required for the promulgation of a Sibylline prophecy (Dio, 39. 15, 3), and no doubt also for its reception into the canon.

7. **per discessionem**: see on 3. 69, 9.

9. **scientiae caerimoniarumque**, hendiadys. On the gen. after 'vetus,' cp. c. 44, 1; 1. 20, 2; H. 4. 20, 3: elsewhere it occurs only in Sil. 4. 532; 17, 297.

**incerto auctore**, 'on untrustworthy information;' without having obtained it from any one of reputation.

ante sententiam collegii, non, ut adsolet, lecto per magistros aestimatoque carmine, apud infrequentem senatum egisset. simul commonefecit, quia multa vana sub nomine celebri vulgabantur, sanxisse Augustum, quem intra diem ad praetorem urbanum deferrentur neve habere privatim liceret. quod a maioribus quoque decretum erat post exustum sociali bello Capitolium, quaesitis Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam ac Siciliam et Italicas colonias, carminibus Sibullae, una seu plures fuere, datoque sacerdotibus negotio, quantum humana ope potuissent, vera discernere. igitur tunc quoque notioni quindecimvirum is liber subicitur.

**13** (19). Isdem consulibus gravitate annonae iuxta seditionem ventum, multaque et plures per dies in theatro licentius effla-

1. **magistros.** The correction 'magistrum' (Halm and Ritt. after Sirker) appears to be needless. That the quindecimviri in the time of Augustus had five 'magistri' is shown by Mommsen (Comm. on Mon. Anc. p. 64) from the record of the ludi saeculares of 737, A.D. 17, in the Fasti Cap. (C. I. L. i. p. 442). Augustus himself (Mon. Anc. iv. 36) and no doubt his successors, were among these 'magistri;' and it was in that capacity that they held 'ludi saeculares.'

2. **infrequentem.** Augustus (Dio, 54. 35, 1) had relaxed the rule by which no decree could be passed without the presence of four hundred senators.

3. **vulgabantur**: the indic. is interposed as in 1. 10, 1, etc.

5. **deferrentur.** The subject of this is the many current prophecies mentioned above. Suet. (Aug. 31) says that Augustus, on assuming the office of pontifex maximus, after search made, burnt above two thousand of the collected prophetic books, retaining only the Sibylline and making selection also among them: see note on 1. 76, 2.

**neve.** Halm and Nipp. follow Ern. in reading this for 'neque,' which has indeed the force of 'et ne' in 11. 18, 2; 15. 43, 4; but is there preceded by a clause with 'ut' or 'ne.'

6. **sociali bello.** In H. 3. 72, 2, the date is correctly given, 'arserat et ante Capitolium civili bello,' i.e. in the struggle between Sulla and the Marians in 671, B.C. 83. Some have vainly justified the words here by the common interest which the Italians had with the Marians. Lips. boldly reads 'civili;' Nipp. with more reason thinks that Tacitus gave no date, and that 'bello sociali' is the gloss of some historical blunderer. The similar discrepancy noted in 1. 54, 1, relates to a legend of which there may have been two versions; the error here is one which it is difficult to suppose that Tacitus or any persons to whom he read his work would have overlooked. Until this fire the Sibylline book or books had been kept in the 'cella Iovis.'

7. **Samo**, etc., ablatives of place whence, with the construction afterwards varied. Erythrae, one of the Ionian cities opposite Chios, now Ritri, where many remains of it exist: by 'Italicae coloniae' the cities of Magna Graecia are meant. A lost work of Varro, cited by Dion. Hal. (4. 62) and Lactant. (de fals. rel. c. 6) recognised (according to the latter) ten distinct Sibyls, the Persian, Libyan, Delphian, Cimmerian, Erythraean, Samian, Cumaean, Hellespontian, Phrygian, and Tiburtine; of whom the Cumaean was most famous: for further particulars, see Marquardt, iii. 336.

10. **discernere.** This simple inf. after 'negotium dare' is, according to Dräger, ἅπ. εἰρ.

**notioni**: cp. 3. 59, 2, and the use of 'noscere' (c. 9, 7).

12. **gravitate annonae.** On other such expressions, cp. 2. 87, 1.

**iuxta seditionem ventum**: cp. 'usque ad seditionem ventum est' 14. 42, 2. The expression is founded partly on 'iuxta seditionem esse' (Sall. H. iii. 67 D, 77 K, 76 G), partly on 'prope seditionem venire' (Liv. 26. 48, 8). On the use of 'iuxta,' see Introd. v. § 61.

13. **et plures per dies.** For the

gitata quam solitum adversum imperatorem. quis commotus incusavit magistratus patresque, quod non publica auctoritate populum coercuissent, addiditque quibus ex provinciis et quanto maiorem quam Augustus rei frumentariae copiam advectaret. ita castigandae plebi compositum senatus consultum prisca severitate, neque segnius consules edixere. silentium ipsius non civile, ut crediderat, sed in superbiam accipiebatur.

**14** (20). Fine anni Geminius, Celsus, Pompeius, equites Romani, cecidere coniurationis crimine; ex quis Geminius prodigentia opum ac mollitia vitae amicus Seiano, nihil ad serium. et Iulius Celsus tribunus in vinclis laxatam catenam et circumdatam in diversum tendens suam ipse cervicem perfregit. at Rubrio Fabato, tamquam desperatis rebus Romanis Parthorum ad misericordiam fugeret, custodes additi. sane is repertus apud fretum Siciliae retractusque per centurionem nullas probabiles causas

parenthetical and abbreviated insertion of this clause, instead of a full expression of it in its proper place. Nipp. compares the use of 'neque ita multo post' in Cic. p. Rosc. Am. 28, 78; Nep. Pelop. 2, 4, etc.

**in theatro.** Such gatherings were now the chief occasions on which popular demands or other grievances found expression. Sidonius Apollinaris in the fifth century writes (Ep. 1. 10) 'vereor, ne famem populi Romani theatralis fragor insonet et infortunio meo publica deputetur esuries.' On the occasion of another such dearth, Claudius was mobbed in the forum (12. 43, 2).

3. **quanto maiorem**, etc. Augustus is said (Aur. Vict. Epit. 1, 6) to have imported twenty million 'modii' annually from Egypt alone. Tiberius reckons the corn supply as his special function (3. 54, 8).

4. **advectaret.** This verb is ἅπ. εἰρ. The use of other such rare or poetical frequentatives is noted in Introd. v. § 69 (4), 70.

6. **neque segnius**, etc., 'the consuls issued a not less energetic edict.' Edicts ran now usually in the name of the 'princeps,' hence his silence is noted as exceptional.

7. **in superbiam.** For this use of 'in,' see note on 1. 14, 3.

8. **Geminius, Celsus, Pompeius.** Here, as in 2. 48, 1, the mention of Roman knights by one name has led some to think that praenomina have dropped out. These persons are unknown, for the Ῥοῦφος Γεμίνιος of Dio, 58. 4, 5, is now taken to be Fufius Geminus.

9. **coniurationis**: see 5. 11, 2, etc.

**prodigentia**, found only here and in 13. 1, 4; 15. 37, 2; cp. the verb 'prodigere' 3. 52, 1. The ablatives here are those of respect.

10. **nihil ad serium**, 'in nothing tending to grave purpose:' cp. 'ad externa rumoribus' (16. 23, 3); where the idea of 'spectare' is supplied, as in usages of πρός.

11. **Iulius Celsus tribunus**: see c. 9, 6. His full name is given to distinguish him from the Celsus just above; and the recent specification of his tribunate (l. l.) enables it to be here left undescribed.

**circumdatam**, etc., i.e. 'putting it round his neck and straining at the ends.' The chain probably connected the manacles on his wrists; and may be supposed to have been usually locked in some way together, but accidentally left free to its full length.

12. **Rubrio Fabato**, probably not the one mentioned as a knight in 1. 73, 1. It is implied that this Rubrius was a senator; as only that rank were debarred from travelling without permission to any place beyond Italy, except Sicily, and (after 802, A.D. 49) Gallia Narbonensis: see 12. 23, 1; Dio, 52. 42, 6.

14. **additi**: cp. 4. 67, 6, and similar expressions in 3. 28, 4; 4. 60, 1, etc. The expression here seems to be a reminiscence of Hor. Od. 3. 4, 78.

longinquae peregrinationis adferebat: mansit tamen incolumis, oblivione magis quam clementia.

**15** (21). Ser. Galba L. Sulla consulibus diu quaesito quos neptibus suis maritos destinaret Caesar, postquam instabat virginum aetas, L. Cassium, M. Vinicium legit. Vinicio oppidanum genus: Calibus ortus, patre atque avo consularibus, cetera equestri familia erat, mitis ingenio et comptae facundiae. Cassius plebeii Romae generis, verum antiqui honoratique, et severa patris disciplina eductus facilitate saepius quam industria commendabatur. huic Drusillam, Vincio Iuliam Germanico genitas coniungit superque ea re senatui scribit, levi cum honore iuvenum. dein redditis absentiae causis admodum vagis flexit ad graviora et offensiones ob rem publicam coeptas, utque Macro praefectus

1. **longinquae.** Nipp. rightly shows that this cannot be understood of the place where he was found, which was within the permissible limits above mentioned; but of the long voyage which he was evidently contemplating. The same expression in 3. 24, 6 is generally taken of time rather than distance.

3. **Ser. Galba,** the future princeps (see c. 20, 3). Suet. (Galb. 4) states that his praenomen at this time was Lucius; which Nipp. confirms from a gladiatorial 'tessera' dated 'L. Sull. L. Sulp.;' but Tacitus gives that by which he is best known, as do also the Fasti of Nola, 'Ser. Sulpicius Galba, L. Sulla Felix, cos.' (I. R. N. 1968; Orell. 4033).

**L. Sulla.** The cognomen 'Felix' (see note above) shows him to be a descendant of the dictator. He was 'praetor peregrinus' four years earlier (see Nipp.), and is by some identified with the 'nobilis iuvenis' of 3. 31, 4.

5. **aetas,** sc. 'nubilis.' Drusilla was sixteen, Julia fifteen years old (see 2. 54, 1; Introd. ix. notes 15, 16). Agrippina was already married (see 4. 75, 1). On the 'aetas nubilis' see Appendix ii. p. 441; also Friedl. i. pp. 504, foll.

**Cassium.** L. Cassius Longinus was consul in 783, A.D. 30 (I. R. N. 1968; Orell. 4033). He was proconsul of Asia in 794, A.D. 41, when he was put to death by Gaius (Dio, 59. 29, 3; Suet. Cal. 57). On his parentage see below (§ 3). He was brother to C. Cassius, the famous jurist of 12. 12, 1, etc.

**M. Vinicium;** cos. with Cassius in the year above, when Velleius dedicated his history to him. He was again cos. in 798, A.D. 45, and was poisoned by Messalina in the following year (Dio, 60. 25, 1; 27, 4).

**oppidanum,** used of the people of Italian municipalities (4. 67, 1): cp. 14. 17, 2; and 'oppidanum genus dicendi' (Cic. Brut. 69, 242).

6. **patre atque avo.** On his father P. Vinicius, see 3. 11, 2; Vell. 2. 103, 1: his grandfather M. Vinicius (Vell. 2. 96, 2; 104, 2) was cos. suff. in 735, B.C. 19 (C. I. L. i. p. 466): a very full account of the family is given by Nipp. on 3. 11.

7. **comptae,** 'ornatae:' cp. 'comptior oratio' H. 1. 19, 1.

**plebeii Romae generis.** 'Romae' is opposed to 'oppidanum.' The gens 'Cassia,' originally patrician, appears as early as the famous Spurius Cassius (Liv. 2. 17, 1, etc.), and the Cassii Longini are among the distinguished plebeian houses from the second Punic war.

8. **patris;** L. Cassius L. f. Longinus, cos. suff. 764, A.D. 11 (C. I. L. i. p. 442). His relationship to the 'percussor Caesaris' appears to be uncertain.

9. **facilitate,** 'complaisance' or 'pliancy:' cp. 2. 65, 3, etc., and 'facilis' 4. 2, 4; 5. 1, 5, etc.

11. **iuvenum:** both were consulars, but their fathers may have been still living.

13. **offensiones . . . coeptas.** From 3. 54, 11, we should rather expect 'susceptas,' but we have 'adfinitas,' 'amicitia coepta' (c. 30, 4; 12. 10, 3), and other like phrases.

**Macro,** Naevius Sertorius Macro, here first mentioned in the extant Books. On his agency in the fall of Seianus, see

tribunorumque et centurionum pauci secum introirent, quotiens
curiam ingrederetur, petivit. factoque large et sine praescrip- 6
tione generis aut numeri senatus consulto ne tecta quidem urbis,
adeo publicum consilium numquam adiit, deviis plerumque iti-
neribus ambiens patriam et declinans.

**16** (22). Interea magna vis accusatorum in eos inrupit, qui pe- 1
cunias faenore auctitabant adversum legem dictatoris Caesaris, qua
de modo credendi possidendique intra Italiam cavetur, omissam
olim, quia privato usui bonum publicum postponitur. sane vetus 2
urbi faenebre malum et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima

Dio, 58. 9; on his suicide in 791, A.D. 38, at the command of Gaius, see Id. 59. 10, 6.

2. **large**, 'in comprehensive terms,' i.e. as explained in the context, without the limits expressed in his request. Dio (58. 18, 6) adds that it was also decreed that the senators should themselves be searched for hidden arms.

4. **adeo numquam**: cp. 'adeo non' 3. 43, 3.

**deviis . . . itineribus**, etc. This may probably answer to the second (cp. c. 1, 2) of the two occasions on which Suetonius (Tib. 72) speaks of him as approaching Rome ('iterum Appia usque ad septimum lapidem'). Dio (58. 21, 1) shortens the distance to thirty stadia. We should gather from Tacitus (cp. c. 39, 2) that he approached Rome more frequently.

5. **ambiens**: so most modern editors, after Rhenanus, for the MS. 'ambigens,' which can hardly be explained either as 'ambagibus circumiens' (Ern.), or περιάγων (Walth.), or like 'ambiguus an intraret,' in c. 1, 1 (Pfitzner). 'Ambio' is used in this sense by Cic., Ov., and Luc.

**declinans**, probably transitive, as in c. 51, 3; H. 3. 84, 5, etc.; but it might be intrans., as in 14. 56, 2.

6. **in eos inrupit**: see note on 2. 11, 4.

7. **auctitabant**. This may be called ἅπ. εἰρ., though the verb is found in a different sense in a late writer.

**legem dictatoris Caesaris**. By an ordinance passed by Caesar as dictator in 704 or 705, B.C. 49 or 48 (Caes. B. C. 3. 1, 2; Suet. Caes. 42), the interest paid or in arrear was struck off from the principal, and creditors had to take in lieu of payment the real and personal property of the debtor, estimated at what it had been worth before the civil wars. This appears to be a temporary measure; and hence Nipp. is probably right in thinking that the permanent law of the dictator, 'de modo credendi possidendique intra Italiam,' is not definitely known to us. This, he thinks, may possibly have been the law which Matius had supported, though a loser by it (Cic. ad Fam. ii. 27, 7; 28, 2): possibly also that which Dio (41. 38, 1) notices at that date as an old law revived, limiting to 60,000 H.S. the amount of coinage which any capitalist might possess in store, may have formed part of it. It may also be gathered that the law aimed at forcing all capitalists to become, to some extent, Italian landowners; not only with a view to encourage the expenditure of capital on the better tillage of the soil, but also, as intended by analogous enactments of Trajan (Pl. Epp. 6. 19, 4) and M. Aurelius (Vit. 11, 8), to give them a stake in the country. On the general scope of his legislation on this subject, see Mommsen, Rom. Hist. b. v. ch. 11, pp. 523, foll. Possibly Horace, writing when the law was falling into abeyance, may have humorously glanced at its futility in his picture of the usurer turning farmer (Epod. 2, 67). It would also be evident from Cicero (Att. 5. 21, 11, etc.), that 'centesimae usurae' (1 per cent. per month, or 12 per cent. per annum) was in his time legal interest, and from Horace (Sat. 1. 2, 14), that five times that amount was sometimes exacted; but such rates may be taken (see Momms. Rom. Hist. b. ii. c. 3, p. 311) as corresponding to about half that amount in modern value.

8. **omissam**, 'neglected:' cp. 3. 53, 2, etc.

9. **vetus . . . malum**; in the whole period from 259, B.C. 495 (Liv. 2. 23, 1), to the Lex Hortensia, cir. 468, B.C. 286 (Id. Epit. 11).

causa, eoque cohibebatur antiquis quoque et minus corruptis moribus. nam primo duodecim tabulis sanctum, ne quis unciario faenore amplius exerceret, cum antea ex libidine locupletium agitaretur; dein rogatione tribunicia ad semuncias redactum, postremo vetita versura. multisque plebis scitis obviam itum fraudibus, quae totiens repressae miras per artes rursum oriebantur. sed tum Gracchus praetor, cui ea quaestio evenerat, multitudine periclitantium subactus rettulit ad senatum, trepidique patres (neque enim quisquam tali culpa vacuus) veniam a principe petivere; et concedente annus in posterum sexque

2. **duodecim tabulis.** Tacitus is our only authority for assigning the law to this code. Livy, without in any way representing it as the re-enactment of an older law, ascribes it to the tribunes M. Duillius and L. Maenius in 397, B. C. 357 (7. 16, 16).

**unciario faenore.** The different views taken of the meaning of this term derive support from the different statements as to the origin of the enactment. The Twelve Tables are supposed to have codified, with some modifications, the customary law (see note on 3. 27, 1); and it is evident that a high rate of interest was then customary: hence the explanation of Niebuhr, accepted by Mommsen (Hist. Rom. i. p. 291), that the term 'unciarium faenus' denotes interest at the rate of $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. for the year of ten months, or 10 per cent. for twelve months, becomes from this view highly probable; and may be regarded, with Mommsen, as a moderate rate. If, on the other hand, we view the enactment, with Livy, as the first of a series of revolutionary measures, extorted from the capitalist in the interest of the debtor, it is no more incredible that it should have attempted to fix interest at $\frac{1}{12}$ per cent. per month, or 1 per cent. per year, than that the culminating enactment should have attempted to abolish interest altogether. Also a monthly reckoning accords with what is otherwise known of Roman interest.

3. **exerceret,** with this, and 'agitaretur,' 'faenus' is to be supplied: so we have 'exercere sectiones' (13. 23, 2); 'aleam' (G. 24, 3); 'luxus . . . exerciti' (3. 55, 1): 'faenus agitare' occurs in G. 26, 1; and a similar use of the verb in 4. 6, 4.

4. **ad semuncias;** in 407, B. C. 347, when Livy (7. 27, 3) mentions a further clause providing for payment of the principal by instalments.

5. **vetita versura,** 'all loans on interest were forbidden.' Such a law is mentioned by Livy (7. 42, 1), with an expression of doubt ('invenio apud quosdam, L. Genucium tribunum plebis tulisse ad populum, ne faenerare liceret'), under the year 412, B. C. 342: also Appian (B. C. 1. 54) alludes to an old law *μὴ δανείζειν ἐπὶ τόκοις*, apparently never formally repealed; and the old penalty is mentioned by Cato (Prooem. de R. R.), 'furem dupli condemnari, faeneratorem quadrupli.' On the sentiment in ancient times against usury, leading to such legislation, see the valuable remarks of Grote (Hist. Gr. vol. iii. ch. 11).

**obviam itum fraudibus.** Besides perhaps referring to the lex Paetelia of 428, B. C. 326, affecting the 'nexum' (Liv. 8. 28, 1), which, however, was not a plebiscite, Tacitus probably alludes to a signal evasion consisting in making a 'socius,' who was not bound by Roman laws, the nominal creditor; against which a plebiscite was enacted by M. Sempronius in 559, B. C. 195, placing 'socii' and 'Latini' on the same footing as citizens in this respect (Liv. 35. 7, 4). The object of the 'lex Gabinia' forbidding loans at Rome to provincials (see Cic. Att. 5. 21, 12; 6. 2, 7), appears to have been different.

7. **Gracchus,** probably the person mentioned in c. 38, 4; 4. 13, 3.

9. **tali culpa,** i. e. breach of the lex Iulia above referred to. Senators, notably Seneca and others, were themselves the great money-lenders (14. 53, 6, etc.): see Introd. vii. p. 86; Friedl. i. p. 227.

10. **concedente:** cp. 'orantibus' 1. 29, 2, etc.; Introd. v. § 31 c.

menses dati, quis secundum iussa legis rationes familiares quis-
que componerent.

**17** (23). Hinc inopia rei nummariae, commoto simul omnium 1
aere alieno, et quia tot damnatis bonisque eorum divenditis signa-
tum argentum fisco vel aerario attinebatur. ad hoc senatus prae- 2
scripserat, duas quisque faenoris partes in agris per Italiam
conlocaret. sed creditores in solidum appellabant, nec decorum
appellatis minuere fidem. ita primo concursatio et preces, dein 3
strepere praetoris tribunal, eaque quae remedio quaesita, ven-
ditio et emptio, in contrarium mutari, quia faeneratores omnem
pecuniam mercandis agris condiderant. copiam vendendi secuta 4

1. **rationes familiares**; so 'pecuniae,' 'curae,' 'angustiae familiares' (4. 15, 3; 11. 7, 3; 12. 52, 4).

3. **commoto**, etc. The capitalists had all broken the law, and had to bring their affairs into harmony with it in eighteen months. All illegal loans, in other words, a large proportion of all loans, were thus called in.

4. **et quia**. Another independent cause of the scarcity of money is added. The events of the last year had led to so many condemnations and confiscations for conspiracy or treason, that the treasuries were gorged, and the money in circulation proportionately diminished. On the mention of the 'fiscus,' as well as the aerarium, in respect of such sums, see c. 2, 1.

**divenditis**, used of sales by auction, Cic. Leg. Agr. 1. 3, 7; Liv. 1. 53, 3; 3. 13, 10.

5. **attinebatur**: cp. 2. 52, 4; 3. 3, 3, etc.

**ad hoc**, 'to meet this scarcity:' cp. below (§ 3) 'quae remedio quaesita, venditio et emptio.' Nipp. thinks it possible that 'ob hoc' should be read; as 'ad hoc' generally means 'besides this.'

6. **duas quisque . . . conlocaret.** 'Faenus' here means 'capital,' as in 14. 53, 6; 55, 5; H. 1. 20, 3; also in Plaut. Most. 3. 1, 101 ('faenus creditum'), etc. A more full statement of this decree is given in Suet. Tib. 48, 'ut faeneratores duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent debitores totidem aeris alieni statim solverent;' which last words Nipp. inserts in the text here, to make the opposition in 'sed creditores,' etc., intelligible. Tacitus may perhaps have considered such a clause to be implied in what he has stated. Such a decree, besides being, no doubt, based upon the 'lex' itself (see c. 16, 1), would also be intended to increase the demand for land, to the advantage of debtors who had estates to sell; and to remedy the scarcity of money, partly through lands being taken over in lieu of cash, partly by the supposition that the remaining one-third of capital would be left at interest undisturbed.

7. **sed creditores**, etc. The decree of the senate did not preclude the ordinary right of a creditor to call in his debts as and when he pleased. This they exercised by calling in, not only two-thirds, but all debts at once in full; and it was a point of honour for the debtor to maintain his credit. On the other hand, the obligation of the capitalist, to bring his affairs into conformity with the law, had eighteen months to run. They could thus force the debtor to realise at once, with all the disadvantages of scarcity of money, and of flooding the market with estates and property for sale; and could themselves bide their time for bargains, to purchase land at leisure in accordance with the law or decree.

8. **concursatio**, etc.; first men ran from one money lender to another with entreaties for money or time; then the praetor's court rang with notices of suits for debt.

10. **omnem . . . condiderant**. 'Condiderant' is equivalent to 'conditam servabant:' as they got in their money, they reserved it for bargains in land.

11. **copiam vendendi**, etc. With the gerund, 'copia' generally means 'opportunity,' as 'mutuandi copia' below: here it appears to mean 'abundance' of sales; as, with simple gen., in 3. 63, 2; 4. 69,

vilitate, quanto quis obaeratior, aegrius distrahebant, multique fortunis provolvebantur; eversio rei familiaris dignitatem ac famam praeceps dabat, donec tulit opem Caesar disposito per mensas miliens sestertio factaque mutuandi copia sine usuris per triennium, si debitor populo in duplum praediis cavisset. sic refecta fides, et paulatim privati quoque creditores reperti. neque emptio agrorum exercita ad formam senatus consulti, acribus, ut ferme talia, initiis, incurioso fine.

**18** (24). Dein redeunt priores metus postulato maiestatis Considio Proculo, qui nullo pavore diem natalem celebrans raptus in curiam pariterque damnatus interfectusque est. sorori eius Sanciae aqua atque igni interdictum accusante Q. Pomponio. is moribus inquies haec et huiusce modi a se factitari praetendebat, ut parta apud principem gratia periculis Pomponii Secundi fratris mederetur. etiam in Pompeiam Macrinam exilium sta-

4, etc. On the accus. after the abl. abs. of a deponent participle, see Introd. v. § 31 d.

1. **aegrius distrahebant**, 'they had the more difficulty in selling:' men saw the seller's necessity and held out for a lower price than would pay his debts: cp. 'coemendo . . . ut pluris . . . distraheret' (Suet. Vesp. 16).

2. **provolvebantur**, 'were being ejected.' No other instance of the verb in this sense seems to be found, but 'evolutus' is so used in 13. 15, 3.

**dignitatem.** The rank of senator or knight depended on census. On the adverbial use of 'praeceps,' cp. 4. 62, 3.

3. **tulit opem Caesar.** The currency locked up in the treasury (see above) is thus brought into circulation, and the debtor, instead of parting with his land, is enabled to mortgage it to the treasury without interest for a sum not exceeding half its value. This arrangement is to be in force three years, so as to outlast the indulgence allowed to the capitalists, and to enable debtors to make easier terms of final settlement with them.

**per mensas.** Dio (58. 21, 5) states that this public loan was administered through commissioners of senatorial rank (ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν βουλευτῶν); who would thus appear to answer to the extraordinary 'quinqueviri' or 'triumviri mensarii' employed on special emergencies requiring a public loan, as in the crisis of 403, B.C. 351 (Liv. 7. 21, 5); and the 'mensae' here would be special public banks: see Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 622.

5. **populo cavisset**: so 'ut populo prius caveretur' Liv. 7. 21, 8; cp. 22. 60, 4. If, as appears to be implied, the loan was wholly from the 'aerarium,' the action of Tiberius would be no more than the origination of a senatus consultum. Suetonius (Tib. 48), who makes it one of his only two acts of public munificence, must have considered that he advanced the loan personally from the 'fiscus.'

6. **neque emptio**; i.e. many capitalists who had held back for bargains in land ultimately purchased none at all.

8. **incurioso**: so 'incuriosa historia' Suet. Galb. 3: elsewhere of persons, as 2. 88, 4, etc.

9. **Considio Proculo.** Nipp. considers this person not to be the Considius of 5. 8, 1; as Tacitus would probably have noticed his indictment as an act of retribution for his attack on Pomponius Secundus there mentioned.

11. **pariter** = 'simul,' 'there and then:' cp. 'haec dicta pariter probataque' H. 4. 56, 1.

13. **inquies**: cp. 1. 65, 1, etc.

15. **Pompeiam Macrinam**, etc. We have here the ruin of a whole family; herself, husband, father-in-law, father, brother. The connexion with Theophanes could not apply to all; but no other charge is specified. 'Argolicus' and 'Laco' are personal cognomina.

tuitur, cuius maritum Argolicum, socerum Laconem e primoribus
Achaeorum Caesar adflixerat. pater quoque inlustris eques 4
Romanus ac frater praetorius, cum damnatio instaret, se ipsi
interfecere. datum erat crimini, quod Theophanen Mytilenaeum
proavum eorum Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset, quodque de-
functo Theophani caelestes honores Graeca adulatio tribuerat.

**19** (25). Post quos Sex. Marius Hispaniarum ditissimus defertur 1
incestasse filiam et saxo Tarpeio deicitur. ac ne dubium habe-
retur magnitudinem pecuniae malo vertisse, aurarias *argenta-
rias*que eius, quamquam publicarentur, sibimet Tiberius seposuit.
inritatusque suppliciis cunctos, qui carcere attinebantur accusati 2

2. **inlustris eques**: see on 2. 59, 4.

3. **frater praetorius**, Pompeius Macer, praetor in 768, A. D. 15 (1. 72, 4).

4. **Theophanen Mytilenaeum**. This person took the name of Cn. Pompeius Theophanes, and had received the 'civitas' publicly from Pompeius in the presence of his army (Cic. Arch. 10, 24), and also won from him for Mitylene the privileges of a free city (Plut. Pomp. 42, 641). His history of his patron's campaigns is mentioned by Cic. (l. l.) and Plutarch (Pomp. 37, 639); and he is called by Strabo (13. 2, 3, 617) ὁ συγγραφεύς. His influence with Pompeius is mentioned in strong terms by Cicero (Att. 5. 11, 3, etc.), who speaks of him as still alive in 710, B. C. 44 (Id. 15. 19, 1).

5. **proavum eorum**, i. e. of Pompeia and her brother. Strabo (l. l.) states that Theophanes left a son Macer (in the MS. 'Marcus') Pompeius, who had been made procurator in Asia by Augustus, and, when he wrote (cir. 771, A. D. 18), was still alive and an intimate friend of Tiberius. He is also, no doubt, the 'Pompeius Macer' mentioned in Suet. Jul. 56, as librarian of Augustus. As Theophanes was probably of much the same age as Pompeius or Cicero, his son may well have been a very old man when Strabo wrote, and thus father of the 'illustris eques' here mentioned, and grandfather of the praetor, who might have been only thirty years old in 768, A. D. 15.

**habuisset . . . tribuerat**. Both verbs appear equally to assert a matter of simple fact. Nipp. thinks that the former is rather to be taken as the speech of the accuser; but it would seem that only the deification of Theophanes could by any ingenuity be twisted into a charge against his posterity, who might possibly plume themselves on it. The change of mood may be arbitrary, as it is perhaps in 1. 44, 8.

6. **caelestes honores**. Greek coins exist inscribed Θεὸς Θεοφάνης or Θεοφάνης Θεὸς Μυτ(ιληναίων): see Eckh. ii. 504. This was probably an expression of gratitude for the privilege granted for his sake to the city: see above.

7. **Sex. Marius**: see 4. 36, 1. Dio states (58. 22, 2) that he had hitherto been intimate with Tiberius, and illustrates his wealth by an anecdote.

**defertur incestasse**. On the constr. cp. 2. 27, 1. The statement of Dio (l. l.) that Marius had only secluded his daughter to protect her from the lust of Tiberius himself, was perhaps unknown to or disbelieved by Tacitus, who however thinks he was unjustly condemned.

8. **saxo . . . deicitur**: see 2. 32, 5, etc.

9. **aurarias argentariasque**. The MS. text 'aurariasque' cannot be satisfactorily explained except on the supposition of a word lost. The above text is suggested by the general celebrity of the silver mines of southern Spain (see Polyb. 34. 9, 8; Strab. 3. 2, 10, 147); while Nipp's. suggestion, 'aerarias aurariasque,' has a special recommendation in the mention by Pliny (N. H. 34. 2, 4) of 'aes Marianum, quod et Cordubense dicitur.' 'Auraria' has here alone the sense of 'aurifodina,' but 'aeraria' and 'argentaria' are elsewhere so used.

10. **sibimet**, i. e. took them from the aerarium into the fiscus: see c. 2, 1; 17, 1.

11. **inritatusque suppliciis**. Nipp. notes that the idea is that of a wild beast who has tasted blood.

**carcere**, 'in public custody.' The Tullianum is a mere vault and cannot here be meant.

societatis cum Seiano, necari iubet. iacuit inmensa strages, omnis sexus, omnis aetas, inlustres ignobiles, dispersi aut aggerati. neque propinquis aut amicis adsistere, inlacrimare, ne visere quidem diutius dabatur, sed circumiecti custodes et in maerorem cuiusque intenti corpora putrefacta adsectabantur, dum in Tiberim traherentur, ubi fluitantia aut ripis adpulsa non cremare quisquam, non contingere. interciderat sortis humanae commercium vi metus, quantumque saevitia glisceret, miseratio arcebatur.

**20** (26). Sub idem tempus Gaius Caesar, discedenti Capreas avo comes, Claudiam, M. Silani filiam, coniugio accepit, immanem animum subdola modestia tegens, non damnatione matris, non exitio fratrum rupta voce; qualem diem Tiberius induisset, pari habitu, haud multum distantibus verbis. unde mox scitum Pas-

1. **iacuit**: cp. Suet. Tib. 61 'nemo punitorum non et in Gemonias abiectus uncoque tractus.'

**inmensa strages.** Suetonius (l. l.) here for once is more exact, 'viginti uno die abiecti tractique sunt; inter eos pueri et faeminae.' He gives this evidently as a maximum number, and the executions due to a single order were probably over in a day. It should also be remembered that conspirators are not usually reckoned by hundreds, and that many had been already executed. The horror of even twenty political executions in a day may palliate, but hardly justifies, the exaggerated expressions of Tacitus; which would almost describe a field of battle.

2. **dispersi aut aggerati**: cp. 1. 61, 3.

4. **dabatur,** with inf.: cp. 3. 67, 2, etc.

6. **ubi . . . cremare.** For the use of the historical inf. with such particles, see Introd. v. § 46 b.

7. **sortis humanae commercium,** 'human sympathy,' the 'miseratio ob sortem hominum' of 1. 61, 1.

8. **quantum . . . glisceret.** The subj. with 'quantum,' apparently only found here and in c. 21, 4; 13. 42, 1; is probably analogous to that with words implying frequent occurrence (Introd. v. § 52).

9. **discedenti Capreas**; probably on the return to Capreae mentioned in c. 1, 2. This would nearly agree with the account in Suet. Cal. 10, that Gaius was taken from the tutelage of his grandmother Antonia to Capreae in his nineteenth year, when he assumed the toga virilis, without the distinctions granted to his brothers (see 3. 29, 1; 4. 4, 1). He had however been created pontifex in 784, A.D. 31, (Dio, 58. 8, 1), and was quaestor in the present year (Id. 23, 1).

10. **Claudiam,** Iunia Claudilla (Suet. Cal. 12), daughter of the M. Silanus mentioned in 3. 24, 5; 57, 2; 5. 10, 4; also as forced to suicide by Gaius in 790, A.D. 37 (Dio, 59. 8, 4; Suet. Cal. 23). The death of Claudia is mentioned in c. 45, 6, and by Suetonius (Cal. 12), whose chronology and that of Dio (58. 25, 2) appear to differ from that of Tacitus (see c. 39, 2).

**immanem animum,** etc. It is from this passage, coupled with c. 45, 46, that the judgment of Tacitus on Gaius is to be mainly gathered.

12. **exitio**: so Halm, after Nipp., for the MS. 'exilio,' which could only be applied to Nero. Drusus was not yet dead, but Tacitus intends to describe the demeanour of Gaius through this whole period. The abl. is causal.

**rupta voce,** adopted from Vergil (Aen. 2, 129, etc,), who follows the Greek *ῥηγνύναι φωνήν*.

**qualem diem . . . induisset,** 'whatever the mood assumed for the day.' From such metaphors as 'animum induere' (11. 7, 5), and 'qualem diem haberet' (c. 21, 3), it is but a further step to 'diem induere.' Burnouf notes such expressions as 'c'est son mauvais jour, son jour d'orage,' etc., derived from observation of a person's outward demeanour.

**pari habitu,** etc. These ablatives appear to be best taken as absolute, answering to 'rupta voce.' Nipp. takes them as ablatives of quality, similar to that in 3. 43, 2. On 'habitus,' cp. 1. 10, 7.

sieni oratoris dictum percrebruit, neque meliorem umquam servum
neque deteriorem dominum fuisse.

Non omiserim praesagium Tiberii de Servio Galba tum consule; 3
quem accitum et diversis sermonibus pertemptatum postremo
Graecis verbis in hanc sententiam adlocutus *est* 'et tu, Galba,
quandoque degustabis imperium,' seram ac brevem potentiam
significans, scientia Chaldaeorum artis, cuius apiscendae otium
apud Rhodum, magistrum Thrasullum habuit, peritiam eius hoc
modo expertus.

**21** (27). Quotiens super tali negotio consultaret, edita domus 1
parte ac liberti unius conscientia utebatur. is literarum ignarus, 2
corpore valido, per avia ac derupta (nam saxis domus imminet)
praeibat eum, cuius artem experiri Tiberius statuisset, et regredientem, si vanitatis aut fraudum suspicio incesserat, in subiectum
mare praecipitabat, ne index arcani exsisteret. igitur Thrasullus 3
isdem rupibus inductus postquam percontantem commoverat,
imperium ipsi et futura sollerter patefaciens, interrogatur an

**mox**, i.e. after he became princeps. The word is used of considerable intervals of time in 1. 13, 3; 14. 9, 3, etc.

**Passieni.** C. Passienus Crispus, twice consul (Pl. N. H. 16. 44, 91, 242), the second time being in 797, A.D. 44 (Inscr. Henzen 5214), married first Domitia, sister of Agrippina's first husband (see on 13. 19, 4), and, after divorcing her, was married to Agrippina herself, who is said to have poisoned him. Nero inherited his property (Suet. Ner. 6). His oratory is highly praised by L. Seneca (Qu. Nat. 4, pr. 6), as is that of his father L. Passienus Rufus (Vell. 2. 116, 2) by M. Seneca, who places him next to Pollio and Corvinus (Contr. 13, 17; Exc. Contr. 3. pr. 10, 14), and appears also to mention the grandfather (Contr. 10. pr. 11). Further particulars are here collected by Nipp.

1. **neque meliorem**, etc. Suetonius (Cal. 10) gives almost the same words.

3. **Servio Galba tum consule**: see on c. 15, 1. The story of this prediction is given with considerable variations of circumstance. Josephus (Ant. 18. 6, 9) makes it a remark by Tiberius to his friends on seeing Galba come in to him; Dio relates it under the year 773, A.D. 20 (57. 19, 4), as addressed to Galba on his betrothal; Suetonius (Galb. 4) makes it a prediction by Augustus in Galba's boyhood.

5. **Graecis verbis.** The words are given, with some variation, by Suet. and Dio (l. l.).

6. **quandoque**: cp. 1. 4, 5. This word indicates a distant, as 'degustabis' a short time of rule. Dio and Suetonius explain the equanimity of Tiberius by his knowledge that the event was distant.

7. **Chaldaeorum**: see on 2. 27, 2.

8. **Thrasullum.** Further particulars of him at Rhodes are given by Dio (55. 11, 1). He returned to Rome with Tiberius (Suet. Aug. 98), lived constantly with him (Dio, 57. 15, 7), and died a year before him (Id. 58. 27, 1). It is said that he sometimes mitigated the cruelty of Tiberius by deceiving him (Suet. Tib. 62). He must be distinguished from his contemporary and namesake, the Alexandrian rhetor and editor of Plato (see Grote, Plato, i. p. 158); with whom the scholiast on Juv. 6, 575 appears to confound him.

11. **literarum ignarus**: cp. 2. 54, 4; one who could the less betray anything of astrological craft.

12. **avia ac derupta**: cp. 4. 45, 1.

16. **isdem rupibus**, 'by way of the same rocks:' cp. Introd. v. § 25.

17. **interrogatur an**: cp. 11. 30, 2; 31, 3, etc. 'An' is thus used with many other verbs expressing inquiry or deliberation: see Gerber and Greef, Lex. p. 76.

suam quoque genitalem horam comperisset, quem tum annum, qualem diem haberet. ille positus siderum ac spatia dimensus haerere primo, dein pavescere, et quantum introspiceret, magis ac magis trepidus admirationis et metus, postremo exclamat ambiguum sibi ac prope ultimum discrimen instare. tum complexus eum Tiberius praescium periculorum et incolumem fore gratatur, quaeque dixerat oracli vice accipiens inter intimos amicorum tenet.

**22** (28). Sed mihi haec ac talia audienti in incerto iudicium est, fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili an forte volvantur. quippe sapientissimos veterum quique sectam eorum aemulantur diversos reperias, ac multis insitam opinionem non initia nostri, non finem, non denique homines dis curae; ideo creberrime tristia in bonos, laeta apud deteriores esse. contra alii fatum quidem

1. **genitalem horam,** 'his horoscope;' the position of the heavenly bodies at his birth, from which his destiny was to be calculated: so 'dies genitalis' 16. 14, 4, 'natalis hora' Hor. Od. 2. 17, 19, etc.

**quem,** equivalent to the following 'qualem:' 'what was the aspect of the year, of the day, which he was now passing.'

2. **positus**: cp. 4. 5, 4.

3. **quantum,** with subjunctive; as in c. 19, 5.

4. **trepidus admirationis et metus.** The expression appears to resemble 'ambiguus pudoris ac metus' (2. 40, 2) and the construction to be that noted in Introd. v. § 33 e γ. Elsewhere 'trepidus' has sometimes a genitive of that for which anxiety is felt; as 'rerum' (Verg. Aen. 12, 589; Liv. 5. 11, 4), etc.

6. **praescium**; 'esse' is supplied from 'fore' below. 'Gratari' has here the construction of a verb of speaking, as 'miserari' 1. 39, 8, 'defendere' 13. 43, 4, etc.

9. **Sed mihi,** etc. Tacitus introduces digressions especially in this part of his work (see c. 16; 28) to vary the tale of horrors which he laments to have as his constant subject (c. 38, 1). Here the relation of an apparently remarkable prediction and of the astrological skill of Tiberius suggests the question whether there was anything in the matter more than chance coincidence. On the general subject of this chapter, see Introd. iv. pp. 21, 22; and compare the reflections of Pliny (N. H. 2. 7, 5, 22–27).

10. **fatone . . . et necessitate.** These are here synonyms (Μοῖρα and ἀνάγκη). 'Fatum' is sometimes personified in Tacitus (H. 2. 69, 2; G. 33, 2; Agr. 13, 5), sometimes associated with special divine intervention (H. 4. 26, 2), and has various other shades of meaning (see Introd. l. l.).

**forte** = τύχη. This word and 'fortuitus' have also their variations of meaning. Here it is 'chance' as opposed to fate or law; that which has no calculable causes, and which no skill could predict: in H. 4. 26, 2 it is another term for the ordinary course of nature; and natural deaths are 'fortuitae' as opposed to violent (12. 52, 3; 16. 19, 4): 'fortuna,' again, though in this passage opposed to divine agency, is often personified as a deity (H. 4. 47, 2, etc.).

11. **sapientissimos . . . quique . . . aemulantur,** i.e. the founders of philosophical systems, and their schools.

12. **reperias.** This is taken to be the reading of the MS. text 'repericcs;' and a correction in an old hand, 'reperiecs,' is read as 'reperies' and adopted by many editors. In 4. 33, 5, Halm reads 'reperias,' after Madvig, against the MS.; in Dial. 12, 5, he retains 'reperies.'

**multis,** the Epicureans.

14. **in bonos.** On this use of 'in,' see Introd. v. § 60 b. 'In' and 'apud' are interchanged for variety in 14. 14, 2; 'in' and 'ad' more frequently.

**contra alii,** the Stoics: thus Seneca (Nat. Qu. 2. 36) defines 'fatum,' as 'necessitas rerum omnium actionumque quam nulla vis rumpat:' holding that wise men,

congruere rebus putant, sed non e vagis stellis, verum apud principia et nexus naturalium causarum; ac tamen electionem vitae nobis relinquunt, quam ubi elegeris, certum imminentium ordinem. neque mala vel bona quae vulgus putet: multos, qui conflictari 4
adversis videantur, beatos, at plerosque quamquam magnas per opes miserrimos, si illi gravem fortunam constanter tolerent, hi prospera inconsulte utantur. ceterum plurimis mortalium non 5
eximitur quin primo cuiusque ortu ventura destinentur, sed quaedam secus quam dicta sint cadere, fallaciis ignara dicentium: ita corrumpi fidem artis, cuius clara documenta et antiqua aetas et nostra tulerit. quippe a filio eiusdem Thrasulli praedictum 6

and 'a fortiori' gods, do not change their will for entreaties: 'prima lex est, stare decreto' (Id. 35, 2). In another place (de Ben. 4. 7, 2) he still more clearly identifies fate or 'natura' with God: 'hunc eundem (Deum) et fatum si dixeris non mentieris. Nam cum fatum nihil aliud sit quam series implexa causarum, ille est prima omnium causa unde ceterae pendent.'

**fatum . . . congruere rebus**, 'that fate is in accord with things;' i.e. that things go in accordance with fate; an inversion similar to that in 'ignaviam . . . transferri' (3. 34, 7). 'Congruere' is thus used of harmony between things in 12. 6, 2; 13. 50, 3, etc. Nipp. here reads 'ingruere,' comparing 'necessitas ingrueret' (c. 10, 3), 'ingruente fato' (Liv. 5. 32, 7), 'vim, quae de fato extrinsecus ingruit' (Chrysipp. ap. Gell. 7 (6), 2, 8): but such an expression seems here to be harsher than the MS. text.

1. **sed non**, etc., equivalent to 'sed fatum non e stellis pendere, verum esse eius regimen apud principia,' etc. 'Principia et nexus' = 'the foundations and sequences of natural causation.' With this may be compared the definitions given above from Seneca: also Diog. Laert. (7. 74, 149) *καθ' εἱμαρμένην δέ φασι τὰ πάντα γίγνεσθαι· ἔστι δὲ εἱμαρμένη αἰτία τῶν ὄντων εἰρομένη, ἢ λόγος καθ' ὃν ὁ κοσμὸς διεξάγεται*: and the doctrine of Chrysippus, as stated in his own words, and explained in Gell. 7 (6), 2. It would appear, however, that some Stoics, as Diogenes (Cic. Div. 2. 43, 90), recognised planetary influences as a factor in causation; and that most others, except Panaetius (Id. 42, 88), admitted astrology in some form as a branch of divination, whereby indications of the will of heaven might be ascertained. See Zeller, 'Stoics,' etc. (transl. by Reichel) p. 349, foll.

2. **ac tamen**, etc., i.e. yet they leave us free to choose a course of life, which choice, once made, carries with it a fixed train of consequences. A form of this doctrine is suggested by the myth in Plat. Rep. 10. 617 E, sqq. It is doubtful whether the saving clause here mentioned was really a Stoic tenet; but various attempts to reconcile free will and fate were generally made by them: see Gell. l. l., Plut. Repugn. Stoic. 47; and other authorities collected by Zeller (Reichel, pp. 168, foll., 204, 205).

4. **neque mala**, etc., i.e. that though the occurrences of life are determined, it rests with ourselves to make them good or evil to us: cp. *ἀρετὴ ἀδέσποτον* (Plat. Rep. l. l.).

5. **per opes**, 'during continuance of wealth,' i.e. 'in wealth.' On this use of 'per,' see Introd. v. § 62.

7. **ceterum plurimis**, etc. The popular belief is here contrasted with that of the two leading schools. This statement is carried down to 'tulerit.'

8. **quin . . . destinentur.** This sentence supplies the subject of 'non eximitur:' 'great part of mankind cannot get rid of the belief that,' etc.

**primo cuiusque ortu**, i.e. from the 'genitalis hora' or horoscope (see c. 21, 3).

**sed**, sc. 'opinantur,' supplied from the sense.

9. **fallaciis ignara dicentium**, 'through the frauds of those who speak without knowledge:' 'ignara' for 'ignota,' as in 2. 13, 1, etc. On the true and false prophets, see 4. 58, 3; on the latter, also H. 1. 22, 1; and the use of 'talis superstitio' for astrology (H. 2. 78, 2).

11. **quippe**, instancing one of these

Neronis imperium in tempore memorabitur, ne nunc incepto longius abierim.

**23** (29). Isdem consulibus Asinii Galli mors vulgatur, quem egestate cibi peremptum haud dubium, sponte vel necessitate, incertum habebatur. consultusque Caesar an sepeliri sineret, non erubuit permittere ultroque incusare casus, qui reum abstulissent, antequam coram convinceretur: scilicet medio triennio defuerat tempus subeundi iudicium consulari seni, tot consularium parenti. Drusus deinde extinguitur, cum se miserandis alimentis, mandendo e cubili tomento, nonum ad diem detinuisset. tradi-

'documenta.' This prediction is probably that given in 14. 9, 5; without any mention of the son of Thrasyllus.

1. **ne . . . abierim.** Among the very rare instances of this use of the perf. subj. with present force in dependent clauses (see Introd. v. § 51 c), Nipp. notes 'ne . . . abrogaverim' (Liv. 8. 18, 3), 'hostile potius an civile dixerim, nescio' (Flor. 3. 22, 1): 'abire' has a simple abl. in 2. 69, 2, etc.

3. **Asinii Galli.** On his arrest and detention, see above, App. iii. p. 538.

4. **sponte vel necessitate.** Nipp. and Ritt. may probably be right in reading 'an;' but the use of 'vel' in cases where two alternatives are opposed to a third, as in 14. 3. 2, and 'insidias an proditionem vel aliquod honestum consilium' (H. 2. 41, 2), has been taken to justify it here, where the two alternatives embraced by 'incertum' are opposed, on the ground of common uncertainty, to 'haud dubium:' see notes on 4. 33, 4; 14. 51, 1.

6. **non erubuit permittere.** As Gallus was not formally executed, the right of burial would seem to be matter of course (see c. 29, 2). If however this case was so far doubtful that permission had to be asked, it might have been granted without shame; so that perhaps there is a zeugma in the sentence, and 'non erubuit' belongs properly to 'ultro incusare,' etc., i.e. to his complaint of the delay which he himself had caused.

7. **coram convinceretur.** Gallus, according to Dio, had been condemned by the senate (κατεψηφίσθη) at the time of his arrest; but the case had been reserved, as if on appeal, till Caesar's return to Rome.

8. **consulari seni,** etc., i.e. his rank made it absurd to suppose that his case was by any natural arrangement postponed to others.

**tot consularium.** Five of his sons are known to us; Asinius Saloninus (3. 75, 1), C. Asinius (4. 1, 1), M. Asinius Agrippa (4. 34, 1), Asinius Gallus, banished for a conspiracy against Claudius in 799, A.D. 46 (Dio, 60. 27, 5), and Asinius Celer, noted as a gourmand (Pl. N. H. 9. 17, 31, 67), and also put to death by Claudius (Sen. lud. 13, 4). Of these the second, third, and fifth were certainly consulars: see further particulars given here by Nipp. An inscription (I. R. N. 2499), 'Cn. Asinio, Pollionis et Agrippae nepoti,' may show the existence of a sixth son, or may refer to either the first or fourth here mentioned. All these, being the children of Gallus by Vipsania (see 1. 12, 6), were half-brothers of Drusus Caesar.

9. **Drusus . . . extinguitur.** The date of his arrest and imprisonment can only be fixed as subsequent to the publication of the work of Velleius in 783, A.D. 30: see App. iii. p. 538.

10. **mandendo . . . tomento.** Orelli thinks these words, like 'boleto' in 12. 67, 1, a gloss (from Suet. Tib. 54), where Tacitus would have thought a general expression without detail (like 'veneficii signa' 2. 73, 5), more suitable to the dignity of history. Ritter thinks 'tomentum' should be read; but Nipp. shows that though, in an abl. of instrument or respect, with a singular masc. or neut. noun, the gerund is more usual (cp. c. 45, 6, etc.), the gerundive is found in 13. 13, 3; 57, 1; while with feminine or plural nouns it is common: 'tomentum' is used by Varr., Plin. mai., etc. for 'stuffing,' which would in this case probably be of hay or straw.

dere quidam praescriptum fuisse Macroni, si arma ab Seiano
temptarentur, extractum custodiae iuvenem (nam in Palatio
attinebatur) ducem populo imponere. mox, quia rumor incedebat 6
fore ut nuru ac nepoti conciliaretur Caesar, saevitiam quam
paenitentiam maluit.

**24** (30). Quin et invectus in defunctum probra corporis, exitia- 1
bilem in suos, infensum rei publicae animum obiecit recitarique
factorum dictorumque eius descripta per dies iussit, quo non aliud
atrocius visum: adstitisse tot per annos qui vultum, gemitus, occul- 2
tum etiam murmur exciperent, et potuisse avum audire, legere,
in publicum promere vix fides, nisi quod Attii centurionis et
Didymi liberti epistulae servorum nomina praeferebant, ut quis
egredientem cubiculo Drusum pulsaverat, exterruerat. etiam sua 3
verba centurio saevitiae plena, tamquam egregium, vocesque
deficientis adiecerat, quis primo [alienationem mentis simulans]
quasi per dementiam funesta Tiberio, mox, ubi exspes vitae fuit,
meditatas compositasque diras inprecabatur, ut quem ad modum

1. **praescriptum**, etc. Suet. (Tib. 65) and Dio (58. 13, 1) repeat the same belief. The infinitive follows the analogy of 'imperare,' etc.: see Introd. v. § 42.

2. **extractum custodiae**: so 'extractum sibi' Suet. Tib. 73; 'extrahere corpori' Pl. N. H. 7. 2, 13: see on 1. 39, 4; Introd. v. § 15.

3. **populo imponere**: cp. 'legionibus inposuit' 1. 3, 5.

5. **maluit.** Nipp. thinks this was to show his independence of public opinion (see 2. 38, 1). Probably Drusus was killed to prevent another such plot as that mentioned in 5. 10, 1.

6. **invectus**, etc. The first charge is similar to one brought against Nero (5. 3, 3) and Gaius (c. 9, 3), the second receives illustration from 4. 60, 4, the third, repeating an expression used of Sabinus (4. 70, 7), would relate to whatever grounds were alleged for calling him 'hostis publicus' (Suet. Tib. 54; Cal. 7).

8. **descripta per dies**, 'the journal kept:' this participle is only here used substantively. Such a journal of informers is mentioned in 4. 67, 6, and the feeling of persons living under such a system of espionage is described in 4. 69, 6.

11. **nisi quod**: see note on 1. 33, 6. Here the expression qualifies 'vix credibile:' all this was hardly credible, were it not that still worse was positively attested. In H. 3. 28, 1, the use is somewhat different.

12. **epistulae**, their letters to Tiberius, read before the senate.

14. **egregium**, substantively; cp. 'egregium publicum' 3. 70, 4, 'dignum' 15. 41, 1; and other instances given in Introd. v. § 4 b.

15. **alienationem mentis simulans.** The difficulty of seeing what Drusus had to gain by feigning madness has led Halm, Orelli, and Nipp. (after Bahrdt) to bracket these words as a gloss, and to take 'quasi per dementiam' to express, not the intention of Drusus, but the impression left on a hearer. Others, with less reason, bracket the latter words. If the text is sound, we must take 'primo' as answering to 'mox,' 'alienationem . . . simulans' to 'exspes vitae,' 'quasi per dementiam' to 'meditatas . . . diras;' and must suppose that some vague instinct of self-preservation, insufficient to check his utterances, led Drusus at first to assume a disguise which he cast aside at the end.

16. **exspes**, here alone in extant prose. It has a genitive 'liberum' in a fragment of Accius, and is used absolutely by Hor. and Ov.

17. **meditatas compositasque diras**, 'studied and elaborate curses:' cp. 'diris agam vos' (Hor. Epod. 5, 89), etc. Such

nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes domumque omnem caedibus complevisset, ita poenas nomini generique maiorum et posteris exsolveret. obturbabant quidem patres specie detestandi: sed penetrabat pavor et admiratio, callidum olim et tegendis sceleribus obscurum huc confidentiae venisse, ut tamquam dimotis parietibus ostenderet nepotem sub verbere centurionis, inter servorum ictus, extrema vitae alimenta frustra orantem.

**25** (31). Nondum is dolor exoleverat, cum de Agrippina auditum, quam interfecto Seiano spe sustentatam provixisse reor, et postquam nihil de saevitia remittebatur, voluntate exstinctam, nisi si negatis alimentis adsimulatus est finis, qui videretur sponte sumptus. enimvero Tiberius foedissimis criminationibus exarsit, impudicitiam arguens et Asinium Gallum adulterum, eiusque morte ad taedium vitae conpulsam. sed Agrippina aequi inpatiens, dominandi avida, virilibus curis feminarum vita exuerat. eodem die defunctam, quo biennio ante Seianus poenas luisset, memoriaeque id prodendum addidit Caesar, iactavitque quod non laqueo strangulata neque in Gemonias proiecta foret. actae ob id grates decretumque ut quintum decumum kal. Novembris, utriusque necis die, per omnis annos donum Iovi sacraretur.

curses, even if lacking the magical force of a devotio' (see 2. 69, 5), would at least be taken as ominous.

1. **nurum**, etc. Some such word as 'necasset' is supplied from 'caedibus complevisset' by zeugma. Agrippina's death may be spoken of by anticipation, or Drusus may be supposed, in ignorance of her fate, to have taken the worst for granted.

3. **obturbabant**, 'were interrupting:' so 'obturbatur,' 'obstrepitur,' Pl. Epp. 9. 13, 19.

4. **tegendis sceleribus obscurum.** Many such constructions are found (e.g. c. 51, 5; 2. 57, 3; 3. 10, 4; 4. 37, 2). The case might in all be an abl. of respect, but probably Nipp. is right in taking it as dat. of object contemplated (see Introd. v. § 22 b).

6. **verbere**: cp. 5. 9, 2.

7. **extrema . . . alimenta**, the barest necessaries.

8. **de Agrippina**, i.e. of her death. On her banishment, see Appendix iii. p. 538.

9. **provixisse**, ἅπ. εἰρ.: see note on 'propolluebat' (3. 66, 4). Several verbs compounded with 'pro' date from this age, as 'progerere' and 'prolibare' (Pl. mai.), 'proserere' (Sil.), 'protonare' (Val. Fl.), 'provulgare' (Suet.): see others noted here by Dräger.

10. **nisi si.** This form, with the force of 'nisi forte,' is used in 15. 53, 5; Agr. 32, 2; and 'nisi si quis' in Cic. (Fam. 14. 2, 1; Cat. 2. 4, 6) and Quint. (4. 1, 70).

12. **enimvero Tiberius**, repeated from 4. 60, 3; see note on 2. 64, 6.

14. **aequi inpatiens**, apparently from Statius (Theb. 3, 602) 'superum contemptor et aequi impatiens;' cp. 'aequa' ('a postion of equality'), 2. 42, 5.

15. **exuerat.** It is not implied that she had ever had them: cp. 'avaritiam exuerat' Agr. 9, 4. Some of the chief metaphorical uses of this verb are referred to on 1. 69, 2.

17. **iactavit**, 'took credit for his clemency:' 'imputavit' (Suet. Tib. 53).

19. **quintum decumum kalendas Novembris**, October 18. Tacitus similarly omits 'ante' in c. 50, 6; 15. 41, 3; H. 1. 27, 1, but inserts it in 12. 69, 1.

20. **donum**: cp. 2. 32, 4, etc.: Suet. (l. l.) here specifies it as 'donum ex auro.'

**26** (32). Haud multo post Cocceius Nerva, continuus principi, 1
omnis divini humanique iuris sciens, integro statu, corpore inlaeso,
moriendi consilium cepit. quod ut Tiberio cognitum, adsidere, 2
causas requirere, addere preces, fateri postremo grave conscien-
tiae, grave famae suae, si proximus amicorum nullis moriendi
rationibus vitam fugeret. aversatus sermonem Nerva abstinentiam 3
cibi coniunxit. ferebant gnari cogitationum eius, quanto propius
mala rei publicae viseret, ira et metu, dum integer, dum intemp-
tatus, honestum finem voluisse.

Ceterum Agrippinae pernicies, quod vix credibile, Plancinam 4
traxit. nupta olim Cn. Pisoni et palam laeta morte Germanici,
cum Piso caderet, precibus Augustae nec minus inimicitiis Agrip-
pinae defensa erat. ut odium et gratia desiere, ius valuit; peti- 5
taque criminibus haud ignotis, sua manu sera magis quam
inmerita supplicia persolvit.

**27** (33). Tot luctibus funesta civitate pars maeroris fuit, quod 1
Iulia Drusi filia, quondam Neronis uxor, denupsit in domum Ru-
bellii Blandi, cuius avum Tiburtem equitem Romanum plerique

1. **Cocceius Nerva**: see on 4. 58, 1.

**continuus principi**: so Halm and Nipp., after Heins., for the MS. 'principis,' which Orelli and Dräger retain, and which might perhaps be supported from such analogous usages as 'Seiani . . . notos' (Suet. Tib. 61), 'tui fidissima' (Verg. Aen. 12, 659), etc.

2. **divini humanique iuris sciens**: cp. 3. 70, 4.

**statu**, 'his position:' cp. 3. 28, 5.

3. **quod ut**, 'as soon as this.' Wölfflin (Philol. 25. 119) notes this expression as a solitary instance: elsewhere 'quod (or 'quae') postquam' (1. 6, 6, etc.), or 'postquam haec' (12. 6, 1), are found.

4. **conscientiae**, here apparently 'sense of shame:' cp. 'spreta conscientia' 15. 18, 1. His personal feeling is distinguished from his reputation with others ('fama').

5. **nullis . . . rationibus.** Dio (58. 21, 4) appears to place the suicide of Nerva earlier in the year, and to connect it with the troubles which he foresaw from the attempt to enforce the usury laws of the dictator (c. 16, 17).

7. **coniunxit**: cp. 4. 57, 2.

**propius**; as being behind the scenes at Capreae.

8. **dum integer, etc.**: compare the sentiment in c. 48, 5; 5. 6, 4.

10. **Plancinam**: see on 2. 43, 4, etc.

11. **traxit**, 'drew after it:' cp. 3. 54, 8; 12. 57, 3, and 'abstractus' 4. 13, 5, etc. The fuller expression 'ruina traxit' is found in H. 3. 29, 2; G. 36, 2.

12. **precibus Augustae**: see 3. 17, 2.

13. **ut . . . desiere**, i. e. after the death of both protectress and hater.

17. **Iulia**: see on 3. 39, 4. The absence of any allusion here to her betrothal to Seianus, seems to show that Tacitus had not accepted that story: see on 4. 40, 11.

**denupsit.** The word does not appear to denote a 'mésalliance;' being always elsewhere used in the sense of the simple verb: cp. 15. 37, 8; Suet. Ner. 29; and 'nec Caenis in ullos denupsit thalamos' (Ov. Met. 12, 195). Nipp. takes the preposition to denote the firm tie of marriage, as in 'devincire,' etc.; others, as Dräger, seem to explain it better as expressing the leaving the paternal home by marriage: cp. 'enubere,' 'innubere.'

**Rubellii Blandi.** An inscription of the time of Gaius (see Nipp.) records him as 'C. Rubellius C. f. Blandus, quaestor divi Aug. tr. pl. pr. cos. procos. pontif.' On the date of his consulship, see on 3. 23, 2; 51, 1. Two sons born of this marriage are known; Rubellius Plautus (13. 19, 3), and Rubellius Drusus (Insc. Orell. 678),

2 meminerant. extremo anni mors Aelii Lamiae funere censorio
celebrata, qui administrandae Suriae imagine tandem exsolutus
urbi praefuerat. genus illi decorum, vivida senectus; et non per-
3 missa provincia dignationem addiderat. exim Flacco Pomponio
Suriae pro praetore defuncto recitantur Caesaris literae, quis
incusabat egregium quemque et regendis exercitibus idoneum
abnuere id munus, seque ea necessitudine ad preces cogi, per
quas consularium aliqui capessere provincias adigerentur, oblitus
Arruntium, ne in Hispaniam pergeret, decumum iam annum
4 attineri. obiit eodem anno et M'. Lepidus, de cuius modera-
5 tione atque sapientia in prioribus libris satis conlocavi. neque
nobilitas diutius demonstranda est: quippe Aemilium genus
fecundum bonorum civium, et qui eadem familia corruptis moribus,
inlustri tamen fortuna egere.

and a daughter Rubellia (Henzen, Insc. 5395). A son of Rubellius Plautus is the person addressed in Juv. 8, 39.

**avum.** M. Seneca (Contr. II. pr. 5) mentions this Blandus as the first knight who taught rhetoric, the profession having been till then confined to freedmen. His son, the father of the person here mentioned, is supposed to have been a C. Rubellius Blandus, triumvir monetalis under Augustus (Eckh. v. 295). On the inferiority supposed to attach to families belonging to municipal towns, cp. 4. 3, 4.

1. **Aelii Lamiae**; generally taken to be the same who is mentioned by Horace (Od. 1. 26, 8; 36, 7; 3. 17, 1; Ep. 1. 14, 6). Velleius speaks (2. 116, 3) of his services in Germany, Illyricum, and Africa. On his proconsulate of the latter province, see 4. 13, 5.

**funere censorio**: see on 4. 15, 3.

2. **administrandae Suriae imagine.** His case was similar to that of Arruntius mentioned below. The word 'tandem' implies that his fictitious government had lasted several years, and no other legate of Syria is known between the temporary appointment of Sentius (2. 74, 1) and this time. The province may probably have been in charge of Pacuvius (see note on 2. 17, 3).

3. **urbi praefuerat,** as successor to L. Piso (c. 10, 3).

**genus . . . decorum.** His father was probably Lucius Lamia mentioned by Val. Max. (1. 8, 12) as 'praetorius vir;' the family was up to that time equestrian, apparently of Formiae, tracing a mythical pedigree to its founder, Lamus (Hor. Od. 3. 17, 1); in doing which they followed a fashion prevalent then among many newly ennobled houses: see Friedl. Sitteng. i. p. 215. The Lamiae are certainly regarded as a noble house by Juvenal (4, 154, etc.).

4. **dignationem addiderat**: compare the sentiment in 4. 26, 2.

**Flacco Pomponio**: see on 2. 32, 3. He can only have become 'legatus pro praetore' of Syria when Lamia was transferred to the 'praefectura urbis.'

7. **abnuere id munus.** It is thought that this fact may not be unconnected with the stern repression of extortion and misgovernment. But it would also appear that any responsible position made its holder more liable to be accused, however innocent, of 'maiestas.'

8. **oblitus Arruntium,** etc. This and the case of Lamia above are the only recorded instances of the practice of Tiberius mentioned in 1. 80, 4; Suet. Tib. 63. This case also formed a precedent for that of Cluvius Rufus (H. 2. 65, 4). The Caesarian province of Hispania Citerior must be meant, and 'decimum' must be a round number, reckoning from the death of L. Piso in 778, A.D. 25 (4. 45, 1).

10. **M'. Lepidus**: see on 1. 13, 2, etc., and his character in 4. 20, 4.

11. **conlocavi** = 'scripsi.' The word is here alone thus used; but has elsewhere a somewhat kindred sense of 'arrangement' of words and sentences. Nipp. notes the similar use of 'ponere' in Cic. ad Fam. 1. 9, 21; de N. D. 1. 23, 63.

12. **diutius**: cp. 4. 69, 4.

**Aemilium genus**: see on 3. 22, 1.

13. **corruptis moribus,** abl. of quality:

**28** (34). Paulo Fabio L. Vitellio consulibus post longum saecu- 1
lorum ambitum avis phoenix in Aegyptum venit praebuitque
materiem doctissimis indigenarum et Graecorum multa super eo
miraculo disserendi. de quibus congruunt, et plura ambigua 2
sed cognitu non absurda, promere libet. sacrum Soli id animal 3
et ore ac distinctu pinnarum a ceteris avibus diversum consen-
tiunt qui formam eius effinxere: de numero annorum varia tra-
duntur. maxime vulgatum quingentorum spatium: sunt qui 4
adseverent mille quadringentos sexaginta unum interici, priores-
que alios tres Sesoside primum, post Amaside dominantibus, dein

'fuere' may be supplied, or, as Nipp. notes, 'egere' may be used twice, like 'antistent' in 2. 33, 5. Such persons as the triumvir and his father may be here referred to.

1. **Paulo Fabio L. Vitellio.** The former is probably son of the person mentioned in 1. 5, 1; he is recorded as 'pontifex, sodalis Augustalis, frater Arvalis,' in an inscription at Ephesus (C. I. L. iii. 2, 6073), and appears in the Arval Tables from 774 to 807, A.D. 21–54 (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2023 b–2035), and is also noticed as a profligate friend of Claudius (Sen. de Ben. 4. 30, 2), possibly is also the person intended by Juvenal in 8, 14, sqq. L. Vitellius, here first mentioned, is the proconsul of Syria in c. 32, 5, sqq., and the well-known courtier of Claudius (11. 3, 1, etc.), under whom he obtained a second and third consulship and a censorship. He also appears among the Arvales from 781 to 807, A.D. 28–54 (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2026–2035); and was father of the emperor A. Vitellius (H. 1. 9, 2, etc.).

2. **avis phoenix . . . venit.** Dio (58. 27, 1) and Pliny (N. H. 10. 2, 5), who cites as his authority Cornelius Valerianus, date this event in the consulship of Plautius and Papinius (see c. 40, 1). Tacitus would hardly have intentionally introduced it out of its place without saying so (as in c. 38, 1).

6. **ore,** probably the front of the head is meant. The beak is especially described in Lact. (135), 'albicat insignis mixto viridante smaragdo et puro cornu gemmea cuspis hiat.'

**distinctu,** only here and in Stat. Theb. 1. 5, 41.

7. **qui formam . . . effinxere**: so Halm and Orelli after Pichena for the MS. 'effinere;' whence Beroald. read 'definiere,' which most older editors and Nipp. follow: cp. 'effingebant,' of representation in art (11. 14, 1). Hdt., who had seen it, *ὅσον γραφῇ*, describes it (2. 73) as in form an eagle, but with golden and red feathers. Pliny (l. l.) goes more into detail; and a poem on the bird, attributed to Lactantius, describes it still more fully (125–150) as partaking of the plumage of the peacock and pheasant, with a rayed crest. On monuments it has the form of a heron, and is connected with symbols of Osiris.

**de numero annorum.** The phoenix was seen to be the symbol of a cycle of time, but its period was very differently given. That of 1461 years is the Egyptian 'annus magnus,' also called the Sothiac, or Canicular period, being that in which the year of 365 days agrees with that of 365¼; 1461 of the one being equal to 1460 of the other The year A.D. 139 was reckoned by the Egyptians as the end of one such period (see Sir G. C. Lewis, Astronomy of the Ancients, p. 284). Those who reckon the phoenix cycle at 500 years (Hdt. l. l.; Ov. Met. 15, 395; Sen. Ep. 42, 1; Mela, 3. 8, 10) possibly take it as a round number for one-third of the above cycle (487 years), or as itself a period of correction of the calendar (see Nipp.). Pliny (l. l.) gives, on the authority of Manilius, a phoenix cycle of 540 years, and elsewhere (29. 1, 9, 29) speaks of it loosely as 1000 years, in which Lactantius (v. 59) follows him. For other periods given, see Lewis, p. 283, n. 153.

10. **alios tres**: so Halm for the MS. 'aliter esse Soside,' which most editors have taken as 'alites Sesoside.'

**Sesoside . . . Amaside.** The reign of Amasis (Hdt. 2. 172, sqq.) is dated B.C. cir. 570–526. 'Sesosis' is the form in Diod. 1. 53, of the name given by Herodotus as Sesostris, that of the king to whom both these assign the conquests of Rameses (see on 2. 60, 4). Sethos, a

Ptolemaeo, qui ex Macedonibus tertius regnavit, in civitatem cui Heliopolis nomen advolavisse, multo ceterarum volucrum comitatu novam faciem mirantium. sed antiquitas quidem obscura: inter Ptolemaeum ac Tiberium minus ducenti quinquaginta anni fuerunt. unde non nulli falsum hunc phoenicem neque Arabum e terris credidere, nihilque usurpavisse ex iis, quae vetus memoria firmavit. confecto quippe annorum numero, ubi mors propinquet, suis in terris struere nidum eique vim genitalem adfundere, ex qua fetum oriri; et primam adulto curam sepeliendi patris, neque id temere, sed sublato murrae pondere temptatoque per longum iter, ubi par oneri, par meatui sit, subire patrium corpus inque Solis aram perferre atque adolere. haec incerta et fabulosis aucta: ceterum aspici aliquando in Aegypto eam volucrem non ambigitur.

**29** (35). At Romae caede continua Pomponius Labeo, quem praefuisse Moesiae rettuli, per abruptas venas sanguinem effudit: aemulataque est coniunx Paxaea. nam promptas eius modi mortes metus carnificis faciebat, et quia damnati publicatis bonis

name found later in Herodotus (2. 141), is given by Manetho (Ios. c. Ap. 1. 15) as Sethosis, father or brother of a Rameses; and Sesortosis, or some similar name, occurs in the monuments in an older dynasty.

1. **Ptolemaeo**, Ptolemaeus Euergetes, who died in B.C. 222, 235 years before the principate of Tiberius began. Nipp. notes that some have attempted, by counting Alexander as the first Macedonian ruler, to make Tacitus refer to the reign of Ptolemaeus II. Philadelphus, B.C. 284–247, in which the year B.C. 275 was a real epoch of the cycle.

3. **antiquitas**, i.e. the date of Sesosis and Amasis.

5. **falsum hunc.** Pliny (l. l.) records the imposture of bringing a phoenix to Rome in 800, A.D. 53.

6. **iis**: so Halm and Orell., after Ritt., for the MS. 'his,' which Nipp. retains.

7. **annorum**, its period.

8. **suis in terris**, in Arabia.

**struere nidum**, etc. Herodotus (l. l.) gives much the same version as Tacitus. Pliny (l. l.) describes more fully the construction of the nest of spices, and the growth of the offspring from a worm generated from the remains of the parent, and makes the nest itself the vehicle in which the remains are borne. The essential idea is the allegory describing the beginning of one period at the close of another. Pliny speaks (N. H. 13. 4, 9, 43) of a palm shown near Alexandria, which was represented as renewing itself at periods coincident with those of the reappearance of the bird.

11. **meatui**; used of the flight of a bird in H. 1. 62, 5; of the motions of heavenly bodies in Lucr. and Verg.

**subire patrium corpus**; a reminiscence of Verg. Aen. 2. 708; 4. 599. That the phoenix was represented as bearing its burden on its back, not in its claws, would appear from Artemid. Oneir. 4. 49 (see Orelli).

12. **Solis aram**, the famous altar mentioned by Strabo at Heliopolis, Matarieh, about six miles N.E. of Cairo.

**haec incerta.** Tacitus, while he rejects the fables, believes in the appearance at times of such a bird. The idea of symbolising a cycle by a bird is probably traceable to the reappearance of particular birds at certain seasons of the year.

16. **rettuli**: cp. 4. 47, 1. Dio states (58. 24, 3) that he had governed Moesia for eight years after his praetorship.

18. **damnati**, etc. Incapacity for making a will attached not only to those sentenced to death, but also to those inter-

sepultura prohibebantur, eorum qui de se statuebant humabantur
corpora, manebant testamenta, pretium festinandi. sed Caesar 3
missis ad senatum literis disseruit morem fuisse maioribus, quo-
tiens dirimerent amicitias, interdicere domo eumque finem gratiae
ponere: id se repetivisse in Labeone, atque illum, quia male
administratae provinciae aliorumque criminum arguebatur,
culpam invidia velavisse, frustra conterrita uxore, quam etsi
nocentem periculi tamen expertem fuisse. Mamercus dein 4
Scaurus rursum postulatur, insignis nobilitate et orandis causis,
vita probrosus. nihil hunc amicitia Seiani, sed labefecit haud 5
minus validum ad exitia Macronis odium, qui easdem artes
occultius exercebat; detuleratque argumentum tragoediae a
Scauro scriptae, additis versibus qui in Tiberium flecterentur:
verum ab Servilio et Cornelio accusatoribus adulterium Liviae, 6
magorum sacra obiectabantur. Scaurus, ut dignum veteribus 7
Aemiliis, damnationem anteiit, hortante Sextia uxore, quae
incitamentum mortis et particeps fuit.

dicted from fire and water (Dio, 57. 22, 5; Gaius, Dig. 28. 1, 8); nor did suicide before condemnation always save the property (see 4. 20, 1; 30, 3; Dio, 58. 15, 4).

3. **morem . . . maioribus**: see on 2. 70, 3; 3. 24, 5. Tiberius is noted as fond of appealing to old rules (4. 19, 3).

5. **male administratae provinciae**, δώρων μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς γραφείς (Dio, 58. 24, 3).

6. **arguebatur**: so Halm and Orelli after Ern., for the MS. 'urgebatur,' which most others, including Nipp., retain. It is possible that this may be a solitary use of 'urgere' analogously to 'accusare.' The indicative is used as in 1. 10, 1, etc.

7. **invidia**, i. e. by letting it be supposed that Tiberius forced him to self-destruction: cp. 'suam invidiam tali morte quaesitam' 3. 16, 3; also 'cupidines adolescentis velaverat' 13. 13, 1.

8. **periculi expertem**, i. e. whom he had made up his mind to pardon.

9. **rursum**: see c. 9, 5.

10. **vita probrosus**: see 3. 66, 3. His character is represented as infamous by Seneca and by Tertullian (de Pall. 5).

**labefecit**. On the position of this verb, cp. 1. 35, 1.

12. **detulerat**, 'had made matter of information.'

**argumentum**, 'the subject:' so in Dial. 2, 1; and often in Plaut., Ter., etc. According to Dio (58. 24, 4), the tragedy was entitled 'Atreus,' and contained a line imitated from Eur. Phoen. 394 (τὰς τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίας φέρειν χρεών). Tiberius took the allusion to himself, and said, Αἴαντα αὐτὸν ποιήσω, and accordingly forced him to suicide. Suet. (Tib. 61) appears to follow an account making Agamemnon the subject. 'Atrides' was later (Juv. 4, 65), and perhaps already, a nickname of Caesar.

13. **flecterentur**, 'might be applied.' This meaning, which appears to be found nowhere else, is somewhat akin to that in 4. 16, 4; 20, 4.

14. **Servilio et Cornelio**. These accusers, mentioned by one name only, may have been already mentioned in the lost portion. M. Sencea (Suas. 2, 22) speaks of the accuser of Scaurus as 'Tuscus.' On their fate, see c. 30, 1.

**Liviae, Livilla**: see on 4. 3, 3, c. 2, 1.

15. **magorum sacra**: see 2. 27, 2.

**veteribus Aemiliis**: see on 3. 22, 1, etc. M. Seneca (l. l.) says that the family of Scauri were extinct in this person; also (Contr. B. 1. praef.) that seven of his orations were burned by decree.

16. **anteiit**: cp. 5. 6, 4.

**hortante Sextia**. Thus Lips, etc.,

1 **30** (36). Ac tamen accusatores, si facultas incideret, poenis
adficiebantur, ut Servilius Corneliusque perdito Scauro famosi,
quia pecuniam a Vario Ligure omittendae delationis ceperant, in
2 insulas interdicto igni atque aqua demoti sunt. et Abudius
Ruso functus aedilitate dum Lentulo Gaetulico, sub quo legioni
praefuerat, periculum facessit, quod is Seiani filium generum
3 destinasset, ultro damnatur atque urbe exigitur. Gaetulicus ea
tempestate superioris Germaniae legiones curabat mirumque
amorem adsecutus erat, effusae clementiae, modicus severitate et
proximo quoque exercitui per L. Apronium socerum non ingra-
4 tus. unde fama constans ausum mittere ad Caesarem literas,
adfinitatem sibi cum Seiano haud sponte sed consilio Tiberii
coeptam; perinde se quam Tiberium falli potuisse, neque erro-
5 rem eundem illi sine fraude, aliis exitio habendum. sibi fidem
integram et, si nullis insidiis peteretur, mansuram; successorem
6 non aliter quam indicium mortis accepturum. firmarent velut
foedus, quo princeps ceterarum rerum poteretur, ipse provinciam
7 retineret. haec, mira quamquam, fidem ex eo trahebant, quod
unus omnium Seiani adfinium incolumis multaque gratia mansit,

for the MS. 'hortantes exitia.' 'Sexitia' is read by some, but does not appear to be a Roman name.

3. **Vario Ligure**: see on 4. 42, 3.

**ceperant**: cp. 4. 31, 5.

4. **Abudius Ruso**, an unknown person. The name 'Abudius' is found, according to Orelli, only in a few inscriptions; that of 'Ruso' in Sall. Jug. 104, 3; where, as here, many editors substitute the better known name 'Rufus.'

5. **Lentulo Gaetulico**: see on 4. 42, 3; 46, 1.

**legioni praefuerat.** Instances of 'legati legionum' not of praetorian rank (see on 2. 36, 1) are found in 14. 28, 1; H. 1. 79, 8, and 3. 52, 3 (compared with 4. 39, 1). Titus filled that post after the quaestorship (Suet. Tit. 4), the son of Corbulo when below senatorial age (15. 28, 4).

6. **Seiani filium**, probably the boy mentioned in 5. 9, 2.

7. **ultro**, i.e. besides failing in the prosecution.

9. **modicus severitate.** 'Modicus' takes the abl. in c. 45, 1; Agr. 40, 4; as also 'immodicus' in H. 1. 69, 2; 3. 53, 1: the genitive is more usual, as in 2. 73, 3, etc.

10. **L. Apronium**: see 4. 73, 1. He appears still to have retained his command in Lower Germany notwithstanding his failure against the Frisii.

13. **perinde . . . quam**: cp. 2. 1, 2. The thought is the same as that in 5. 6, 2.

14. **sine fraude**, 'harmless:' cp. Hor. Od. 2. 19, 20.

16. **indicium mortis**: so 'signum mortis' (c. 40, 3), 'intimation that he was to die.'

19. **unus . . . adfinium**, used here loosely of one connected merely by a betrothal, or even a less formal 'destinatio' (see on 3. 29, 5). There appears to be reason for supposing that, even among those more nearly related, the destruction was not so complete; for L. Seianus, of praetorian rank, noticed by Dio (58. 19. 1) as spared at the same time with M. Terentius (c. 8, 9), is not mentioned as subsequently put to death.

**incolumis . . . . mansit.** In 792, A.D. 39, he was accused of conspiracy against Gaius, and put to death (Dio, 59. 22, 5; Suet. Claud. 9). The 'Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2029) record an offering on Oct. 27, in that year, 'ob detecta nefaria con[silia] Cn. Lentuli Gae[tulici].'

reputante Tiberio publicum sibi odium, extremam aetatem, magisque fama quam vi stare res suas.

**31** (37). C. Cestio M. Servilio consulibus nobiles Parthi in 1
urbem venere, ignaro rege Artabano. is metu Germanici fidus Ro- 2
manis, aequabilis in suos, mox superbiam in nos, saevitiam in populares sumpsit, fretus bellis, quae secunda adversum circumiectas nationes exercuerat, et senectutem Tiberii ut inermem despiciens avidusque Armeniae, cui defuncto rege Artaxia Arsacen liberorum suorum veterrimum inposuit, addita contumelia et missis qui gazam a Vonone relictam in Suria Ciliciaque reposcerent; simul veteres Persarum ac Macedonum terminos, seque invasurum possessa primum Cyro et post Alexandro per vanilo-
quentiam ac minas iaciebat. sed Parthis mittendi secretos nun- 3
tios validissimus auctor fuit Sinnaces, insigni familia ac perinde

1. **magis . . . stare res suas**, 'that his power stood more by prestige than by its own weight:' cp. 'stat vi terra sua, vi stando Vesta vocatur' Ov. Fast. 6, 299; 'virtute quam pecunia res Romana melius stetit' H. 2. 69, 5.

3. **C. Cestio M. Servilio.** On the former, here called by Dio (58. 25, 2) Γαίος Γάλλος, see on 3. 36, 2; and c. 7, 3. The latter is the historian M. Servilius Nonianus (see Introd. iii. p. 12), whose father was mentioned in 2. 48, 1; 3. 22, 4.

**nobiles Parthi**, i.e. 'megistanes;' see on 2. 2, 1, etc. This narrative of Eastern events (c. 31–37; 41–44), treated very briefly by Dio (58. 26), appears to be given more fully by Tacitus as a relief to the tale of trials and executions (see c. 38, 1).

4. **Artabano**: see 2. 3, 1, etc. He had not only paid court to Germanicus (2. 58, 1), but also shown respect at his death: see on 2. 72, 3.

5. **aequabilis**, 'without caprice:' cp. 'cunctis vitae officiis aequabilis' H. 4. 5, 4, 'aequabilius . . . provinciae regentur' 15. 21, 5: see also 4. 20, 4.

7. **inermem**, 'without warlike energy:' cp. the account of his policy in c. 32, 1.

8. **Artaxia**: see 2. 56, 3. His death may probably have taken place in the preceding year.

**Arsacen.** This is hardly a personal name, but no other is known. Orelli notes a tetradrachm inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ as apparently belonging to his coinage.

9. **veterrimum**: elsewhere 'vetustissimum' is thus used, e.g. 2. 43, 3. Ritter would so read here; but Nipp. points out that the MS. text receives some support from 'veterrimos populos' (Liv. 5. 54, 5).

**contumelia.** Nipp. considers this to have consisted in the demand itself. But it was probably also distinctly expressed in the letter, as described by Suet. (Tib. 66), 'parricidia et caedes et ignaviam et luxuriam obicientis, monentisque ut voluntaria morte maximo iustissimoque civium odio quam primum satis faceret.'

10. **Vonone**: see 2. 1–4; 58; 68.

12. **primum Cyro.** Halm, with Baiter, thinks this the right restoration of the MS. 'icyro;' Ritter reads 'a Cyro' (cp. 'a Lucullo' 13. 34, 4); others take the dot to signify merely that the 'i' is to be expunged. On such a dat. as 'Cyro,' cp. Introd. v. § 18.

**per vaniloquentiam**: cp. 3. 49, 2.

13. **iaciebat**, taken with 'terminos' in the sense of 'non sine iactatione referebat' (cp. 3. 49, 2). He bragged of these old boundaries, as if he would make good his right to all included in them. Supposing only the Asiatic dominions of these kings to be meant, all Syria and Asia Minor would be comprehended. Dio (l. l.) adds that he actually attacked Cappadocia.

14. **perinde.** Nipp. and Dräger explain this word as here used adjectively for 'paribus.' But 'insignibus' can easily be supplied, as 'atrocia' in 'atrox caelum, perinde ingenia' (Flor. 3. 2, 2). In the example noted by Quint. (8. 3, 82) of the

opibus, et proximus huic Abdus ademptae virilitatis. non de-
4 spectum id apud barbaros ultroque potentiam habet. ii adscitis
et aliis primoribus, quia neminem gentis Arsacidarum summae
rei inponere poterant, interfectis ab Artabano plerisque aut
nondum adultis, Phraaten regis Phraatis filium Roma poscebant:
nomine tantum et auctore opus, ut sponte Caesaris [ut] genus
Arsacis ripam apud Euphratis cerneretur.

1 **32** (38). Cupitum id Tiberio: ornat Phraaten accingitque pa-
ternum ad fastigium, destinata retinens, consiliis et astu res exter-
2 nas moliri, arma procul habere. interea cognitis insidiis Artabanus
3 tardari metu, modo cupidine vindictae inardescere. et barbaris
cunctatio servilis, statim exsequi regium videtur: valuit tamen
utilitas, ut Abdum specie amicitiae vocatum ad epulas lento
veneno inligaret, Sinnacen dissimulatione ac donis, simul per
4 negotia moraretur. et Phraates apud Suriam dum omisso cultu
Romano, cui per tot annos insueverat, instituta Parthorum sumit,
5 patriis moribus impar morbo absumptus est. sed non Tiberius

brilliant conciseness of Sallust ('Mithridates corpore ingenti, perinde armatus'), the usage more resembles that of Tacitus in 12. 41, 4.

1. **Abdus.** The first part of this name and of 'Abdageses' (c. 36, 3, etc.) appears to be a Semitic root. On the mixture of races indicated by Parthian names, see Rawlinson, p. 21.

2. **id**; sc. 'ademptae virilitatis esse:' 'this is not only not matter of contempt, but even a source of influence,' by placing men in confidential positions.

4. **aut** = 'et aliis:' cp. 1. 55, 2, etc.

5. **regis Phraatis filium.** On this family, see on 2. 1, 2; 2, 1.

6. **nomine . . . auctore**, explained by the following sentence; the name of an Arsacid, and the support of Caesar.

**ut . . . [ut].** Both these are retained by Orelli, Ritter, and Nipp.; but the suggestions for supplying 'aliquis' (Doed.), or 'electus,' latent in 'cerneretur' (Dräger), with 'sponte Caesaris,' seem unsatisfactory. Nipp. inverts the clauses, and explains the second 'ut' by supposing 'genus Arsacis' to be again repeated in thought for rhetorical emphasis: 'that an Arsacid should show himself on the Euphrates' frontier, and that he should do so with the approval of Caesar.' Such an inversion, or the omission of one 'ut,' seem to be the necessary alternatives.

8. **ornat accingitque**, i. e. gives him the insignia of royalty, and means of enforcing his claim by arms: cp. the similar passage ('auctum pecunia additis stipatoribus'), 11. 16, 3.

**paternum ad fastigium**, repeated in 11. 10, 8.

9. **destinata**, 'his purpose.' On this settled policy, see 2. 26, 3; 64, 2; 66, 3.

11. **tardari metu, modo**, see on 4. 50, 6: probably in both places the first clause denotes the prevalent state, the second the occasional. Ritter somewhat inconsistently inserts another 'modo' here, but not in the former place.

**et barbaris**, etc., i. e. many reasons prompted him to the bolder course, yet the more politic was adopted: cp. 'placuit tamen occultior via' 4. 3, 1.

14. **inligaret**: cp. 'morbo implicata' 4. 53, 1. The metaphor is taken from ensnaring or entangling, and 'inligare' thus used with 'conscientia' (15. 51, 1), 'stupro' (12. 25, 1), etc.

15. **cultu**, coupled with 'instituta' in 2. 56, 2, and here apparently answering to it.

16. **sumit**: so Halm and Nipp., after Lips., for the MS. 'insumit,' for which Ritt. reads 'adsumit;' 'insumpsisse,' in 14. 44, 1, has also generally been altered. The MS. text, if sound, must be equivalent to 'in se sumit,' or 'sibi sumit.'

17. **patriis moribus**: see the contrast of Roman and Parthian modes of life in 2. 2, 5.

omisit incepta: Tiridatem sanguinis eiusdem aemulum Artabano,
reciperandaeque Armeniae Hiberum Mithridaten deligit con-
ciliatque fratri Pharasmani, qui gentile imperium obtinebat; et
cunctis quae apud orientem parabantur L. Vitellium praefecit.
eo de homine haud sum ignarus sinistram in urbe famam, plera- 6
que foeda memorari, ceterum *in* regendis provinciis prisca virtute
egit. unde regressus et formidine Gai Caesaris, familiaritate 7
Claudii turpe in servitium mutatus exemplar apud posteros adu-
latorii dedecoris habetur, cesseruntque prima postremis, et bona
iuventae senectus flagitiosa obliteravit.

**33** (39). At ex regulis prior Mithridates Pharasmanem perpulit 1
dolo et vi conatus suos iuvare, repertique corruptores ministros
Arsacis multo auro ad scelus cogunt; simul Hiberi magnis copiis 2
Armeniam inrumpunt et urbe Artaxata potiuntur. quae post-
quam Artabano cognita, filium Oroden ultorem parat; dat Par-
thorum copias, mittit qui auxilia mercede facerent: contra 3
Pharasmanes adiungere Albanos, accire Sarmatas, quorum scep-

1. **sanguinis eiusdem**, a grandson of the elder Phraates (c. 37, 6), probably one of the four sent by him to Rome: see on 2. 1, 2.

2. **Hiberum**: see on 4. 5, 4.

3. **gentile**, of his own nation: so 'gentile decus' 11. 16, 3: cp. 3. 59, 3; 12. 14, 2; 17, 3; 34, 4.

4. **L. Vitellium**: see on c. 28, 1. As Syria had been vacated in 786, A. D. 33 (c. 27, 3), it is probable that Vitellius may have been sent out earlier as legate of that province, and may now have received some extension of power similar to that of Germanicus (2. 43, 2). A fuller account of his actions in Syria and Palestine, including his recall of Pilate just before the death of Tiberius, is given in Joseph. Ant. 18; c. 4, 5. See also Prof. Rawlinson, p. 228, sqq.

6. **in regendis**, 'in' is inserted by Halm and Orelli, after Otto: see on 3. 19, 2, where Halm also inserts 'in.' Nipp. here defends the MS. text by many instances from Tacitus and other authors, which seem hardly parallel, as the immediate proximity here of another abl. makes it the less probable that this one stood without a preposition.

7. **regressus**, etc. He was recalled by Gaius in 793, A. D. 40, to answer a charge, and escaped by abject servility (Dio, 59. 27, 4). On his conduct towards Claudius, Messalina, and Agrippina, see 11. 2, 4; 3, 1; 12. 4, 1; 42, 4, etc.: other anecdotes of his servility are related in Suet. Vit. 2. Dio (l. l.) follows Tacitus here in recording both sides of his character.

8. **adulatorii**: the adj. is apparently ἅπ. εἰρ.; the adv. found in August. Ep. 148.

11. **perpulit**. The inf. with this verb appears to be found only in Tacitus (11. 29, 2; 12. 50, 3; 13. 54, 3; H. 5. 2, 3): cp. Introd. v. § 42.

12. **ministros**, those who waited on him: cp. 3. 14, 3.

13. **ad scelus**, 'to poison him:' cp. 1. 5, 1, etc. This was the 'dolus;' the invasion of Armenia the 'vis' mentioned above.

14. **Artaxata**: see 2. 56, 3.

15. **Parthorum**. The MS. has 'parthorumque,' whence it has been thought that a word has dropped out, such as 'Ariorum' (cp. 11. 10, 3), conjectured by Bezzenb., or 'Medorum' (c. 34, 6, where, however, it seems to be another name for the Parthians), by Heräus. Beroald. and other old editors read by transposition 'datque.'

16. **auxilia . . . facerent**, not used like 'stipendia facere,' but as equivalent to 'auxiliares compararent:' so 'exercitum facere' (Vell. 2. 109, 1), 'manum facere' (Cic. Caec. 12, 33), etc.

17. **Albanos**: see 2. 68, 1.

**accire**, so most modern editors, after

4 tuchi utrimque donis acceptis more gentico diversa induere. sed
Hiberi locorum potentes Caspia via Sarmatam in Armenios
5 raptim effundunt. at qui Parthis adventabant, facile arcebantur,
cum alios incessus hostis clausisset, unum reliquum mare inter et
extremos Albanorum montes aestas impediret, quia flatibus
etesiarum implentur vada: hibernus auster revolvit fluctus pulso-
que introrsus freto brevia litorum nudantur.
1 **34** (40). Interim Oroden sociorum inopem auctus auxilio Pha-
rasmanes vocare ad pugnam et detrectantem incessere, adequitare
castris, infensare pabula; ac saepe *in* modum obsidii stationibus
cingebat, donec Parthi contumeliarum insolentes circumsister-
2 ent regem, poscerent proelium. atque illis sola in equite vis:

J. F. Gron., for the MS. 'accipere,' which Walther insufficiently supports from 2. 40, 4, etc.: cp. 'accitis Frisiis' H. 4. 15, 4.

**Sarmatas.** 'Sarmatae' or 'Sauromatae' are spoken of in several places in Strabo, Pl. mai., and Tacitus, but are little more than a general name for many tribes north of the Caucasus, in Europe and Asia. In the time of Ptolemy the name becomes more definite.

**quorum,** referring to the Sarmatae only.

**sceptuchi,** only found here as a Latin word. Greek writers, as Xen. (Anab. 1. 6, 11; Cyr. 8. 1, 38) generally designate thus, as 'wand-bearers,' the chief officers, usually eunuchs, in personal attendance on the Persian king. In Strabo (11. 2, 13, 496) the term is applied, as here, to persons more answering to the rank of satraps.

1. **gentico**: cp. 3. 43, 3.

**diversa induere,** entered into opposite alliances: see the senses of this verb noted on 1. 69, 2.

2. **Caspia via**: cp. 'claustra Caspiarum' H. 1. 6, 5, 'Caspiae portae' Suet. Ner. 19. The pass here meant is that which Pliny (N. H. 6. 11, 30; 13, 40) speaks of as erroneously called 'Caspiae,' and properly 'Caucasiae portae,' the modern pass of Dariel, in the centre of the chain, connecting the Iberian town of Hermasta (Plin. l. l.), the modern Tiflis, with the upper valley of the Terek. This is still the great road over the chain, and would be the natural route for Sarmatians into Iberia, the Σαρματικαὶ πύλαι of Ptol. 5. 9, 11, 15. The true 'Caspiae Pylae' of Arrian, etc., have no connection with this locality, but lead from the south of the Caspian towards Teheran.

3. **qui,** i. e. the Sarmatians who had taken this side.

4. **alios incessus.** The Ἀλβάνιαι πύλαι of Ptol. (l. l.) appear to be intermediate between the two chief roads here mentioned, and to answer to or lie westward of the pass by way of Kouba: see Mr. Dyer, in Dict. of Geog. ii. 920. On 'incessus,' cp. 3. 74, 1.

**unum reliquum,** the second great route, along the western shore of the Caspian, between Derbend and Bakou.

5. **flatibus etesiarum,** the ἐτησίαι βορέαι of Hdt. 2, 20 (cp. also Plin. N. H. 2. 47, 127), blowing from the middle of July to the end of August: cp. H. 2. 98, 3. The force with which the sea is driven at times upon this shore from the north, is spoken of in Curtius (6. 4, 19).

6. **hibernus auster,** etc., thrown in to show why this route is obstructed in summer only.

7. **freto,** used, as by poets, of the sea in general.

**brevia**: cp. 1. 70, 3, etc.

10. **infensare,** 'ravages the foraging ground:' so 'infensare Armeniam' 13. 37, 1. The verb is Tacitean, and elsewhere only found in 13. 41, 4. 'Pabulum' is perhaps thus used in 15. 16, 1 ('pabulo attrito').

**stationibus,** 'outposts:' cp. 4. 50, 5.

11. **contumeliarum insolentes**: this genitive (cp. 15. 67, 5; H. 1. 87, 4) appears also in Cic., Caes., and Sall.

12. **regem,** 'the prince:' probably Orodes assumed also the title of king of Armenia.

Pharasmanes et pedite valebat. nam Hiberi Albanique saltuosos
locos incolentes duritiae patientiaeque magis insuevere; ferunt- 3
que se Thessalis ortos, qua tempestate Iaso post avectam Medeam
genitosque ex ea liberos inanem mox regiam Aeetae vacuosque
Colchos repetivit. multaque de nomine eius et oraclum Phrixi 4
celebrant; nec quisquam ariete sacrificaverit, credito vexisse
Phrixum, sive id animal seu navis insigne fuit. ceterum derecta 5
utrimque acie Parthus imperium orientis, claritudinem Arsaci-
darum, contraque ignobilem Hiberum mercennario milite dissere-
bat; Pharasmanes integros semet a Parthico dominatu, quanto
maiora peterent, plus decoris victores aut, si terga darent, flagitii
atque periculi laturos; simul horridam suorum aciem, picta auro 6
Medorum agmina, hinc viros, inde praedam ostendere.

**35** (41). Enimvero apud Sarmatas non una vox ducis: se 1
quisque stimulant ne pugnam per sagittas sinerent: impetu et
comminus praeveniendum. variae hinc bellantium species, cum 2

2. **feruntque**, etc. This legend is given more fully, with some variation, in Just. 42. 2, 12. Jason is there said in after life to have been driven from Thessaly by the daughters of Pelias, to have been reconciled to Medea, to have reinstated Aeetes, whom he found in exile, to have gained great victories, and assigned a territory from his conquests to his followers from Greece. The Albani, according to Justin, gave to Cn. Pompeius a different account of themselves, and claimed the favour of Rome as having had their home on the Alban Mount, and having followed Heracles from Italy to the East. The real origin of both nations appears to be Scythic, and the Albani have been thought to be the same as the Alauni or Alani.

3. **qua tempestate**: cp. 2. 60, 2; 4. 14, 2.

4. **vacuos**: cp. c. 51, 4; 2. 3, 2, etc. It would seem that Tacitus took the legend as asserting that Aeetes was dead.

5. **de nomine**, 'named after him:' cp. 1. 15, 3. The Jasonian legend was widely spread in those regions. Strabo speaks (11. 4, 8, 503) of temples (*'Ιασόνια*) and other *ὑπομνήματα*, not only in Albania and Hiberia, but also in Media and Armenia. Justin adds (42. 3) 'Iasoni totus ferme Oriens ut conditori divinos honores templaque constituit.' See also Grote (vol. i. ch. 13, p. 328, sqq.), who points out the stimulus given to these legends by the Thessalians who had followed Alexander.

**oraculum Phrixi.** Strabo mentions (11. 2, 17, 498), in Moschica above the Glaucus and Hippus (tributaries of the Phasis), *τὸ τῆς Λευκοθέας ἱερόν, Φρίξου ἵδρυμα, καὶ μαντεῖον ἐκείνου, ὅπου κριὸς οὐ θύεται.*

6. **credito**, probably personal, as in c. 50, 7, etc.

7. **seu navis insigne.** This rationalised verson of the legend is found in Diod. 4. 47, 4.

9. **mercennario milite**, 'with his mercenaries:' the abl. might be absolute, but in Nep. Eum. 3, 6 a similar case is fully expressed as abl. of quality ('peditatu, quo erat deteriore'). Several other such uses of this abl. are given in Nipp.'s note on 3. 43, 2: cp. Introd. v. § 29.

12. **horridam**, 'unkempt:' cp. 'horridus miles' Liv. 9. 40, 4.

13. **Medorum.** The whole army is meant. Horace often interchanges the names 'Mede,' 'Persian,' and 'Parthian,' and the name here is the more appropriate, as the Parthians had adopted the 'perlucida ac fluida vestis' of the Medes (Just. 41. 2, 4).

14. **non una vox ducis**, 'the commander was not the only speaker.'

15. **ne . . . sinerent**, 'not to permit an archer's battle;' i. e. to close at once: 'sinere' is used with the accus. in 2. 55, 4; 13. 25, 3, etc., in Plin. N. H. 6. 14, 17, 43; and in poets. Beroald. and other older editors read 'inirent.'

Parthus sequi vel fugere pari arte suetus distraheret turmas, spa-
tium ictibus quaereret, Sarmatae omisso arcu, quo brevius valent,
contis gladiisque ruerent; modo equestris proelii more frontis
et tergi vices, aliquando ut conserta acie corporibus et pulsu
3 armorum pellerent pellerentur. iamque et Albani Hiberique
prensare, detrudere, ancipitem pugnam hostibus facere, quos
4 super eques et propioribus vulneribus pedites adflictabant. inter
quae Pharasmanes Orodesque, dum strenuis adsunt aut dubi-
tantibus subveniunt, conspicui eoque gnari, clamore telis equis
concurrunt, instantius Pharasmanes; nam vulnus per galeam
5 adegit. nec iterare valuit, praelatus equo et fortissimis satel-
litum protegentibus saucium: fama tamen occisi falso credita
exterruit Parthos victoriamque concessere.

1 **36** (42). Mox Artabanus tota mole regni ultum iit. peritia
locorum ab Hiberis melius pugnatum; nec ideo abscedebat, ni

1. **sequi vel fugere . . . suetus.** This Parthian tactic is well known from Vergil (G. 3, 31), Horace (Od. 1. 19, 11; 2. 13, 17), etc.

**distraheret turmas**, sc. 'suas;' 'would scatter his squadrons.'

2. **quo brevius valent**, 'with which their range is shorter:' the phrase does not appear to be found elsewhere. The long range of the Parthian archery is spoken of by Plutarch (Crass. 24, 558).

3. **contis gladiisque.** The long pikes and swords of the Sarmatians are mentioned, and their mode of warfare described, in H. 1. 79, 4–6.

**equestris proelii more.** Nipp. notes that stress is laid on the last word. Both the Parthians and Sarmatians were fighting on horseback; sometimes with true cavalry tactics; at other times closing like a line of infantry. The Parthians would try to use the former mode of attack, the Sarmatians the latter.

**frontis et tergi vices**, sc. 'essent;' 'they would face about and retreat by turns:' cp. 'scelerum ac suppliciorum vices' H. 4. 27, 4. The whole sentence is evidently imitated from Sall. H. inc. 55 D, 21 K, 24 G ('more equestris proelii sumptis tergis atque redditis'). The force of 'cum' extends to 'pellerentur.'

4. **ut conserta acie**: so Halm and Nipp., after Heins., for the MS. 'acies,' which Orelli and Dräger retain. Ern. had read 'conferta;' Ritt. brackets the words as a gloss on the following: they stand, however, in natural contrast to 'equestris proelii more,' and express the appearance as if the whole line were locked together: cp. Curt. 3. 11, 4 'conserti et quasi cohaerentes;' and the description of the phalanx, 'vir viro, armis arma conserta sunt' (Id. 3. 4, 13). With 'conferta,' 'ut' would be superfluous.

5. **iamque et**, etc. Now that it became a standing fight, these, who were in great part foot soldiers (c. 34, 2) came into action, probably attacking the Parthians in flank, while the Sarmatians held them in front.

6. **detrudere**, sc. 'ex equis.'

**ancipitem**: cp. 'anceps cura' 2. 40, 1, 'anceps malum' Agr. 26, 3. Here it is explained by the following words.

7. **super**, 'from above:' cp. 'implenturque super puppes' Verg. Aen. 5, 697, 'super e totis emisit collibus agmen' Luc. 6, 291.

9. **gnari**: cp. 1. 5, 4, etc.

**clamore telis equis.** The asyndeta form a climax, as in 2. 17, 5, etc.

11. **praelatus**, for 'praeterlatus,' as in Liv. 2. 14, 7; 7. 24, 8, etc.: see note on 2. 6, 5.

14. **Mox**; probably in the following year: see c. 38, 1.

**tota mole regni**: cp. 'tota mole belli' H. 1. 61, 3; 'toto certatum est corpore regni' Verg. Aen. 11, 313.

**ultum iit**: cp. 4. 73, 6.

**peritia locorum.** They had been a year in Armenia.

contractis legionibus Vitellius et subdito rumore, tamquam Meso-
potamiam invasurus, metum Romani belli fecisset. tum omissa 2
Armenia versaeque Artabani res, inliciente Vitellio desererent
regem saevum in pace et adversis proeliorum exitiosum. igitur 3
Sinnaces, quem antea infensum memoravi, patrem Abdagaesen
aliosque occultos consilii et tunc continuis cladibus promptiores
ad defectionem trahit, adfluentibus paulatim qui metu magis
quam benevolentia subiecti repertis auctoribus sustulerant ani-
mum. nec iam aliud Artabano reliquum quam si qui externorum 4
corpori custodes aderant, suis quisque sedibus extorres, quis
neque boni intellectus neque mali cura, sed mercede aluntur
ministri sceleribus. his adsumptis in longinqua et contermina 5
Scythiae fugam maturavit, spe auxilii, quia Hyrcanis Carma-
niisque per adfinitatem innexus erat: atque interim posse Parthos
absentium aequos, praesentibus mobiles, ad paenitentiam
mutari.

**37** (43). At Vitellius profugo Artabano et flexis ad novum re- 1
gem popularium animis, hortatus Tiridaten parata capessere, robur
legionum sociorumque ripam ad Euphratis ducit. sacrificantibus, 2

1. **tamquam**, thus used, like ὡς, with a fut. participle in 12. 49, 2; H. 4. 19, 3; Dial. 2, 2; also with other participles: see Introd. v. § 67; Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 215.

3. **inliciente.** Josephus states (Ant. 18. 4, 4) that Vitellius won them by bribes.

5. **memoravi**, c. 31, 3.

6. **occultos consilii.** This gen. has been generally adopted, after Faern., for the MS. 'consilit:' 'occultus' takes such a gen. of reference in 4. 7, 1; cp. 'ambiguus consilii' H. 2. 83, 2; 4. 21, 1. These men had meditated revolt, but had kept their plans secret.

8. **sustulerant animum**, 'had plucked up courage:' cp. H. 3. 45, 1; 4. 54, 2.

10. **corpori custodes**, 'bodyguards:' 'custos' is used with a similar dative in 1. 24, 3; 3. 14, 7. 'Ministri,' below, takes a similar dative, as in 15. 28, 4: H. 1. 88, 2, etc.

11. **intellectus**: cp. 'dissimulato intellectu' 13. 38, 4; 'intellectum optimae rei . . . amisit' Sen. de Ben. 3. 17, 2.

13. **Scythiae.** The Scythians east of the Caspian are meant. The Hyrcanians at the south-east angle of that sea were probably a Scythian race, and next to them were the Dahae, among whom Artabanus had been brought up (2. 3, 1).

**Carmaniis.** This people lay on the south-east of the empire, between the desert of Kirman and the entrance of the Persian Gulf. Strabo (15. 2, 14, 727) quotes Nearchus as saying that they resembled the Medes and Persians in customs and language.

14. **per adfinitatem innexus.** The same phrase is found in H. 4. 68, 3. Artabanus was himself of mixed blood (c. 42, 4), and had probably taken wives from these races.

**posse**, depending on 'spe.'

15. **absentium aequos**, 'fair-minded in relation to the absent.' No such genitive appears to be elsewhere found with 'aequus;' nor are those noted in Introd. v. 33 e, strictly parallel to it. It may possibly be an imitation of the Greek genitive with a word expressing desire or affection.

**praesentibus mobiles.** Such a dative is used with 'mitis' (12. 20, 1), 'arrogans' (11. 21, 4), 'incuriosus' (14. 38, 3), etc.: see Dr. Synt. und Stil, § 55.

19. **ripam ad.** On the anastrophe, cp. 3. 72, 2, etc.

cum hic more Romano suovetaurilia daret, ille equum placando amni adornasset, nuntiavere accolae Euphraten nulla imbrium vi sponte et inmensum attolli, simul albentibus spumis in modum
3 diadematis sinuare orbes, auspicium prosperi transgressus. quidam callidius interpretabantur, initia conatus secunda neque diuturna, quia eorum quae terra caelove portenderentur certior fides, fluminum instabilis natura simul ostenderet omina raperet-
4 que. sed ponte navibus effecto tramissoque exercitu primus Ornospades multis equitum milibus in castra venit, exul quondam et Tiberio, cum Delmaticum bellum conficeret, haud inglorius auxiliator eoque civitate Romana donatus, mox repetita amicitia regis multo apud eum honore, praefectus campis qui Euphrate et Tigre inclutis amnibus circumflui Mesopotamiae
5 nomen acceperunt. neque multo post Sinnaces auget copias, et columen partium Abdagaeses gazam et paratus regios adicit.
6 Vitellius ostentasse Romana arma satis ratus monet Tiridaten primoresque, hunc, Phraatis avi et altoris Caesaris quaeque utrobique pulchra meminerit, illos, obsequium in regem, reverentiam

1. **suovetaurilia**; as the 'piaculum Marti' (Liv. 8. 10, 14; Cato. R. R. 141).

**placando amni.** This applies only to 'ille ... adornasset;' though a Roman offering of διαβατήρια to the Euphrates is mentioned in Plut. Lucull. 24, 507. The horse was the chief Persian sacrifice, and was offered to the Sun (Xen. Anab. 4. 5, 35; Just. 1. 10). The reverence paid by this people to rivers is mentioned by Herodotus (1. 138) and Justin (41. 3, 6).

3. **in modum diadematis.** The original form of the diadem is that of a white band tied in a bow behind, as represented on the heads of Dionysus and other deities. By Eastern kings, it would be worn as an addition to the 'tiara:' see on 2. 56, 3.

5. **neque**, 'yet not:' cp. 4. 21, 4; Agr. 8, 3; Liv. 3. 55, 1, etc.

6. **terra caelove**: cp. H. 1. 3, 2 'caelo terraque prodigia.' The same ablatives are found in Curt. 4. 7, 6, and are apparently taken from Sall. Jug. 17, 5; the usage being an extension of the expression 'terra marique:' see Introd. v. § 25.

8. **ponte navibus effecto.** The Romans appear not to have kept up at this time a permanent bridge over the Euphrates, but to have had means at hand to construct one (see 15. 7, 3; 9, 1). The place was no doubt that most usual, at Zeugma, opposite to Apamea (Plin. N. H. 5. 24, 21, 86, etc.).

9. **multis . . . milibus**, a remarkable use of the abl. of manner: see Introd. v. § 28.

10. **Delmaticum bellum**, 759–762, A.D. 6–9: see Introd. viii. p. 115.

11. **auxiliator**, here alone in Tacitus; a rare form found in Petron. 89; Quint., Stat., and Vulgate.

13. **Tigre**: the more usual abl. is 'Tigri,' as in 12. 13, 1; Verg. Aen. 10, 166, etc.

**circumflui**, here alone in Tacitus; a poetical word, used also, more rarely, in an active sense.

15. **columen**, taken by Nipp. as a metaphor from the 'crown' of an edifice: cp. 'victoriae columen' H. 2. 28, 3, 'Memphim . . . Aegypti columen' Id. 4. 84. 6, 'columen amicorum Antonii' Cic. Phil. 13. 12, 26: others take the figure to mean 'the pillar of the cause.' Cp. 'Specimen partium' H. 3. 66, 4.

17. **Phraatis avi**: see on c. 32, 5.

**quaeque utrobique pulchra**, 'to remember all the noble qualities in either.' Halm and Orell. follow Neue in reading 'quaeque' for the MS. 'quae;' the similar ending of the next word

in nos, decus quisque suum et fidem retinerent. exim cum legionibus in Suriam remeavit.

**38** (44). Quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi, quo requie- 1
sceret animus a domesticis malis; non enim Tiberium, quamquam
triennio post caedem Seiani, quae ceteros mollire solent, tempus
preces satias mitigabant, quin incerta vel abolita pro gravissimis
et recentibus puniret. eo metu Fulcinius Trio, ingruentis accusa- 2
tores haud perpessus, supremis tabulis multa et atrocia in Macro-
nem ac praecipuos libertorum Caesaris conposuit, ipsi fluxam senio
mentem et continuo abscessu velut exilium obiectando. quae 3
ab heredibus occultata recitari Tiberius iussit, patientiam liber-
tatis alienae ostentans et contemptor suae infamiae, an scelerum
Seiani diu nescius mox quoquo modo dicta vulgari malebat
veritatisque, cui adulatio officit, per probra saltem gnarus fieri.
isdem diebus Granius Marcianus senator, a C. Graccho maiestatis 4
postulatus, vim vitae suae attulit, Tariusque Gratianus praetura
functus lege eadem extremum ad supplicium damnatus.

making the loss of 'que' probable. Nipp. retains the MS. text.

3. **duabus aestatibus**: see on c. 36, 1. The account of the events of the second year, broken off here at the point where Roman intervention ceased, is resumed in c. 41.

**quo requiesceret**, etc. The digressions in c. 16, 22, 28, appear to be introduced with a similar object; in another place the events of successive years are related continuously to aid the memory of the reader (12. 40, 8); in another (13. 9, 6), without any reason given.

5. **triennio.** The real interval was rather more; Seianus having been executed on Oct. 18 (c. 25, 5), 784, A.D. 31.

6. **satias**: cp. 3. 30, 7. The asyndeta here form a climax (see Introd. v. § 65).

7. **eo metu**, etc. This sentence contains a zeugma, by which the idea of committing suicide is supplied from 'haud perpessus' (cp. 4. 50, 3); to which 'conposuit,' though grammatically the principal verb in the sentence, is subordinate in sense, like a clause in abl. abs.

**Fulcinius Trio**: see on c. 4, 2.

8. **supremis tabulis.** This 'testamentorum licentia' had been indulged under Augustus, who prohibited any enactment against it (Suet. Aug. 56).

9. **praecipuos libertorum.** Some of the freedmen of Tiberius are known to have been rich and prosperous; but it seems to be only at the close of his life that we hear of them as influential: see 4. 6, 7; Introd. vii. p. 90, n. 2.

**fluxam**: cp. 3. 50, 5; here 'decayed,' as 'fluxa auctoritas' H. 1. 21, 4; 'fides' Id. 2. 75, 2, etc.

10. **continuo abscessu.** The abl. appears to be causal, similar to 'potentia' (4. 43, 4), etc., here explanatory of 'velut exilium.' The use of 'abscessus' for 'absentia,' noted by Dr. as found here only, appears perhaps also in 4. 57, 2.

11. **recitari iussit.** Besides the famous publication of the last words of Drusus (c. 24, 1), Dio (58. 25, 3) alludes to other cases in which Tiberius thus acted. Suet. (Tib. 61) represents his practice in this respect as variable.

15. **senator**: see on 1. 75, 3.

**C. Graccho**: see on c. 16, 5; 4. 13, 3.

16. **Tarius Gratianus.** Nipp. thinks him son of L. Tarius Rufus, cos. suff. in 738, B.C. 16 (C. I. L. i. p. 466, 467), and 'curator aquarum' in 776, 777, A.D. 23, 24 (Frontin. de Aquaed. 102); noted by Plin. (N. H. 18. 6, 7, 37) as having risen from low origin by military service to rank and wealth, and by Seneca (de Clem. 1. 15, 2), as having exiled a son by 'patria potestas' for attempted parricide.

17. **damnatus.** Orelli and Ritt. here follow Nipp. in inserting 'est;' Sirker

1 **39** (45). Nec dispares Trebellieni Rufi et Sextii Paconiani
exitus: nam Trebellienus sua manu cecidit, Paconianus in carcere
2 ob carmina illic in principem factitata strangulatus est. haec
Tiberius non mari, ut olim, divisus neque per longinquos nuntios
accipiebat, sed urbem iuxta, eodem ut die vel noctis interiectu
literis consulum rescriberet, quasi aspiciens undantem per domos
3 sanguinem aut manus carnificum. fine anni Poppaeus Sabinus
concessit vita, modicus originis, principum amicitia consulatum
ac triumphale decus adeptus maximisque provinciis per quattuor
et viginti annos inpositus, nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod
par negotiis neque supra erat.

1 **40** (46). Q. Plautius Sex. Papinius consules sequuntur. eo
anno neque quod L. Aruseius . . . morte adfecti forent, adsuetu-
dine malorum ut atrox advertebatur, sed exterruit quod Vibulenus
Agrippa eques Romanus, cum perorassent accusatores, in ipsa
curia depromptum sinu venenum hausit, prolapsusque ac mori-
bundus festinatis lictorum manibus in carcerem raptus est, fau-
2 cesque iam exanimis laqueo vexatae. ne Tigranes quidem,

would read 'damnatur:' the natural meaning of the MS. text would certainly be that 'vim vitae suae attulit' is to be again supplied, which is evidently not intended (cp. c. 39, 1). For the expression, cp. 'damnari ad mortem' 16. 21, 2; 'ad metalla, ad munitiones viarum, ad bestias' Suet. Cal. 27; 'ad opus' Id. Ner. 31: also 'summum supplicium' c. 3, 5.

1. **Nec dispares**, i.e. their deaths corresponded to the two just mentioned: cp. 4. 14, 3, etc. On Trebellienus Rufus, see 2. 67, 4; on Sextus Paconianus, c. 3, 4.

3. **carmina.** It is thought (see Nipp.) that some of his verses are preserved in Diomedes 498.

5. **urbem iuxta.** Dio (58. 25, 2) states that he was at this time celebrating the marriage of Gaius at Antium: see on c. 20, 1.

**interiectu**: cp. 3. 51, 4; 67, 4.

6. **undantem . . . sanguinem.** The rhetorical extravagance of the expression may be compared with that in c. 19, 3. 'Per domos' distinguishes the suicides at home from the executions in prison.

7. **manus**, 'the work:' cp. 1. 61, 3.

**Poppaeus Sabinus**: see on 1. 80, 1; where it is noted that he must have been originally appointed to Moesia in 764, A.D. 11; and the question of his continued tenure of this province, as well as of Macedonia and Achaia, is discussed.

12. **Q. Plautius Sex. Papinius.** On the family connections of the former, see note on 4. 22, 3. The full name of the latter is given as 'Sex. Papinius, Q. f. Allenius,' in an inscription (C. I. L. v. 1, 2823) which shows him to have filled the usual magistracies in succession, and to have been 'quindecimvir sacris faciundis.' Another inscr. (see Nipp.) shows him to have been praet. peregr. in 780, A.D. 27.

13. **neque quod**, etc. The lacuna here is not indicated in the MS. If Aruseius is the person mentioned in c. 7, 1; we may suppose that what seemed nothing unusual was that some favour was granted to him, and that some others were put to death: 'neque quod' would have been again repeated with their names.

14. **advertebatur**: cp. 4. 54, 2.

16. **depromptum**: so used with simple abl. in H. 4. 22, 4; as is also 'promptus' in 15. 54, 1; and both in Verg., Hor., etc. Dio (58. 21, 4), who places this incident three years earlier, states that he took the poison from a ring, and omits mention of the subsequent strangulation.

17. **festinatis**: cp. 1. 52, 1, etc.

18. **laqueo vexatae**, i.e. he was strangled in the 'Tullianum;' so as, by the semblance of judicial execution, to do away

Armenia quondam potitus ac tunc reus, nomine regio supplicia
civium effugit. at C. Galba consularis et duo Blaesi voluntario 3
exitu cecidere, Galba tristibus Caesaris literis provinciam sortiri
prohibitus: Blaesis sacerdotia, integra eorum domo destinata,
convulsa distulerat, tunc ut vacua contulit in alios, quod signum
mortis intellexere et exsecuti sunt. et Aemilia Lepida, quam 4
iuveni Druso nuptam rettuli, crebris criminibus maritum insectata,
quamquam intestabilis, tamen impunita agebat, dum superfuit
pater Lepidus: post a delatoribus corripitur ob servum adulterum,
nec dubitabatur de flagitio: ergo omissa defensione finem vitae
sibi posuit.

**41** (47). Per idem tempus Clitarum natio Cappadoci Archelao 1
subiecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa

with the 'pretium festinandi' (see c. 29, 2).

**Tigranes**: see note on 2. 4, 3. Josephus (Ant. 18. 5, 4), after mentioning his descent from Herod, says inaccurately, *Τιγράνης μὲν βασιλεύων Ἀρμενίας κατηγοριῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης γενομένων ἄπαις ἐτελεύτα*. Even the 'quondam potitus' of Tacitus is perhaps an overstatement, as it is doubtful whether he was ever received as king by his subjects: see note on 2. 4, 3; Mommsen, Comm. on Mon. Anc. p. 80.

2. **C. Galba**: see on 3. 52, 1. He was already living in poverty and retirement: 'attritis facultatibus urbe cessit' (Suet. Galb. 3). The province would be Asia or Africa (see on 3. 32, 2).

**duo Blaesi.** These appear to be sons of the well-known Blaesus (see 3. 35, 2, etc.); and the 'consobrini consulares' (Vell. 2. 127, 3) of Seianus. An inscription (Mur. 301, 4: see Nipp.) records Q. Iunius Blaesus as cos. suff. with L. Antistius Vetus probably in 779, A.D. 26. One of them is probably mentioned in 1. 19, 4; and the son of one of them in H. 1. 59, 4.

4. **integra . . . domo**, used in 1. 3, 1, of a house that had heirs, here of one that had a head. The house had been 'convulsa' ('shaken to its foundations:' see note on 4. 40, 4) by the father's death (see on 5. 7, 2).

5. **distulerat**, 'had held vacant.'

**signum**: cp. 'indicium mortis' (c. 30, 5): with 'exsecuti sunt' Ruperti and others supply 'mortem' (cp. 'exsequi caedem' 11. 37, 3); but it is perhaps better to take it to mean 'obeyed;' the 'signum' being an implied command: so 'exsequi sententiam' H. 4. 76, 6.

7. **rettuli**, in the lost portion. The intrigue of Seianus with her against her husband is mentioned by Dio (58. 3, 8).

8. **intestabilis**, 'detestable:' cp. c. 51, 6, etc.: so in Sall. Jug. 67, 3; Hor. Sat. 2. 3, 181; Liv. 37. 57, 15.

9. **pater Lepidus.** An inscription (Orell. 639; where it is wrongly referred to the Lepida of 3. 22; cp. C. I. L. v. 2, 592) runs as follows: 'Pudens M. Lepidi l(ibertus) grammaticus. Procurator eram Lepidae moresque regebam: dum vixi, mansit Caesaris illa nurus' (for 'pronurus' as in 4. 12, 6). This appears to show that her father was Marcus Lepidus (see on 3. 32, 2), who may be supposed to have died at this time; Manius Lepidus having died three years before (see c. 27, 4).

12. **Clitarum.** These people are called 'agrestes Cilices' in 12. 55, 1, and belonged to Western Cilicia or Cilicia Trachea, which had formed part of the dominion of the old king Archelaus (see on 2. 42, 2), and was allowed to remain to his son, the king here mentioned, when Cappadocia became a province. Gaius transferred this district to Antiochus IV. king of Commagene (Dio, 59. 8, 2), in whose family it continued till the time of Vespasian: see on 12. 55, 3; also Marquardt, Staatsv. i. p. 226.

13. **nostrum in modum**, as if they had belonged to a Roman province. The provincial subjects had to give returns of their property ('deferre census') probably every five years (see Marquardt, Staatsv. ii. p. 236) and paid 'tributum' by various modes of assessment (Id. p. 191, foll.).

adigebatur, in iuga Tauri montis abscessit locorumque ingenio sese contra imbelles regis copias tutabatur, donec M. Trebellius legatus, a Vitellio praeside Suriae cum quattuor milibus legionariorum et delectis auxiliis missus, duos collis, quos barbari insederant (minori Cadra, alteri Davara nomen est), operibus circumdedit et erumpere ausos ferro, ceteros siti ad deditionem coegit.

2 At Tiridates volentibus Parthis Nicephorium et Anthemusiada ceterasque urbes, quae Macedonibus sitae Graeca vocabula usurpant, Halumque et Artemitam Parthica oppida recepit, certantibus gaudio qui Artabanum Scythas inter eductum ob saevitiam exsecrati come Tiridatis ingenium Romanas per artes sperabant.

1 **42** (48). Plurimum adulationis Seleucenses induere, civitas potens, saepta muris neque in barbarum corrupta, sed conditoris Seleuci retinens. trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti ut senatus,

1. **ingenio** = 'natura:' so used of the qualities of things in 12. 30, 4; 16. 20, 1, etc. (see note on 3. 26, 2); also in Sall. (H. 3. 18 D, 17 K, 87 G); Liv. (2. 30, 4; 28. 12, 11, etc.), etc.

2. **M. Trebellius**. Nipp. notes that he may have been father of the person mentioned in 14. 46, 2; also that a P. Trebellius was praet. urb. in 783, A.D. 30 (Bull. Arch. 1869, p. 123). He is under the orders of Vitellius, Cilicia being part of the province of Syria (see on 2. 78, 3, etc.).

6. **ferro**, 'by force of arms:' so contrasted with 'fames' in H. 4. 32, 6; 59, 5.

8. **At Tiridates**. This narrative is resumed from the end of c. 37. It will be seen, from the order in which places are mentioned, that the geography of his route has not been clearly conceived.

**Nicephorium et Anthemusiada**. If the crossing was effected at Zeugma (see on c. 37, 4), Anthemusias, situate near Edessa, would come first on the route. Nicephorium lies further south, close to the other principal place of crossing the Euphrates at Thapsacus. These and several other Greek cities in Mesopotamia are mentioned in Pl. N. H. 5. 24, 86; 6. 26, 117. On the dative 'Macedonibus,' see Introd. v. § 18.

10. **Halum et Artemitam**. Halus is otherwise unknown, but was probably near Artemita, which Pliny (l. l.) wrongly places in Mesopotamia, but which was really beyond the Tigris, five hundred stadia east (or rather north-east) of Seleuceia (Strab. 16. 1, 17, 744).

11. **Scythas**, the Dahae (2. 3, 1).

13. **sperabant**: cp. 2. 56, 4.

14. **Seleucenses**. Seleuceia on the Tigris, thus distinguished from other cities of the name, was situate three hundred stadia N. E. of Babylon (Strab. 16. 1, 5, 738), a little below the modern Bagdad. Strabo speaks of it (16. 2, 5, 750) as even larger than Antioch in Syria, and Pliny (N. H. 6. 26, 30, 122) estimates its population at 600,000.

15. **in barbarum corrupta** = *εἰς τὸ βαρβαρικὸν διεφθαρμένη*. Isoc. (Evag. 20, 198 c) has *πόλις ἐκβεβαρβαρωμένη*: 'in barbarum' is thus substantively used in H. 5. 2, 1.

16. **Seleuci**, Seleucus Nicator, who founded it a little before B.C. 300. It was the capital of the empire for a short time, until it was superseded by Antioch.

**retinens**, with gen., as in 2. 38, 9; 5. 11, 2.

**opibus aut sapientia**. Nipp. compares Cic. de Fin. 1. 13, 42 'gubernatoris ars utilitate non arte laudatur.' and Id. 2. 26, 83 'si fructibus et emolumentis et utilitatibus amicitias colemus;' and classes such ablatives with those used after verbs of valuing, etc., to express the standard; as 'non numero iudicantur, sed pondere' (Madv. 254, obs. 5). It is perhaps better to take them as causal, equivalent to accusatives with 'propter.'

sua populo vis. et quotiens concordes agunt, spernitur Parthus: 2
ubi dissensere, dum sibi quisque contra aemulos subsidium
vocant, accitus in partem adversum omnes valescit. id nuper 3
acciderat Artabano regnante, qui plebem primoribus tradidit ex
suo usu: nam populi imperium iuxta libertatem, paucorum
dominatio regiae libidini propior est. tum adventantem Tiridaten 4
extollunt veterum regum honoribus et quos recens aetas largius
invenit; simul probra in Artabanum fundebant, materna origine
Arsaciden, cetera degenerem. Tiridates rem Seleucensem po- 5
pulo permittit. mox consultans, quonam die sollemnia regni
capesseret, literas Phraatis et Hieronis, qui validissimas prae-
fecturas optinebant, accipit, brevem moram precantium. placi- 6
tumque opperiri viros praepollentis, atque interim Ctesiphon
sedes imperii petita: sed ubi diem ex die prolatabant, multis
coram et adprobantibus Surena patrio more Tiridaten insigni
regio evinxit.

1. **sua populo vis,** probably the senate may have been chosen by popular election.

3. **valescit:** cp. 2. 39, 5.

4. **ex suo usu:** see 4. 5, 5, and note.

5. **iuxta libertatem** = 'prope abest a libertate:' 'iuxta' thus answers to 'propior' in G. 30, 3 'velocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae:' cp. Introd. v. § 61. In saying that democracy is next door to freedom, he means that it is the government under which the individual is subject to the least coercion at home, and thus least likely to submit to the interference of a foreign despot.

6. **regiae libidini propior.** Thucydides (3 62, 4) makes the Thebans excuse their submission to the Persians by saying that they were then under a *δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν*, a government *ἐγγυτάτω τυράννου.* On the idea of 'regia libido' see c. 1, 2.

9. **cetera degenerem:** see note on 2. 3, 1. 'Degener' is thus used of low birth in 12. 51, 5; 62, 1; Liv. 38. 17, 9; Pl. mai., etc. The word appears first in Verg., but has more commonly a moral significance.

10. **sollemnia regni:** cp. 'sollemnia pietatis' Agr. 7, 2.

11. **praefecturas.** The same word is used in 11. 8, 4; 10, 1, for provinces of the Parthian empire, answering to the old Persian satrapies.

13. **Ctesiphon.** This city, fronting Seleuceia on the opposite bank of the Tigris, on the site now called Al Madain, was in existence at least as early as B.C. 220 (Polyb. 5. 45, 4), and gradually increased in importance under the Parthian and Sassanian empires. In Strabo's time (16. 1, 16, 743) it is called *κώμη μεγάλη*, and is only the winter residence of the kings. In the time of Pliny (N. H. 6. 26, 30, 122) it had not succeeded in drawing away the population from Seleuceia, with which object he believes it to have been founded, and which appears to have been attained in the second century A.D.

14. **diem ex die prolatabant.** Nipp. compares 'diem ex die ducere Haedui' (Caes. B G. 1. 16, 3), and 'dies prolatando' (Sall. Cat. 43, 3).

15. **coram.** Both this and 'adprobantibus' are best taken as praedicates, as 'palam' (11. 22, 1, etc), 'contra' (Agr. 10, 2), etc.

**Surena,** the official title of the commander-in-chief of the armies, the next personage to the king. It appears that the office was hereditary and the name that of a family, borne in addition to a personal name, like that of Arsaces by the kings.

**insigni regio:** cp. c. 37, 2; 2. 56, 3, etc.

16. **evinxit,** used in a similar passage (15. 2, 5), and, in the participle, in 11. 4, 3; H. 4. 53, 2: otherwise only in poets (Verg., etc.).

1 **43** (49). Ac si statim interiora ceterasque nationes petivisset,
oppressa cunctantium dubitatio et omnes in unum cedebant:
adsidendo castellum, in quod pecuniam et paelices Artabanus
2 contulerat, dedit spatium exuendi pacta. nam Phraates et
Hiero et si qui alii delectum capiendo diademati diem haut
concelebraverant, pars metu, quidam invidia in Abdagaesen, qui
3 tum aula et novo rege potiebatur, ad Artabanum vertere; isque
in Hyrcanis repertus est, inluvie obsitus et alimenta arcu ex-
pediens. ac primo tamquam dolus pararetur territus, ubi data
fides reddendae dominationi venisse, adlevatur animum et quae
4 repentina mutatio exquirit. tum Hiero pueritiam Tiridatis in-
crepat, neque penes Arsaciden imperium, sed inane nomen apud
inbellem externa mollitia, vim in Abdagaesis domo.

1 **44** (50). Sensit vetus regnandi falsos in amore odia non fingere.
nec ultra moratus, quam dum Scytharum auxilia conciret, pergit
properus et praeveniens inimicorum astus, amicorum paeniten-
tiam; neque exuerat paedorem, ut vulgum miseratione adver-
2 teret. non fraus, non preces, nihil omissum quo ambiguos
3 inliceret, prompti firmarentur. iamque multa manu propinquans

1. **interiora,** the provinces east of the Tigris.

2. **oppressa,** sc. 'erat.' Nipp. notes that here, as in 13. 15, 4, the omission of the imperfect is made less harsh by the similarly related imperfect following. For other omissions of the verb 'esse,' see Introd. v. § 39. On the use of the indic. to express probability, see Id. § 50 b. For the phrase 'cedere in aliquem' cp. 1. 1, 3; 2. 23, 3.

3. **adsidendo,** 'by blockading,' without a vigorous assault. For the accus. with this verb, cp. 4. 58, 4.

4. **Phraates et Hiero,** c. 42, 5.

5. **haut concelebraverant,** 'had not joined in celebrating:' cp. Plaut. Pseud. 1. 2, 33 'decet eum (diem) omnes vos concelebrare.' No other instance of the word is found in Tacitus.

6. **Abdagaesen:** see c. 36, 3; 37, 5.

8. **in Hyrcanis:** see c. 36, 5.

**inluvie obsitus:** cp. 4. 28, 2.

**expediens,** 'supplying:' cp. 'consilia expedire' H. 2. 52, 2; 3. 73, 1, etc.

10. **reddendae dominationi venisse:** see Introd. v. § 22 b.

13. **inbellem.** Ritter thinks the original MS. text 'inbellum' points to 'inbecillum' as the true reading; but 'inbellem,' which appears to be a correction, in the original, or at least an old hand, is best suited to 'externa mollitia,' the softness of his Roman training (cp. 2. 2, 5), and is supported by 'inbellis aetas' (13. 54, 2, etc.), 'sexus' (14. 33. 4), etc.

14. **vetus regnandi:** cp. c. 12, 2.

**falsos in amore,** etc., i.e. that their hatred of Tiridates and Abdagaeses was sincere, if their affection for himself was feigned.

15. **Scytharum,** of Dahae and Sacae, according to Josephus (Ant. 18. 4, 4).

16. **paenitentiam,** any inclination to a new defection from him.

17. **paedorem,** referring to his condition as 'inluvie obsitus' (c. 43, 3). The word, used only here by Tacitus, is previously rare, and (except in Cic. Tusc. 3. 26, 62) poetical.

**adverteret,** cp. 1. 41, 1.

19. **inliceret . . . firmarentur.** The change from active to passive is merely for variety (see Introd. v. § 91).

**propinquans:** so Halm, after Madvig. Ritter has 'propinquus,' the MS. 'propinqua,' which Orell., Nipp., and Dräger retain. 'Romam adventabant' is used by Sall. (Jug. 28, 2), 'pagos adventans' by Amm. (14. 10, 11), and such an

Seleuciae adventabat, cum Tiridates simul fama atque ipso
Artabano perculsus distrahi consiliis, iret contra an bellum cunc-
tatione tractaret. quibus proelium et festinati casus placebant, 4
disiectos et longinquitate itineris fessos ne animo quidem satis
ad opsequium coaluisse disserunt, proditores nuper hostesque
eius, quem rursum foveant. verum Abdagaeses regrediendum 5
in Mesopotamiam censebat, ut amne obiecto, Armeniis interim
Elymaeisque et ceteris a tergo excitis, aucti copiis socialibus et
quas dux Romanus misisset fortunam temptarent. ea sententia 6
valuit, quia plurima auctoritas penes Abdagaesen et Tiridates
ignavus ad pericula erat. sed fugae specie discessum; ac prin- 7
cipio a gente Arabum facto ceteri domos abeunt vel in castra
Artabani, donec Tiridates cum paucis in Suriam revectus pudore
proditionis omnes exsolvit.

**45** (51). Idem annus gravi igne urbem adficit, deusta parte 1
circi, quae Aventino contigua, ipsoque Aventino; quod damnum

accus. agrees with the general usage of Tacitus (Introd. v. § 12 c); but he always elsewhere uses this verb absolutely (as in c. 42, 4, etc.) or with dat. (c. 33, 5), and would more naturally have used such an expression as 'Seleuciam propinquabat' (cp. 12. 13, 1), than the MS. text.

1. **fama atque ipso**, 'the news and the presence;' so 'praemisso . . . legato atque ipse . . . subegit' (14. 26, 1). Nipp. notes instances in which such an abl. is used without a preposition, where not strictly a person, but the fact of the presence of a person, is meant: as 'repentinis hostibus circumventi' (15. 4, 4).

2. **distrahi.** On the historic inf. with a temporal conjunction, see Introd. v. § 46 b.

**bellum . . . tractaret**: cp. 1. 59, 4.

3. **festinati casus**, 'a speedy crisis.'

4. **disiectos**: cp. 1. 32, 7.

**ne animo quidem**, 'not even in will;' still less in readiness to act.

7. **amne**, the Tigris, which he had crossed to Ctesiphon (c. 42, 6).

8. **Elymaeis.** The best known people of this name lived on the coast at the head of the Persian Gulf: Polybius (5. 44, 9) and Ptolemy (6. 2, 6) also give the name to a district or people of Media; neither of which positions could be 'a tergo,' in the same sense as Armenia. It is perhaps possible to take 'a tergo' of the Elymaeans and other eastern tribes only, and to understand that they were to be got to harass the rear of Artabanus when he should advance against Tiridates; but much more probable that the geographical position of the Elymaei has been misunderstood by Tacitus or those whom he followed.

12. **a gente Arabum.** From the words 'rex Arabum Acbarus,' in 12. 12, 3, it would appear that the people inhabiting Edessa and its neighbourhood and the country called by later writers Osrhoene are here meant.

13. **pudore . . . exsolvit**, 'deprived their desertion of its disgrace.' The words are repeated from H. 3. 61, 4. The subject of the Roman relations with Parthia and Armenia is renewed by Tacitus in 11. 8, 1. Of the intermediate period it is sufficient here to note that Mithridates secured for himself the kingdom of Armenia; that Artabanus reestablished his authority in Parthia and made peace with Vitellius; and after experiencing some further vicissitudes died in possession in 793, A.D. 40 (see Prof. Gardner, as cited on 2. 1, 1), in which year the city of Seleuceia successfully asserted its full independence (cp. 11. 9, 6). See Introd. to vol. ii.

15. **Idem annus . . . adficit**: cp. 4. 15, 1.

**deusta parte circi**: cp. 'deusto monte Caelio' 4. 64, 1. The Circus Maximus lay in the valley between the Palatine and Aventine. The great fire of Nero also broke out in it (15. 38, 2); but its chief force took the opposite direction,

Caesar ad gloriam vertit exsolutis domuum et insularum pretiis.
2 miliens sestertium in munificentia ea conlocatum, tanto acceptius in vulgum, quanto modicus privatis aedificationibus ne publice quidem nisi duo opera struxit, templum Augusto et scaenam Pompeiani theatri; eaque perfecta, contemptu ambitionis an
3 per senectutem, haud dedicavit. sed aestimando cuiusque detrimento quattuor progeneri Caesaris, Cn. Domitius, Cassius Longinus, M. Vinicius, Rubellius Blandus delecti additusque nomi-
4 natione consulum P. Petronius. et pro ingenio cuiusque quaesiti decretique in principem honores. quos omiserit receperitve, in
5 incerto fuit ob propinquum vitae finem. neque enim multo post supremi Tiberio consules, Cn. Acerronius C. Pontius, magistratum occepere, nimia iam potentia Macronis, qui gratiam Gai Caesaris numquam sibi neglectam acrius in dies fovebat impuleratque post mortem Claudiae, quam nuptam ei rettuli, uxorem

though the Aventine quarter was again partially destroyed.

1. **domuum et insularum**, 'mansions and blocks of houses' (cp. 15. 41, 1; 43, 3): the former are the palaces of the rich, the latter the masses of building let out in separate tenements to the poor (Introd. vii. p. 88).

2. **miliens sestertium**, the same sum as that of the loan (c. 17, 4). This act of munificence is ignored by Suetonius: see note on 4. 64, 2.

**in munificentia ea**: so Halm and Nipp. after Otto. 'Ea' is absent from the text of the MS., but a marginal addition in an old hand, and may easily have dropped out after 'munificentia.' Others insert it before or after 'in.'

**conlocatum**, 'was bestowed:' strictly used of investments in land, houses, etc. (cp. c. 17, 2); but Cic. so says (Phil. 3. 2, 4) 'patrimonium ... in reipublicae salute conlocavit' (correcting himself for 'effudit').

3. **quanto modicus**, etc. Nipp. points out that 'quanto' is to be taken only with 'modicus.' The bounty was so much the more popular, as Tiberius was moderate in building for himself, nor had erected more than two public buildings.

4. **duo**. Dio (57. 10, 2) speaks correctly of the former of these as his only new erection, omitting mention of the theatre, as having been only restored (see 3. 72, 4). Velleius (2. 130, 1) and Suetonius (Tib. 47) mention both works. Dio adds (l. l.) that he completed buildings begun by Augustus, and restored many older ones, but never inscribed his name on them. This temple to Augustus appears to have stood on the side of the Palatine facing the Capitol (see on 1. 10, 8).

5. **perfecta ... haud dedicavit**. Suet. (Tib. 47; Cal. 21) says that he left both unfinished: but, as regards the temple, Tacitus is confirmed by a coin belonging to the year 787, A.D. 34, in which it is represented; which would seem to show that it was completed in that year (Cohen, i. p. 195, 68). The dedication by Gaius, described by Dio (59. 7, 1) under 790, A.D. 37, is also commemorated by a medal (see engraving, Cohen, p. 238, 8).

7. **quattuor progeneri**: see c. 15, 1; 27, 1; 4. 75, 1.

9. **P. Petronius**: see 3. 49, 2.

12. **Cn. Acerronius C. Pontius**. A Lusitanian inscription (Orelli 3665) gives their full names as Cn. Acerronius Proculus, C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus. Nipp. notes that the former received a statue at Athens as proconsul of Achaia (C. I. Att. iii. 1, 611); and that the latter, an adopted son of C. Petronius Umbrinus (cos. suff. with M. Asinius in 778, A.D. 25), is thought by Borghesi to have been father of Pontia, the infamous poisoner of her sons (Juv. 6, 637), who is called by the old Scholiast daughter of P. Petronius.

15. **rettuli**, c. 20, 1. Her speedy death is also mentioned by Philo (Leg. ad Gai. 9). Suet. (Cal. 12) says that she died in

suam Enniam imitando amorem iuvenem inlicere pactoque matrimonii vincire, nihil abnuentem, dum dominationis apisceretur; nam etsi commotus ingenio simulationum tamen falsa in sinu avi perdidicerat.

**46** (52). Gnarum hoc principi, eoque dubitavit de tradenda re 1
publica, primum inter nepotes, quorum Druso genitus sanguine
et caritate propior, sed nondum pubertatem ingressus, Germanici
filio robur iuventae, vulgi studia, eaque apud avum odii causa.
etiam de Claudio agitanti, quod is conposita aetate bonarum 2
artium cupiens erat, inminuta mens eius obstitit. sin extra 3
domum successor quaereretur, ne memoria Augusti, ne nomen
Caesarum in ludibria et contumelias verterent metuebat: quippe 4
illi non perinde curae gratia praesentium quam in posteros

childbirth; Dio (59. 8, 7), apparently in error, that Gaius divorced her to marry Cornelia Orestilla.

1. **imitando amorem.** This, the MS. text, was needlessly altered in the old editions to 'amore;' some also adopted the marginal correction 'immittendo:' cp. 'quamquam maestitiam imitarentur' 1. 24, 4.

**pactoque . . . vincire**: cp. 'animum . . . vinxisse' 4. 10, 2. This intrigue is also represented by Dio (58. 28, 4) as contrived by Macro; by Philo (Leg. ad Gai. 6) as the work of Ennia alone; by Suet. (Cal. 10) as originated by Gaius himself. Ennia and Macro were both forced to commit suicide in 791, A.D. 38 (Dio, 59. 10, 6).

2. **dominationis apisceretur.** This verb is nowhere else used with genit.: cp. the similar construction with 'adipisci' (3. 55, 1).

3. **commotus,** 'passionate' (see on 1. 33, 6). It does not, like 'turbidus animi' (H. 4. 48, 2), or 'Gai turbata mens' (13. 3, 6), denote his insanity, which was a later development.

**simulationum falsa,** a strong instance of the absence of any partitive meaning in a genit. of this kind (Introd. v. § 32).

5. **hoc,** the whole state of things mentioned above.

**dubitavit,** etc., 'he hesitated whom to designate as successor.' On the means of indirect nomination in this respect open to the princeps, see Introd. vi. p. 82; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. p. 1080, foll.

6. **nepotes.** Tiberius Gemellus, the son of Drusus, was in his eighteenth year (2. 84, 1), but had not taken the 'toga virilis' (Suet. Cal. 15). Gaius was in his twenty-fifth year (Suet. Cal. 8).

8. **vulgi studia**: see 1. 41, 3: on the popularity of the house of Germanicus in general, see 3. 29, 3; 5. 4, 3, etc.

9. **agitanti**: so 'agitare de aliqua re' 11. 23, 1; 15. 50, 4, etc. In earlier writers 'agitare,' in this sense, has usually a word such as 'animo' added.

**conposita aetate**: so again in 13. 1, 2. The expression appears to answer to the *καθεστηκυῖα ἡλικία* of Thuc. 2. 36, 4; and to the 'constans aetas quae media dicitur' of Cic. de Sen. 20, 76. Claudius was now in his forty-sixth year (Suet. Cl. 2).

**bonarum artium cupiens.** For the gen. with 'cupiens,' cp. 1. 75, 4; for this use of 'artes,' cp. c. 7, 1; 4. 6, 2, etc. This taste of Claudius for literary culture is spoken of in 13. 3, 1, etc. Suet. (Cl. 3) says 'disciplinis liberalibus ab aetate prima non mediocrem operam dedit,' and gives further account (c. 41, 42) of his historical and other compositions.

10. **inminuta mens.** 'imbecility;' so used of a mind enfeebled by disease in Sall. Jug. 65, 1: compare the expressions cited on c. 45, 6, for the insanity of Gaius. On the mental weakness of Claudius, see 3. 18, 7; 11. 28, 2; 12. 3, 3; 67. 1; Suet. Cl. 2–5, etc.

13. **praesentium.** Nipp. takes this as a neuter, such neuters being often used by Tacitus in other cases besides the nom. and acc. (see his note on 3. 18, 6). It seems however here to be better taken as masc. answering to 'in posteros.'

**in posteros ambitio**: cp. 'gloria

5 ambitio. mox incertus animi, fesso corpore, consilium, cui impar
erat, fato permisit, iactis tamen vocibus per quas intellegeretur
6 providus futurorum; namque Macroni non abdita ambage occi-
7 dentem ab eo deseri, orientem spectari exprobravit. et Gaio
Caesari, forte orto sermone L. Sullam inridenti, omnia Sullae
8 vitia et nullam eiusdem virtutem habiturum praedixit. simul
crebris cum lacrimis minorem ex nepotibus conplexus, truci
9 alterius vultu, 'occides hunc tu' inquit 'et te alius.' sed gra-
vescente valetudine nihil e libidinibus omittebat, in patientia
firmitudinem simulans solitusque eludere medicorum artes atque
eos, qui post tricesimum aetatis annum ad internoscenda corpori
suo utilia vel noxia alieni consilii indigerent.

1 **47** (53). Interim Romae futuris etiam post Tiberium caedibus
semina iaciebantur. Laelius Balbus Acutiam, P. Vitellii quon-

ad posteros' 1. 8, 2, 'fama in Sabinos' Liv. 1. 18, 3. The remark of Tacitus here is strangely inconsistent with the reproach of not caring for the judgment of posterity, with which he appears, in 4. 38, 4, to think that Tiberius was justly charged.

1. **incertus animi**: so in H. 3. 55, 4; Liv. 1. 7, 6, etc.

2. **fato permisit**, 'left to take its course.' In such an expression, fate and chance are almost identified (see note on c. 22, 1).

**vocibus.** Besides those mentioned here, Suet. (Cal. 11) represents him as saying 'exitio suo omniumque Gaium vivere, et se natricem (serpentis id genus) P. R., Phaethontem orbi terrarum educare.'

3. **non abdita ambage**, 'in a riddle plain to read:' 'ambages' is used of oracular and other mysterious sayings (2. 54. 5; 12. 63, 2, etc.).

**occidentem.** Ritter thinks it necessary to insert 'solem' after 'orientem;' but Dio (58. 28, 4), who here agrees very closely with Tacitus, omits it (εὖγε τὸν δυόμενον ἐγκαταλιπὼν πρὸς τὸν ἀνατέλλοντα ἐπείγῃ). This famous saying appears to be first given as said to Sulla by Pompeius, τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πλείονες ἢ δυόμενον προσκυνοῦσιν (Plut. Pomp. 14. p. 625). The metaphor is furnished by the well-known oriental worship of the rising sun.

7. **truci alterius vultu.** Suetonius says of Gaius (c. 50) 'vultum natura horridum ac tetrum etiam ex industria efferavit.' This forbidding expression is evident from his coins and other effigies, such as the remarkable statue at Naples.

8. **occides**, etc. Young Tiberius was put to death by Gaius before the close of that same year (Dio, 59. 8, 1; Suet. Cal. 23), and Gaius assassinated by Chaerea and others in 794, A.D. 41 (Dio, 59. 29; Suet. Cal. 58).

**gravescente valetudine**: cp. 1. 5, 1.

9. **libidinibus**: see c. 1, 2.

**in patientia.** This is perhaps best taken, with Walther and Doed., as = 'mediis in doloribus;' such a sense of 'patientia' being capable of being sustained by Sen. Ep. 78, 12 'tolerabilis est morbi patientia, si contempseris id quod extremum minatur;' and 82, 18 'devorata unius mali patientia.' The alternative interpretation, taking it to mean 'in (or 'by') his endurance,' seems more suitable to a simple ablative.

10. **eludere**: cp. 5. 5, 1, etc.

11. **post tricesimum**, etc. Plutarch (ὑγιεινὰ παραγγέλματα 24, 136) quotes Tiberius, on hearsay, as saying ὡς ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη καὶ προτείνων ἰατρῷ χεῖρα καταγέλαστός ἐστιν. Suet. (Tib. 68), without quoting any such maxim, says that Tiberius had never consulted a physician after the age of thirty, and retained his health unimpaired almost throughout his principate.

14. **Laelius Balbus**, mentioned by Quint. (10. 1, 24) under the name of Decimus Laelius, as a famous orator of the day, classed with Afer and Passienus (see 4. 52, 7; c. 20, 2). Nipp. thinks him probably son of D. Laelius Balbus,

dam uxorem, maiestatis postulaverat; qua damnata cum prae-
mium accusatori decerneretur, Iunius Otho tribunus plebei inter-
cessit, unde illis odia, mox Othoni exitium. dein multorum 2
amoribus famosa Albucilla, cui matrimonium cum Satrio Secundo
coniurationis indice fuerat, defertur inpietatis in principem; co-
nectebantur ut conscii et adulteri eius Cn. Domitius, Vibius
Marsus, L. Arruntius. de claritudine Domitii supra memoravi; 3
Marsus quoque vetustis honoribus et inlustris studiis erat. sed 4
testium interrogationi, tormentis servorum Macronem praese-
disse commentarii ad senatum missi ferebant, nullaeque in eos
imperatoris literae suspicionem dabant, invalido ac fortasse ignaro
ficta pleraque ob inimicitias Macronis notas in Arruntium.

**48** (54). Igitur Domitius defensionem meditans, Marsus tam- 1
quam inediam destinavisset, produxere vitam: Arruntius cuncta- 2

cos. 748, B.C. 6, and 'quindecimvir sacris faciendis' in 737, B.C. 17; and that the vestal Laelia (15. 22, 4) was probably his daughter. His further fate is mentioned in c. 48, 7.

**P. Vitellii**: see on 5. 8, 1.

1. **praemium**: see on 4. 20, 2, etc.

**Iunius Otho**, apparently son of the praetor of 775, A.D. 22 (3. 66, 2). The veto of the tribune is still occasionally exercised (see Introd. vi. p. 76).

3. **unde illis**, etc., 'whence ensued enmity between Balbus and Otho, and subsequently (probably under Gaius) death to Otho.' Halm and Orell. follow Nipp. in reading 'exitium' for the MS. 'exilium,' as apparently required to explain 'futuris caedibus' above.

4. **Albucilla**: see c. 48, 6. Probably she also may have been put to death by Gaius.

**Satrio Secundo**: see 4. 34, 2. He is mentioned more prominently than as if he were only one of the many informers respecting the conspiracy of Seianus (see 5. 8, 1, etc.), and may therefore have been the person who betrayed it to Antonia (see Appendix iii. p. 539). The past tense used in speaking of him here and in c. 8, 10 suggests that he was probably dead.

6. **Cn. Domitius**, the husband of Agrippina: see 4. 75, 1.

**Vibius Marsus**: see on 2. 74, 1. Nipp. thinks he may be the poet spoken of slightingly in Mart. 4. 29, 7 ('quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide'); most allusions to a poet of the name being, no doubt, to the more famous Domitius Marsus.

7. **L. Arruntius**: see 1. 13, 1, etc.

10. **commentarii**, 'the record:' the word is used of any written record, as of the 'acta senatus' (15. 74, 2) and the register of the princeps (H. 4. 40, 6, etc.). Dio (58. 24, 2) represents such a case as common, (ἠλίσκοντο οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Τιβερίου γραμμάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μάκρωνος βασάνων); the senate having apparently to pass sentence on such a communication without further trial. In this case it would seem probable that the absence of the usual letter from Tiberius enabled them to suspend proceedings.

**ferebant**, 'were showing:' the sense is rather that of 'avunculum Augustum ferens' (2. 43, 6), than of 'fama . . . tulit' (1. 5, 6).

**nullae . . . literae**, 'the fact that there was no letter:' cp. 'multa me dehortantur . . . opes factionis . . . ius nullum,' etc. (Sall. Jug. 31, 1), also Introd. v. § 55 b, 2; Nipp. here and on 3. 9, 3.

11. **invalido**. Ritt. thinks the insertion of 'eo' necessary; but the pronoun can be supplied from 'imperatoris,' and the construction would resemble those noted in Introd. v. § 31 c, and by Nipp. on 5. 10, 2.

14. **produxere vitam**. Domitius died in 793, A.D. 40, when his son Nero, born in this year, was three years old (Suet. Ner. 6). Marsus was still alive and legatus of Syria about 795–797, A.D. 42–44 (see 11. 10, 1). Dio states (58. 27, 2) that others were saved by an artifice of

tionem et moras suadentibus amicis, non eadem omnibus decora
3 respondit: sibi satis aetatis, neque aliud paenitendum quam
quod inter ludibria et pericula anxiam senectam toleravisset, diu
Seiano, nunc Macroni; semper alicui potentium invisus, non
culpa, sed ut flagitiorum inpatiens. sane paucos ad suprema
principis dies posse vitari: quem ad modum evasurum immi-
4 nentis iuventam? an, cum Tiberius post tantam rerum expe-
rientiam vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus sit, Gaium
Caesarem vix finita pueritia, ignarum omnium aut pessimis
innutritum, meliora capessiturum Macrone duce? qui ut deterior
ad opprimendum Seianum delectus plura per scelera rem pub-
5 licam conflictavisset. prospectare iam se acrius servitium, eoque
fugere simul acta et instantia. haec vatis in modum dictitans
venas resolvit. documento sequentia erunt bene Arruntium morte
6 usum. Albucilla inrito ictu ab semet vulnerata iussu senatus
in carcerem fertur. stuprorum eius ministri, Carsidius Sacerdos

Thrasyllus (see c. 20, 3), who had persuaded Tiberius that he had several years yet to live and need not hasten matters.

3. **ludibria**. All senators were subject to the insult of having to ratify and register decrees without discretion (see c. 47, 4). Arruntius had also had the special mockery of a province to which he was not allowed to go (c. 27, 3), and the peril of a former accusation (c. 7, 1).

5. **sane**, concessive, as in 1. 10, 2, etc.

**ad suprema**: so Halm and Nipp., after Madvig, for the MS. 'et suprema,' which has been generally corrected to 'et supremos.' On this sense of 'suprema,' see note on 1. 8, 1.

7. **experientiam**: cp. 1. 4, 3.

8. **convulsus**. The metaphor may here be that of the 'ruin' of a character (see note on 4. 40, 4), or may denote a person shaken from his equilibrium or steady footing: a somewhat similar idea, differently conveyed, is the 'mente quatit solida' of Hor. Od. 3. 3, 4. In the view here assigned to Arruntius, Tacitus gives a juster and more probable explanation of the deterioration of Tiberius, than in his own hypothesis (c. 51, 5) of a radically vicious nature disclosing itself by degrees (see Introd. viii. p. 135).

9. **vix finita pueritia**, used rhetorically of a youth of twenty-five (see c. 46, 1).

10. **capessiturum**. This participle (cp. 12. 25, 3), perhaps also a perfect form 'capessii' (see on 12. 30, 2), are apparently confined to Tacitus.

12. **conflictavisset**. The active of this verb appears elsewhere to be only once found transitively ('feram . . . sese conflictantem maerore' Pl. N. H. 8. 17, 21, 59), and once intransitively ('ut conflictares malo' Ter. Phorm. 3. 2, 20): the passive is especially common in Tacitus (cp. 1. 58, 9, etc.).

13. **acta et instantia**, i.e. 'the memory of the past, and danger of the imminent:' in H. 3. 36, 1 'instantia' is used of the present, as contrasted with the past and future.

14. **bene . . . morte usum**, 'did well to die.' To commit suicide is called 'uti necessitate' (16. 11, 1): cp. 'honestae mortis usus' 1. 70, 6.

15. **Albucilla**, etc. Dio (58. 27, 4) tells this story as of γυνή τις, adding that she died in prison. As Tacitus does not here mention her death, it is probable that she outlived Tiberius: see on c. 47, 2.

16. **stuprorum eius ministri**, etc. The construction is here sacrificed to conciseness of expression: from 'paenae decernuntur' is to be supplied 'decernitur de stuprorum ministris,' or 'ministri . . . damnantur, decretumque.' Nipp. compares the sentence in 2. 64, 4, also Caes. B. G. 1. 53, 4 'duae filiae . . . altera occisa, altera capta est,' and several instances from Liv., e.g. 'consules, Marcellus . . . redit, Fabius . . . processit' (24.

praetorius ut in insulam deportaretur, Pontius Fregellanus amit-
teret ordinem senatorium, et eaedem poenae in Laelium Balbum
decernuntur, id quidem a laetantibus, quia Balbus truci elo-
quentia habebatur, promptus adversum insontes.
**49** (55). Isdem diebus Sex. Papinius consulari familia repen- 1
tinum et informem exitum delegit, iacto in praeceps corpore.
causa ad matrem referebatur, quae pridem repudiata adsenta- 2
tionibus atque luxu perpulisset iuvenem ad ea quorum effugium
non nisi morte inveniret. igitur accusata in senatu, quamquam 3
genua patrum advolveretur luctumque communem et magis in-
becillum tali super casu feminarum animum aliaque in eundem
dolorem maesta et miseranda diu ferret, urbe tamen in decem
annos prohibita est, donec minor filius lubricum iuventae exiret.
**50** (56). Iam Tiberium corpus, iam vires, nondum dissimu- 1
latio deserebat: idem animi rigor; sermone ac vultu intentus

20, 3); and notes the double construction used with 'decernere' in 1. 15. 4 (where see note).

**Carsidius Sacerdos**: see 4. 13, 3. He appears to have been praet. urb. in 780, A.D. 27 (see Nipp.).

2. **eaedem poenae**, i.e. the 'deportatio,' involving necessarily the loss of senatorial rank. Nipp. notes that Tacitus separated this case from that of Carsidius, only to make a special remark on it. On Laelius Balbus, see c. 47, 1.

5. **consulari familia.** He must have been son of the consul of the preceding year (see c. 40, 1), no other consul of the name being found. The same expression is used in a similar sense in 13. 12, 1.

6. **informem**, 'unseemly,' i.e. 'ignominious,' as compared with the more dignified forms of suicide. So Vergil calls a noose for hanging 'nodum informis leti' (Aen. 12, 603).

**in praeceps**, from an upper window: cp. 4. 22, 1.

7. **repudiata.** Nipp. takes this in its ordinary sense as 'divorced from her husband.' Others take it as 'repelled' by her son, which suits the context well; but if Tacitus had meant this, he would probably have used a less ambiguous word.

**adsentationibus atque luxu.** Roth appears rightly to take this as equivalent to 'adsentando, iuvando ad luxum.'

10. **advolveretur**: cp. 1. 13, 7.

**luctumque communem**, etc., the grief which men or women alike would feel at the loss of children, and the greater inability of her sex to bear up against it. The bearing of the appeal is to show that in the death of her son she had already suffered enough.

11. **in eundem dolorem**, 'to the same piteous effect,' i.e. 'in the same pathetic strain:' cp. 'verba in eandem clementiam' 11. 3, 1. The construction is a form of the 'in consecutivum,' so characteristic of Tacitus: see Introd. v. § 60 b.

12. **diu ferret**, for 'proferret:' so 'ferre crimina' 12. 4, 1, etc. For the use of 'diu,' see note on 4. 69, 4.

13. **minor filius**, probably the person mentioned by Seneca (de Ira, 3. 18, 3), as a victim to the ferocious caprice of Gaius, 'C. Caesar Sextum Papinium, cui pater erat consularis, flagellis cecidit, torsit, non quaestionis sed animi causa.' He may have taken his brother's praenomen.

**lubricum iuventae.** Tacitus has other similar metaphors, as 'lubricum adolescentiae' 14. 56, 2, 'lubricam principis aetatem' 13. 2, 2, etc.

**exiret.** The poetical accus. with this verb, found here alone in Tacitus (cp. 'limen exire' Ter. Hec. 3. 3, 18, 'valles' Ov. Met. 10, 52), is analogous to those noted in Introd. v. § 12 c.

14. **Iam . . . nondum.** The contrast seems a reminiscence of Liv. 1. 25, 6 'Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat.'

15. **idem animi rigor**, 'there was the same stern will.' Pliny speaks (N. H. 7. 19, 79) of 'rigor quidam torvitasque na-

quaesita interdum comitate quamvis manifestam defectionem
2 tegebat. mutatisque saepius locis tandem apud promunturium
Miseni consedit in villa, cui L. Lucullus quondam dominus.
3 illic eum adpropinquare supremis tali modo compertum. erat
medicus arte insignis, nomine Charicles, non quidem regere
valetudines principis solitus, consilii tamen copiam praebere.
4 is velut propria ad negotia digrediens et per speciem officii
5 manum complexus pulsum venarum attigit. neque fefellit: nam
Tiberius, incertum an offensus tantoque magis iram premens,
instaurari epulas iubet discumbitque ultra solitum, quasi honori
abeuntis amici tribueret. Charicles tamen labi spiritum nec
6 ultra biduum duraturum Macroni firmavit. inde cuncta conlo-
quiis inter praesentes, nuntiis apud legatos et exercitus festina-
7 bantur. septimum decimum kal. Aprilis interclusa anima cre-

turae dura et inflexibilis,' answering to the Greek ἀπαθεία.

**intentus**, 'energetic in speech and look:' cp. 'intentior' 1. 52, 3, 'cum dixisset . . . intento ore' Dial. 11, 1.

1. **quaesita . . . comitate**, 'with forced gaiety.' Suet. (Tib. 72) describes him as falling ill at Astura, and, after a rally, going to Circeii, where, at some 'ludi castrenses,' he tried to cast a javelin at a boar, and caught a chill from the effort.

2. **promunturium Miseni**: so in 15. 46, 3. Such a genitive in geographical expressions is generally poetical (as 'Buthroti . . . urbem' Verg. Aen. 3, 293), but found in Liv. 24. 12, 1; 35, 3, etc.

3. **in villa.** Phaedrus (2. 5, 9) describes its situation ('quae monte summo posita Luculli manu prospectat Siculum et respicit Tuscum mare'). It appears to have once belonged to Marius, and to have been bought by Lucullus, who added enormously to it (Plut. Mar. 34, 424; Luc. 39, 518). It was still existing in the fifth century, and became the place of retirement assigned by Odoacer to Augustulus; and some ruins still remaining on the promontory may probably have belonged to it.

5. **Charicles.** This story of him is also told by Suet. (Tib. 72), and he is mentioned as a medical authority by Galen (de Comp. Med. 2. 1. 2, etc). Like most Roman physicians, he was probably a Greek freedman.

6. **consilii copiam**, 'opportunity of consulting him.' On the general contempt of Tiberius for physicians, see c. 46, 9.

7. **per speciem officii**, 'as if to pay respect' (cp. 1. 24, 4; 2. 42, 2, etc.). The action was that of taking the hand to kiss it (Suet. l. l.): cp. 'prensa manu eius per speciem exosculandi' 1. 34, 3.

8. **neque fefellit**: so 'neque diu fefellit' 4. 45, 2.

10. **instaurari**, 'to be served again:' cp. Suet. (l. l.) 'remanere ac recumbere hortatus est, cenamque protraxit.' It is added, that he stood up as usual, with the lictor at his side, addressing each guest as he took leave.

11. **tribueret**, sc. 'id:' so 'Seiano tribuens' 4. 26, 1.

**labi spiritum**, 'that vitality was sinking:' cp. 'labenti animae' 16. 11. 4.

12. **inde cuncta**, etc. Compare the similar measures taken to secure the succession at the last moments of Augustus (1. 5, 6) and of Claudius (12. 68, 1).

14. **septimum decimum kalendas Aprilis**, 'xvii' in the MS.; written as accus., after Ritt., in accordance with c. 25, 5. The same date (March 16) is given by Suet. (Tib. 73), and confirmed by the 'Acta Arvalium' (C. I. L. vi. 1, 2028 c), where the eighteenth is given as the date on which Gaius was called imperator by the senate. Dio, who puts the death ten days later (58. 28, 5), must therefore be in error.

**interclusa anima**, 'the breath having ceased.' No more than natural cessation of respiration seems to be meant; but the expression is apparently taken from Livy, who uses it (23. 7), and 'spiritum intercludere' (40. 16, 1; 24, 7), of suffocation or other constraint: cp. 'impedito meatu animum finiebat' 14. 51, 2.

ditus est mortalitatem explevisse; et multo gratantum concursu
ad capienda imperii primordia Gaius Caesar egrediebatur, cum
repente adfertur redire Tiberio vocem ac visus vocarique qui
recreandae defectioni cibum adferrent. pavor hinc in omnes, 8
et ceteri passim dispergi, se quisque maestum aut nescium
fingere; Caesar in silentium fixus a summa spe novissima ex-
pectabat. Macro intrepidus opprimi senem iniectu multae vestis 9
iubet discedique ab limine. sic Tiberius finivit, octavo et sep-
tuagesimo aetatis anno.

**51** (57). Pater ei Nero et utrimque origo gentis Claudiae, 1
quamquam mater in Liviam et mox Iuliam familiam adoptio-

**creditus est**: cp. c. 34, 4; 5. 4, 1, etc.; Introd. v. § 45. Nipp. shows here that Cic. so uses 'dictus est' (ad Q. f. 1. 2, 9; pro Scaur. 6, 11).

1. **mortalitatem explevisse**, 'to have fulfilled the conditions of mortality.' The expression appears to be new, and is explained by Nipp. as analogous to 'vicem, munus explere' (4. 8, 7; Dial. 32, 5). It might also possibly be taken to mean 'completed the term of mortal life,' like 'supremum diem explevisset' (1. 6, 2); but 'mortalitas' generally means the liability to die, sometimes even = 'mors,' e.g. 'mortalitate interceptus' Pl. Epp. 10. 41 (50), 4.

2. **ad capienda . . . primordia**: so 'capere initium' 12. 6, 1, 'finem' H. 4. 3, 4, etc.

5. **maestum aut nescium**, concerned for Tiberius or conscious of nothing unusual. Nipp. compares other similar descriptions of assumed unconsciousness (11. 35, 1; 13. 16, 5).

6. **in silentium fixus**, 'stupefied into silence:' cp. 'defixus' 1. 68, 2, etc.

**novissima**, 'the uttermost;' in full 'novissima exempla' (12. 20, 4; 15. 44, 8): cp. 5. 6, 7; 12. 33, 2.

7. **opprimi senem**, etc. Dio (58. 28, 2) makes Gaius the chief agent in withholding food from Tiberius, as if it would hurt him, and piling on clothes, as if to warm him. Suet. (Tib. 73) gives, besides this, a story of slow poison given by Gaius; also another account from 'Seneca,' that Tiberius made as if he would give up his ring, and put it on again, and then, after calling for assistance, tried to rise and fell lifeless by the bed. This story, apparently from the contemporary history of Marcus Seneca (see Introd. iii. p. 11), probably represents the version circulated at the time by Gaius.

7. **iniectu**, only here in Tacitus; also in Lucr., Pl. mai., and Stat.

8. **finivit**. Elsewhere the expression is 'finire vitam' (1. 9, 1, etc.); but 'finis' is thus used absolutely (2. 71, 1, etc.), and 'qui morbo finiuntur' in Pl. Epp. 1. 12, 2; so that Ritter's insertion of 'vitam' seems needless.

**octavo et septuagesimo**. The calculation of Dio (l. l.), that he lived seventy-seven years, four months, and nine days, allowing for his error in the date of death (see above), agrees with the date of birth given by Suet. (Tib. 5), as Nov. 17, 712, B.C. 42. Suet. adds (c. 76), that his will, made two years before, left Gaius and young Tiberius joint heirs, with legacies to many persons, to the Vestals, the soldiers and people, and, separately, to the 'vicorum magistri.' This will was set aside at the instance of Gaius, especially in respect of the heirship of young Tiberius, as the will of an insane person (παραφρονήσαντος); but Gaius paid the other legacies as gifts from himself (Dio, 59. 1; Suet. Cal. 16). We also learn that, in spite of cries of 'To the Tiber with Tiberius,' and other expressions of popular hatred (Suet. Tib. 75), his remains received a public funeral at Rome, with a 'laudatio' from Gaius (Dio, 58. 28, 5). His memory was however condemned; for he received no divine honours, nor were his 'acta' ever included in the annual oath of maintenance (Dio, 59. 9, 1).

10. **Pater ei Nero**, etc. On the descent and life of the father Nero, and on the adoptive relationships of Livia, see notes on 5. 1, 1: on the other persons mentioned in this chapter, see Introd. ix. The periods into which the life and character of Tiberius are here marked out, are fully treated of in Introd. viii.

2 nibus transierit. casus prima ab infantia ancipites; nam pro-
scriptum patrem exul secutus, ubi domum Augusti privignus in-
troiit, multis aemulis conflictatus est, dum Marcellus et Agrippa,
mox Gaius Luciusque Caesares viguere; etiam frater eius
3 Drusus prosperiore civium amore erat. sed maxime in lubrico
egit accepta in matrimonium Iulia, inpudicitiam uxoris tolerans
4 aut declinans. dein Rhodo regressus vacuos principis penates
duodecim annis, mox rei Romanae arbitrium tribus ferme et
5 viginti obtinuit. morum quoque tempora illi diversa: egregium
vita famaque, quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit;
occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac
6 Drusus superfuere; idem inter bona malaque mixtus incolumi
matre, intestabilis saevitia, sed obtectis libidinibus, dum Seianum
dilexit timuitve, postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit,
postquam remoto pudore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur.

2. **domum Augusti . . . introiit,** at the death of his father, in 721, B.C. 33.

3. **multis aemulis**: see on 1. 3.

**conflictatus est**: cp. c. 47, 4.

5. **prosperiore civium amore erat,** 'was borne on a stronger tide of popularity:' cp. 'prosperam memoriam' 4. 38, 6, 'prosperior fama' 4. 52, 8. On the popularity of Drusus see 1. 33, 4; 2. 41, 5.

**maxime in lubrico egit,** 'his position was most perilous:' cp. 1. 72, 2; and c. 49, 3.

7. **declinans,** 'avoiding:' cp. 'ea . . . declinans' 13. 4, 2, 'invidiam declinavit' H. 4. 41, 4. The allusion is to his flight from her to Rhodes (see on 1. 53, 2).

**vacuos,** 'without heirs:' cp. on 'vacuos Colchos' c. 34, 3; and the opposite expressions 'domus plena' 4. 3, 1, 'integra' 1. 3, 1, etc.

8. **duodecim annis,** i.e. between his return from Rhodes and the death of Augustus, 755–767, A.D. 2–14. The house of Augustus, already so far 'vacua' that its heirs had left home and never returned to it, did not really become so till the death of Gaius in 757, A.D. 4.

**tribus ferme et viginti.** The computation of Dio (58. 28, 5), who reckons twenty-two years, seven months, and seven days from the death of Augustus (Aug. 19, 767, A.D. 14) to that of Tiberius, is exactly correct, with allowance for the error of ten cays already mentioned (c. 50, 9).

9. **egregium**: 'tempus' is supplied with this, as also with 'occultum ac subdolum;' the mode of expression being similar to that often used with 'dies,' 'annus,' etc.: afterwards the expression is varied to 'idem . . . mixtus,' etc.

10. **quoad**: cp. 4. 61, 1.

11. **occultum,** etc. This period is that treated in the first three Books: to each of the following three periods, one Book is allotted. Dio marks the first turning-point at the death of Germanicus (57. 19, 1), and the second at the retirement to Capreae (58. 1, 1). On this use of 'occultus,' cp. 4. 7, 1, etc.

**fingendis virtutibus,** probably to be taken as dative: cp. c. 24, 4, and note there.

12. **idem.** It seems better, with Nipp., to take 'prorupit' as the principal verb, and 'mixtus' and 'intestabilis' as in apposition, than to supply 'fuit.'

**mixtus**: so Mucianus is called 'malis bonisque artibus mixtus' (H. 1. 10, 3).

13. **intestabilis**: cp. c. 40, 4.

14. **scelera . . . ac dedecora,** answering to 'saevitia' and 'libidinibus.'

15. **suo tantum ingenio utebatur,** 'he was following his own bent only.' Nipp. thinks that not his original nature, but that which it had then become, is meant; but the idea that his true character was only at the last revealed seems evidently that of Tacitus throughout; as well as of Suetonius (c. 42), 'secreti licentiam nanctus cuncta simul vitia male diu dissimulata tandem profudit' (cp. Id. 61). On the judgment of Dio, see Introd. viii. p. 134.

# INDEX.

Note.—It is intended to print, at end of vol. ii, Indices to the historical matter of, and commentary upon, the whole of the Annals. The present short Index is here inserted for the temporary convenience of those using this volume, to facilitate reference to such contents of the Introduction and Notes as would less readily be found from a historical index, such as that of Halm, to the text itself, or from the summaries here prefixed to the chapters of the Introduction and to the several Books.

The references are to the pages of this volume.

END OF VOL. I.